HESIOD

Theogony

Edited with
Prolegomena and Commentary
by

M. L. WEST

OXFORD · AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

This is the first commentary on the *Theogony* in any language for more than fifty years, and the first in English since Paley. It contains a more detailed discussion of the problems of the text, its interpretation, construction, and religious and mythological background, than they have received in any previous commentary. The Prolegomena deal with the nature of theogonic literature and the forms it has taken among many peoples, the relationship between Hesiod's poem and Near Eastern myths, the principles on which his genealogies are constructed, his date, the transmission of the poem, and the language and metre both of the *Theogony* and of the *Works and Days*. The text is based for the first time on a complete view of the manuscript tradition and is accompanied by an entirely new critical apparatus. Besides collating afresh all the main sources (including papyri) used by his predecessors, the editor has been able to take into account thirty-two previously uninvestigated minuscule manuscripts and seventeen unpublished papyri.

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M. L. WEST

Fellow and Praelector of
University College
Oxford

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AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
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PREFACE

ALTHOUGH a writer has recently characterized Oxford as a place where people have come, among other reasons, 'to prepare commentaries on Hesiod's *Theogony*', it will be allowed that no such book has been in evidence for a very long time. When I began to study Hesiod, it soon became apparent that a commentary on the *Theogony* was the main need. In the course of time, work for the commentary generated not only the various studies which make up the present prolegomena, but also a critical apparatus and a new text.

The text is based on acquaintance with a much larger number of manuscript sources than has been available to other editors, including many new papyri. I am here greatly indebted to Professor H. C. Youtie for photographs of two unpublished Michigan papyri and permission to make use of them, to Professor E. G. Turner for access to fourteen unpublished Oxyrhynchus fragments belonging to the Egypt Exploration Society, and to Professor J. W. B. Barns for allowing me to see a still unpublished Antinoopolis papyrus; and further to Professor Barns and Mr. P. J. Parsons for their help in dating these papyri and in some cases in reading them. They have, as one would hope, furnished several good new readings. I have further altered the appearance of the text as against Rzach's edition (which is still, I suppose, the edition most generally consulted) by removing from it about forty conjectures which have served out their time; by introducing a rather smaller number of new ones, and a few neglected old ones; and more subtly by a fair amount of repunctuation.

Below the text I print references to verbatim quotations by other authors, lexicographers, etc. Here I am largely dependent upon Rzach's *editio maior* of 1902. Professor J.-M. Jacques has put me in his debt by supplying information and answering queries about the text of the quotations in the *Etymologicum genuinum*. The critical apparatus itself is necessarily selective. It aims to include (*a*) anything from any source that might be or point towards the true reading, (*b*) the principal corruptions in the principal sources. With regard to the movable nu, my practice

Mr. M. W. Frederiksen, and Mrs. A. Morpurgo Davies. The Clarendon Press deserves praise for the care it has lavished on the production of the book. Not least, I must thank Stephanie, who has cheerfully shared the burden of reading proofs and verifying references, besides affording all the support that ordinary wives give.

The *Theogony* has been called a young man's poem; and this is a young man's edition. If I may say what I hope to come of it, it is that if anyone thinks (as I used to) that the *Theogony* is a less interesting poem than the *Works and Days*, the perusal of this book may incline him to change his mind, as the making of it has changed mine.

M. L. W.

University College
Oxford
August 1965

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ABBREVIATIONS, ETC.

It is hoped that the abbreviations used for ancient authors, periodicals, etc., either correspond to those employed in the ninth edition of Liddell and Scott, *Greek Lexicon*, and in Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, or are self-explanatory. Note also the following:

A.N.E.T.	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, ed. J. B. Pritchard, 2nd edition, Princeton, 1955.
Apld.	Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca.*
Beazley, *ABV*	J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters*, Oxford, 1956.
Beazley, *ARV*	J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, 2nd edition, Oxford, 1963.
Boisacq	E. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la langue grecque*, 2nd edition, Heidelberg–Paris, 1923.
Chantraine	P. Chantraine, *Grammaire Homérique*, Paris, 1942–53.
Daremberg–Saglio	Daremberg–Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines*, Paris, 1877–1912.
Debrunner	A. Debrunner, *Griechische Wortbildungslehre*, Heidelberg, 1917.
Denniston	J. D. Denniston, *Greek Particles*, 2nd edition, Oxford, 1954.
Farnell	L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, Oxford, 1896–1909.
Frisk	H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1954– .
GDK	E. Heitsch, *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Bd. I, 2. Aufl., Göttingen, 1963; Bd. II, Göttingen, 1964.
GVI	W. Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften*, Bd. I: *Grab-Epigramme*, Berlin, 1955.
h.	Homeric Hymns (*h. Dem.*, *h.* xxv, etc.).
Kühner–Blass	R. Kühner, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griech. Sprache*, 1. Teil besorgt von F. Blass, Hannover, 1890–2.

Kühner–Gerth	The same, 2. Teil besorgt von B. Gerth, Hannover, 1898–1904.
LSJ	Liddell–Scott–Jones, *A Greek–English Lexicon*, Oxford, 1925–40.
Monro	D. B. Monro, *A Grammar of the Homeric Dialect*, 2nd edition, Oxford, 1891.
N. Jb.	*Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Paedagogik* (later: *für das klassische Altertum*), Leipzig, 1826–1924.
Passow–Crönert	*Passow's Wörterbuch der griech. Sprache*, bearb. von W. Crönert, Göttingen, 1912.
Preller–Robert	L. Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*, 4. Aufl. bearb. von C. Robert, Berlin, 1894–1921.
R.E.	Pauly–Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart, 1894– .
Roscher	*Ausführliches Lexikon der griech. u. röm. Mythologie*, hrsg. von W. H. Roscher, Leipzig–Berlin, 1884–1937.
Schulze	W. Schulze, *Quaestiones Epicae*, Gütersloh, 1892.
Schwyzer	E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, Munich, 1939–50.
Stephanus–Dindorf	H. Stephanus, *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, revised by K. B. Hase, W. and L. Dindorf, Paris, 1831–65.
Wackernagel	J. Wackernagel, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Homer*, Göttingen, 1916.

For other works referred to by the author's name alone, see below, pp. 103 ff. Note that references to Buttmann's *Lexilogus* and Rohde's *Psyche* are to the English editions.

Fragments of ancient poets are cited from the following editions, except where otherwise stated: 'Hesiod', Merkelbach–West (Oxford, forthcoming); Epic Cycle, Allen (*Homeri Opera*, v. 110–44); Aristeas, Bolton (*Aristeas of Proconnesus*, pp. 207–14); 'Musaeus' and Epimenides, Diels–Kranz; Antimachus, Wyss; other early epic, Kinkel; Xenophanes, Diels–Kranz; other elegiac and iambic poets, Diehl; Sappho and Alcaeus, Lobel–Page (*Poet. Lesb. Fragmenta*); Pindar, Snell (1964); Bacchylides, Snell (1961); other lyric poets, Page (*Poetae Melici Graeci*); Aeschylus, Nauck and Mette; Sophocles, Pearson; Euripides, Nauck; Epicharmus, Kaibel; Menander, Körte; other comedians, Kock (–Edmonds); Callimachus, Pfeiffer;

bucolic poets, Gow; Nicander, Schneider; other Hellenistic poets, Powell (*Collectanea Alexandrina*); Orphica, Kern; Mesomedes, Dionysius Bassaricus, and Pisander of Laranda, Heitsch (*GDK*).

The *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi* (abbreviated *Cert.*) is cited by the lineation in Allen, *Homeri Opera*, v; Proclus' *Chrestomathy* by the lineation of A. Severyns, *Recherches sur la Chrestomathie de Proclos*, iv (1963).

PROLEGOMENA

I. THEOGONIC POETRY

'Besides Homer, there is Hesiod'
ZIMMERN

It is now familiar knowledge that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, while exceptional in quality, represent a very common and widespread genre, that of Heroic Poetry; and so much attention and interest has been directed of late upon the oral heroic poetry which still exists in eastern Europe and elsewhere, that one might well receive the impression that oral poetry is exclusively or almost exclusively devoted to heroic narrative.

Even a cursory inspection of the Chadwicks' great work, *The Growth of Literature* (1932–40), will show that this is far from being the case. The *Theogony*, the *Works and Days*, and the *Catalogue of Women*—to name the three poems which the consensus of ancient opinion ascribed to Hesiod—represent types, for each of which ample parallels can be found in the native literatures of other peoples. This fact at once suggests that these types are more likely to be traditional than the deliberate or accidental creations of a known historical personage or period. It is with the *Theogony* in particular that we are concerned. The present section will be a rapid review of the theogonic literature of the world, and its purpose is to make it probable that Hesiod's *Theogony*, no less than the *Iliad*, is a representative of an ancient and widespread type.

First, we must attempt a definition of theogonic literature. I use 'theogonic' not in a strictly etymological sense, but to describe that which treats of the same subjects as Hesiod's *Theogony*, to wit: the origin of the world and the gods, and the events which led to the establishment of the present order. By 'literature' I mean either written prose, or poetry, whether written or oral. I thus exclude folk-tale and saga. Cosmogonic myths are found everywhere, and it is not these that we are considering, but the definite forms into which they have been cast.

1. Many Egyptian texts describe the creation of the world

and the gods; a selection of them may be found translated by J. A. Wilson in *A.N.E.T.*, pp. 3–10. However, neither in form nor in content are they at all reminiscent of Hesiod, and I shall be content to have mentioned them, while remarking that in a number of cases these texts have a practical, magical purpose, e.g. to secure immortality for a dead man, or to invoke divine favour upon the foundation of a new royal pyramid (cf. op. cit., p. 3).

2. From ancient Babylon we are fortunate in possessing a poem which may be called the official Theogony of the city. This is *Enûma Eliš*, the so-called Epic of Creation; an account of its contents will be found in the next section, pp. 22 ff. Like the Egyptian texts mentioned, it was not designed as a work of entertainment. It was ceremonially recited before Marduk on two occasions in the course of the New Year festival, as a regular part of the elaborate ritual.[1] This connexion between cosmology and ritual magic appears in several other Babylonian texts. I refer to:

(i) An incantation for the purification of the temple of E-Zida, perhaps the temple of Nabû at Borsippa. The introduction narrates the creation of the world by Marduk and the settlement of the gods in their dwellings (A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*, 2nd ed. 1951, pp. 61 ff.; Budge–Smith, *The Babylonian Legends of the Creation* [British Museum pamphlet], pp. 6–9).

(ii) A ritual programme for the restoration of a temple, prescribing *inter alia* a recitation about the creation by Anu of the world and of various gods (Heidel, op. cit., pp. 65 f.).

(iii) An incantation designed to assist childbirth, and relating how man was first created from clay mixed with blood from a slain god (ib., pp. 66 f.; *A.N.E.T.*, pp. 99 f.).

(iv) An incantation to be recited by a dentist as he extracts an aching tooth. Against a cosmogonical background, it tells how the worm came to be allotted human teeth for its food. It ends with a curse upon the worm, interspersed with instructions to the dentist (Heidel, op. cit., pp. 72 f.; *A.N.E.T.*, pp. 100 f.).

Finally, there are other cosmological fragments for which no ritual purpose can be demonstrated: Heidel, op. cit., pp. 64, 68 ff., 73 f.; Lambert–Walcot, *Kadmos* 4, 1965, pp. 65 f.

[1] See F. M. Cornford, *The Unwritten Philosophy*, pp. 95–116.

3. For Hebrew literature, I need only refer to the opening chapters of Genesis, and remark that these lead directly on to the human genealogies, which, like the Hesiodic catalogues, account for the origins of peoples as well as of families. A myth of the union of gods and mortal women, producing heroes or giants, seems to lie behind Gen. vi. 1–4.[1]

4. Herodotus (1. 132) gives us an account of a Persian sacrifice. After the victim was killed, it was cut up and roasted, and the meat was then laid out on a floor of soft grass or clover. 'When it has been laid out, a *magos* who is in attendance chants a theogony, as they say the chant is; without a *magos* they cannot sacrifice.' By *θεογονίη*, Herodotus cannot mean anything very different from what we call a theogony.[2] He uses the word in one other place, where he says of Hesiod and Homer *οὗτοι δέ εἰσιν οἱ ποιήσαντες θεογονίην Ἕλλησι καὶ τοῖσι θεοῖσι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας δόντες καὶ τιμάς τε καὶ τέχνας διελόντες καὶ εἴδεα αὐτῶν σημήναντες* (2. 53. 2). In the Mazdaic literature we have, the nearest thing to a theogony is the *Bundahišn*, or 'Primeval Creation'.[3] This work is concerned with cosmogony and cosmology; appended at the end are genealogies of heroes and priests. Good creatures are created by Ohrmazd, evil ones are counter-created by Ahriman. Ohrmazd's creations include earth and sky; plants, animals, and man; constellations and the luminaries of heaven, on which Ahriman with his evil demons makes war. The account of this conflict is followed by a description of the world, which includes catalogues of mountains and rivers, and much else.

Besides the *Bundahišn*, I may mention the cosmogonical fragment which has found a place in the first two chapters of the *Vidēvdāt*.[4]

5. From Persia it is a short step to India. Indian literature is vast, and we must be brief. Since we are considering theogony as a genre, mention must first be made of the *Purāṇas*: eighteen enormously long poems in dialogue form, which according to traditional theory, and to some extent in practice, describe the origin of the universe; its reconstitution at the end of each

[1] I. Trencsényi-Waldapfel, *Altertum* 5, 1959, p. 141.

[2] Cf. D.L. 1. 6; W. Burkert, *Rh. Mus.* 106, 1963, pp. 99 f.

[3] Translated by E. W. West in vol. v of *Sacred Books of the East*, ed. F. Max Müller, Oxford, 1879–1910.

[4] Translated by J. Darmesteter in vol. iv of the above-named series (there called *Vendîdâd*).

world age; genealogies of gods and sages; the periods within the world age when mankind is renewed from a progenitor called Manu; and the history of royal families within the subdivisions of these periods. The *Vishṇu Purāṇa* is the one which adheres most closely to the theoretical scheme, though it also contains a great deal of mythological and other matter, which makes it in bulk not much less than the *Iliad*. It has a very full cosmogony, its genealogies covering not only gods and men, but all kinds of animals and plants (I. v, xxi) and philosophical abstractions (I. vii). It gives an account of the assignation of functions to different gods (I. xxii), and continues with a geographical description of the earth, the regions below and above it, and the heavenly bodies (II. ii–xii). The royal dynasties, past and future, together with legends attaching to them, come later (IV).[1]

A few of the Vedic hymns are also relevant. In some cases the cosmogonic element is subordinate to the hymnic; in *Ṛgveda*, ii. 12, for example, the establishment of earth and heaven, and the smiting of the serpent, are among Indra's great deeds, his attributes; and the mention of them does not make the hymn theogonic, any more than do corresponding allusions in the Hebrew Psalms. But one or two are pure cosmogony. In x. 129 we find a brief philosophical Genesis, noteworthy for the part played in the beginning by Desire; but the author is inhibited by his realization of the impossibility of knowledge. In x. 90 we have an account of the creation of the world from the body of a huge man, the Purusha, whom the gods sacrificed. The best example of a theogony, however, is x. 72, where the birth of the world and the gods is told in the form of a short genealogy. Of similar character, though extraordinarily laconic, is x. 190.[2]

Lastly, theogonic passages in the *Mahābhārata* must be mentioned. One of them stands at the outset of this interminable epic (I. i. 29–52), telling how from the primeval Egg Brahmā and Prajāpati arose, and a great many others, and earth and sky, years, months and days, etc. Another is to be found in I. lxv–lxvii. Janamejaya desires to hear of the births of the Devas, Dānavas,

[1] For a full synopsis, and a summary of the contents of the other seventeen *Purāṇas*, see H. H. Wilson's introduction to his translation of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, 2nd ed., London, 1864, pp. xxvii–xci and cxix–cxl.

[2] These two hymns are translated and discussed by H. W. Wallis, *The Cosmology of the Rigveda*, 1887, pp. 41 ff. and 95. *Ṛgv.* x. 90 and 129 are included in E. J. Thomas's selection, *Vedic Hymns*, 1923, pp. 120 ff. and 127 f.

Gandharvas, Apsarases, Mānavas, Yakshas, and Rakshasas from the beginning. Vaiśampāyana obliges him with extensive genealogies of the celestial ones and of all creatures, beginning from Brahmā, and eventually passing into lines and histories of kings.

6. Of the Druids of Gaul, Caesar reports:

. . . rebus diuinis intersunt, sacrificia publica ac priuata procurant, religiones interpretantur: ad eos magnus adulescentium numerus disciplinae causa concurrit, magnoque hi sunt apud eos honore. . . . magnum ibi numerum uersuum ediscere dicuntur, itaque annos nonnulli xx in disciplina permanent. . . . in primis hoc uolunt persuadere, non interire animas, sed ab aliis post mortem transire ad alios, atque hoc maxime ad uirtutem excitari putant, metu mortis neglecto. multa praeterea de sideribus atque eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum natura, de deorum immortalium ui ac potestate disputant et iuuentuti tradunt. (*BG* 6. 13–14.)

Similar information is given by Strabo 197, Diodorus 5. 31, and Ammianus 15. 9. 8. One is given the impression that the druidical poetry was of an exalted philosophical character. Yet this goes ill with divination and human sacrifice, which was practised by the Druids late enough to be vividly remembered by the Romans.[1] Now Strabo's source—and perhaps not only Strabo's—was Posidonius, a notorious believer in rule by sages in the Golden Age (Sen. *Ep.* 90. 5). One suspects that in the witch-doctors who in peacetime were virtually leaders of the Gallic nation, Posidonius found the philosopher-king of his own historical theory; and that following his lead, the Greeks and Romans were misled into describing the oral poetic didache of the Druids in terms of Greek philosophy. If we make allowance for this, what are we to think of poems *de sideribus*, *de rerum natura*, *de deorum immortalium ui ac potestate*? Should we not compare the didactic poetry represented by the *Astrologiai* of 'Hesiod' and Cleostratus, and the poems of Hesiod and others on the gods and the division of their functions? When Strabo says ἀφθάρτους δὲ λέγουσι καὶ οὗτοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὸν κόσμον, ἐπικρατήσειν δέ ποτε καὶ πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ, one cannot but be reminded of the Stoic doctrine of ἐκπύρωσις and κατακλυσμός: but in the mouths of the Druids, did it not perhaps have more affinity with the Ragnarøk of the Icelandic Sibyl?

[1] See especially sch. Bern. Lucan. 1. 445 (p. 32 Usener).

7. Of the poetry of the ancient Germans we know little more than Tacitus tells us. They had genealogical poetry which combined gods and eponymous heroes:

celebrant carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud illos memoriae et annalium genus est, Tuistonem deum terra editum et filium Mannum originem gentis conditoresque. Manno tris filios adsignant, e quorum nominibus proximi Oceano Ingaeuones, medii Herminones, ceteri Istaeuones uocentur. quidam, ut in licentia uetustatis, pluris deo ortos plurisque gentis adpellationes, Marsos Gambriuios Suebos Vandilios adfirmant, eaque uera et antiqua nomina. (*Germ.* 2)

One is struck by the parallel with the descendants of Deucalion and of Noah; compare also the Scythian traditions in Hdt. 4. 5.

8. Britain became Christian too early for any overtly pagan theogony to be recorded. But the Christian Genesis was sung in verse, as in the famous instance of Cædmon (Bede, *Hist. Eccles. Gent. Angl.* 4. 22). This may have been a continuation of an originally pagan type of poetry. Certain references in *Beowulf* may be interpreted in this way (I quote from Clark Hall's translation, revised by Wrenn):

Then the mighty spirit who dwelt in darkness bore grievously a time of hardship, in that he heard each day loud revelry in hall;—there was the sound of the harp, the clear song of the minstrel. He who could recount the first making of men from distant ages, spoke. He said that the Almighty made the earth, a fair and bright plain, which water encompasses, and, triumphing in power, appointed the radiance of the sun and moon as light for the land-dwellers, and decked the earth-regions with branches and leaves. He fashioned life for all the kinds that live and move. (86–98; cf. also 107–14, 1687–94.)

In the ancient English genealogies, all the royal lines are made to descend from Woden, and Woden himself is often given an ancestry of five or more generations. Thus both divine genealogies and cosmogony seem to have existed in the earliest times.

9. Norse literature possesses several works with theogonic features. Four poems in the so-called *Elder Edda* are of particular relevance: *Grímnismál*, *Vafþrúðnismál*, *Hyndluljóð* and *Vǫluspá*. In *Grímnismál*, 'the words of Grimnir', Óðin sits disguised in the hall of king Geirrøð, and describes in order the twelve homes of the gods. This leads to a catalogue of the world's rivers, including

some British ones, followed by a list of the gods' horses. Then he describes the World Tree, Yggdrasil's Ash, and the habitations that lie beneath its three roots: Hel, the home of the dead; the home of the Frost Giants; and the home of mankind. Next he speaks of the sun, and the wolf that pursues her, and how the world was formed from the body of the giant Ymir. At last he reveals that he is Óðin, and lists just over fifty of the names by which he is known—a remarkable parallel to the Babylonian *Enûma Eliš*, which culminates in the recital of the fifty names of Marduk.

Vafþrúðnismál, 'the words of the mighty weaver', again shows us Óðin in disguise. The weaver is a learned giant whose knowledge the god sets out to prove. But first he is tested himself: the weaver asks him the names of the steeds of Day and of Night, the river which separates the gods from the giants, and the field on which Surt and the gods will one day meet in battle. Óðin answers each question correctly. Now it is the giant's turn to answer: where did earth and sky come from? The sun and moon, day and night, summer and winter? He answers each time by naming their fathers. Who was the first born of the gods or giants? It was Ymir. Whence came he? How did he beget children without the aid of a giantess? The questions continue, and the weaver answers them all, until finally he is asked what Óðin whispered to Baldr when the latter was laid on the funeral pyre. He does not know, and realizes at last the identity of his questioner.

Hyndluljóð, 'the Lay of Hyndla', is mainly concerned with mortal genealogies. These are followed by seventeen stanzas dealing with the gods and other non-human orders. Snorri quotes from this section under the name of the *Shorter Vǫluspá*, and it is often regarded as an independent poem.

The most remarkable poem in the collection is *Vǫluspá*, 'the Vǫlva's Prophecy'. The vǫlva, or witch, speaks of past, present, and future; her voice, like that of Plutarch's Sibyl, spans a thousand years, and makes the blood run cold. When Ymir lived, there was neither sand nor sea, neither earth nor heaven; there was Yawning Gap. Sun, moon, and stars knew not their stations, until the gods took counsel, and gave names to the times of the day and the seasons of the year. Three giantesses came forth, the Norns or Fates. The Dwarfs were born from Ymir's blood, and their names are listed for us at length. After them, mankind

is created. The past wars of the gods receive brief mention, and now the vǫlva speaks of herself: how she sat alone enchanting, when Óðin came, and gave her magic rings and trinkets, and the wisdom of wands, and she saw far and wide into all the worlds. She saw the Valkyries riding; Baldr unaware that he must die; she saw into Hel and the land of the giants, and she vouchsafes us an account of them that Virgil's greatest pupil hardly surpasses. Portents of doom. A dark red cock crows in Hel; Garm the hound howls; brothers will slay one another; sword-time, axe-time; wind-time, wolf-time, the appalling wolf Fenrir will break loose; the World Tree itself is creaking, the world is at war, the world is at an end. Ragnarøk. The sun is darkened, Earth sinks in the sea to the howling of Garm. But the vision ends with a new green earth rising from the waters, and a new Valhalla, roofed with gold and fairer than the sun.

Finally we must mention Snorri Sturluson's *Gylfaginning*, 'Gylfi's Vision', included in the *Prose Edda*. It is scholarly mythography, presented in artistic form. Gylfi, a Swedish king, goes to Ásgarð—in disguise—and asks questions about the world and the gods; the origin of the world and of mankind; about Yggdrasil's ash; the names and natures of the gods, and their exploits; about Ragnarøk. The chief sources of the work are the poems already described, which are explicitly cited at frequent intervals. But the whole is far more coherent and orderly than the poems, the material is fuller, the style less abrupt and riddling, so that it forms a valuable supplement to them.

10. The Finnish national epic *Kalevala* is, as is well known, an artificial compilation by Elias Lönnrot. Its contents, however, are substantially traditional, and evoke a time barely affected by Christianity. The first canto of the poem is cosmological. It tells how the Virgin of the Air came down into the sea, where she was fertilized by the wind and water, and swam to and fro, pregnant, for 700 years. A bird came and built its nest on her knee. The eggs it laid fell out into the sea and broke; but the fragments became the earth, sky, sun, moon and clouds. The maiden then created the shores and headlands, and the depths and shallows of the sea. At last Väinämöinen, the great minstrel and magician of ancient days, is born from her, and after being tossed about by the waves for a long time, he comes out onto the shore.

As it stands, the cosmogony serves as the story of the birth of Väinämöinen, who is to be the principal hero of the *Kalevala*. But in view of what is known about the genesis of the poem,[1] it is highly likely that it was formerly sung independently, like the Estonian songs which we shall shortly consider. Even so is the giant Vipunen constrained to sing for Väinämöinen's information

Magic songs of the Creation,
From the very earliest ages,
Songs that all the children sing not,
Even heroes understand not,
In these dreary days of evil,
In the days that now are passing.
Words of origin he chanted,
All his spells he sang in order,
At the will of the Creator,
At behest of the Almighty,
How himself the air he fashioned,
And from air the water parted,
And the earth was formed from water,
And from earth all herbage sprouted.
Then he sang the moon's creation,
Likewise how the sun was fashioned,
How the air was raised on pillars,
How the stars were placed in heaven.

(17. 535–52, transl. W. F. Kirby.)

It is noteworthy that the importance of these songs lies in the power of magic they give to him who knows them. As we have seen in the case of the Babylonian toothache-incantation, in order to combat a danger, it is essential to know its origin. Thus, to heal a wound which Väinämöinen has accidentally inflicted upon himself with an axe, an old man has to be told how iron was first created (9. 21 ff.): this Väinämöinen tells him at length (9. 27–266), beginning:

Well I know the birth of Iron,
And how steel was first created.
Air is the primeval mother,
Water is the eldest brother,
Iron is the youngest brother,
And the Fire in midst between them.

[1] Sometimes compared with the Pisistratean redaction of Homer. A better analogy would be the arrangement of the Epic Cycle, which according to Photius *ἄρχεται μὲν ἐκ τῆς Οὐρανοῦ καὶ Γῆς μυθολογουμένης μίξεως.*

The origin of the serpent forms an integral part of a spell which can make it burst in two (26. 683–768);[1] and similarly with the origin of Frost (30. 213 ff.). Compare also 45. 23 ff. (diseases), and 46. 349 ff. (the bear).

11. The poetry and mythology of what was formerly Estonia is closely related to the Finnish. In the last century a considerable amount of oral literature was collected, and out of it a national epic, the *Kalevipoeg*, was constructed by Fählmann and Kreutzwald, on the same lines as the *Kalevala*, though it does not contain a cosmogony. But cosmogony is represented by a number of short ballads. One of these, apparently only a fragment, tells of the creation of the universe, the heaven, the clouds, and the heavenly bodies.[2] In another, the sky with its clouds and the bright hues of sunrise and sunset is conceived as a mantle woven by Tara, the Old Father, the Old and Wise.[3] Elsewhere the sun and moon, or the islands of the sea, and other things too, are represented as coming from birds' eggs which fall in the sea and break.[4]

12. The earliest extant Japanese written book provides us with a perfect example of a theogony. It is the *Ko-ji-ki*, or 'Records of Ancient Matters', and it probably dates from A.D. 712.[5] Its author was called Yasumaro.

The narrative begins with the separation of heaven and earth, and a list of the first gods that were born—the Seven Divine Generations. The first island, Onogoro, is created, and then from the union of two deities a whole further series of islands is born. In the subsequent pages, extensive divine genealogies are interspersed with myths of the gods and short songs. Eventually we come down to the emperors and their genealogies and history down to the year 628.

We also possess another work of this type, the *Nihon-Gi*, or 'Chronicles of Japan', written in 720.[6] It covers the same ground

[1] Cf. Virg. *E.* 8. 71: *frigidus in pratis cantando rumpitur anguis*, etc.

[2] F. Kreutzwald and H. Neus, *Mythische und magische Lieder der Ehsten*, St. Petersburg, 1854, pp. 23 f.

[3] Ib., pp. 24 f.

[4] Neus, *Ehstnische Volkslieder*, Reval, 1850–2, pp. 3 f., 40 f.; cf. also ib., p. 407, and Kreutzwald–Neus, op. cit., pp. 29 ff. An English translation of one of these songs is in R. G. Latham, *The Nationalities of Europe*, i. 137 f.

[5] Translated by B. H. Chamberlain in *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, supplement to vol. 10, 1882. Second ed., Kobe, 1932.

[6] Translated by W. G. Aston, *Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society*, 1896, suppl. (reprinted London, 1956).

as the *Ko-ji-ki*, while being more deeply pervaded by Chinese philosophy and ethics, especially where it deals with the human emperors.[1]

13. The oral literature of Polynesia is no less relevant. Of the *areoi*, entertainers who form a distinct social class, a traveller wrote in 1837:

> La vie entière des membres de la société des Aréoïs se passait, en effet, dans les plaisirs et dans les fêtes. C'étaient des espèces de bardes, de troubadours ou plutôt de comédiens ambulans, allant de lieu en lieu donner des représentations, et exécuter des scènes et des danses. Leurs chants étaient une sorte de récitatifs, mais cadencés, généralement accompagnés de tambour et de musique. Ils y célébraient la création de l'univers, les merveilles de la nature, les grands événemens et les exploits des dieux inférieurs et des héros.'[2]

A fine example of such a chant is given by J. C. Andersen, *Myths and Legends of the Polynesians*, 1928, pp. 380 ff. In the beginning, it relates, there was no life, light, or sound; Tanaoa (Darkness) and Mutu-hei (Silence) ruled supreme over infinite night. Tanaoa gave birth to Atea (Light), who made war on him, drove him away and confined him in a cold, dark place beneath the feet of Atanua (Dawn). Atea gave birth to Ono, who destroyed Mutu-hei. Atea then married Atanua, and reigns as chief in his domains with his son.

Other specimens of Polynesian theogonic poetry are given by Andersen, op. cit., pp. 392 f., 393 (Hawaii), 396 f. (Society Islands; relating the generation of the sun, moon, and stars), 353 f. (Maori), and 364 (a semi-philosophical lament from New Zealand); J. F. Stimson, *Songs and Tales of the Sea Kings*, 1957, pp. 4–9 (described as a reconstruction from fragments recorded on remotely separated islands). In another chant from Hawaii, the islands are born from Wakea (= Atea) and Papa, and from Wakea no less than fifty-nine generations of gods and heroes lead down to Liloa, the first king who is regarded as fairly historical.[3]

At certain times the *areoi* seem to have executed ritual dramas on cosmological and other themes. 'Dans les grandes réunions,

[1] On these and other early Japanese chronicles see G. W. Robinson in *Historians of China and Japan*, ed. Beasley and Pulleyblank, London, 1961, pp. 213 ff.

[2] J. A. Moerenhout, *Voyages aux îles du Grand Océan*, ii. 130.

[3] D. Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities*, 2nd ed. 1951, pp. 238, 243.

leurs exercices commençaient toujours par des sujets religieux. La description des deux principes, Taaroa et la matière avec laquelle il s'unit, la création de l'univers, des dieux, des élémens, des esprits, des plantes et des autres productions de la terre; puis la vie des demi-dieux ou des héros, leurs voyages, leurs combats, etc.'[1] We have the text of a dramatic song of this type, composed *c.* 1790 for the accession of Potiki to the temporal sovereignty after years of anarchy and strife.[2]

14. Let us now return to Greece. Although Hesiod's *Theogony* is the only surviving representative of its type there, it was by no means unique. In the archaic period the genre was as actively cultivated as heroic narrative. Theogonies were attributed to Orpheus, Musaeus, Aristeas, Epimenides; prose theogonies to Abaris, Pherecydes, 'Dromocrites' (Democritus fr. fals. 301); cosmogonies to Linus and Thamyris; a *Cosmopoiia* to one Palaephatus. Acusilaus began his *Genealogiai* with a theogony, the Epic Cycle began with one, and the *Titanomachy* or *Gigantomachy* ascribed to Eumelus or Arctinus must also be reckoned a member of the group.

A discussion of the contents and authenticity of these works individually cannot be undertaken here. The evidence is to be found in Ziegler's comprehensive article 'Theogonien' (*Roscher*, v. 1469–1554).[3] What I will do is offer a summary history of the genre from the time when it is first attested.

Worthless as many of the ascriptions undoubtedly are, it is clear enough that from the seventh and sixth centuries onward a number of verse theogonies were in circulation. The fragments and testimonia show that they were theogonic in content as well as in name; and they afford no reason for supposing that they are dependent upon Hesiod for their substance. While none of them is likely to be as old as Hesiod, they should be regarded as separate representatives of a traditional poetic genre.

It is sometimes supposed that poetry of this type was characteristic of mainland Greece, and particularly Boeotia, while the gay and godless Ionians preferred Homeric epic. The only ground for this facile schematism is that the most famous

[1] Moerenhout, op. cit. ii. 134.

[2] Andersen, op. cit., pp. 123 ff. and 360 f.

[3] Linus, however, receives fuller treatment from Schoemann, *De poesi theogonica Graecorum*, 1849, in the second volume of his *Opuscula Academica*, pp. 4 ff.

exponent of the one type happened to live in Boeotia, and the most famous exponent of the other may have been a Chian. Epimenides was a Cretan, and the theogony attributed to him—the most credible of the ascriptions—was clearly of Cretan origin, whoever composed it. The epics of the Cycle were attributed to poets who included a Corinthian, a Trozenian, a Cyrenean, and a Cypriot. The only conclusion justified by our meagre evidence is that both types were known and practised in all parts of Greece. The fact that the epic dialect is predominantly Ionic is no doubt significant; it has yet to be convincingly explained; but at all events it does not favour a different geographical distribution for the two groups.

With the rise of prose literature in the sixth century, the histories of gods and men came to be written down in a more systematic form, notably by Pherecydes of Syros and Acusilaus of Argos. With Acusilaus mythography begins: he was a compiler rather than a creator, and he not only made extensive use of Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Catalogue*, he explicitly named his source in at least one place (sch. Hes. *Th.* 379). Later mythographers such as Apollodorus and Hyginus followed this model.

We know of two miniature theogonies in other forms than prose or hexameter verse. A papyrus commentary on Alcman (fr. 5 Page) provides evidence that theogony, as much as any other subject, could be treated in lyric metres. From the lemmata and commentary it is possible in part to reconstruct a Laconian cosmogony unlike any other known.[1] In Aristophanes' *Birds*, 685–702, the birds produce an anapaestic theogony to prove their own antiquity. In content it is a hybrid; the influences of Hesiod, Empedocles, and the Orphics may perhaps be recognized.[2]

The *Sacred History* of Euhemerus, of which Lactantius preserves substantial extracts from Ennius' translation, may be called the last true Greek theogony, though it is a theogony without gods. After Euhemerus there was no further interest in theogony except in so far as it was cosmogony; and cosmogony was now either physiology or theology or a combination of the two. The main surviving examples are in the fifth book of Lucretius and

[1] See H. Fränkel, *Dichtung und Philosophie*, 2nd ed. 1962, pp. 184, 290–1; *C.Q.* 1963, pp. 154–6, and 1966; W. Burkert, *Gnomon*, 1963, pp. 827–8.

[2] For remains of a more positively comic theogony, see Cratinus frr. 240–1 (from his *Χείρωνες*).

the first book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; besides these there were the Orphic *Rhapsodies*, of which numerous fragments are preserved, and we have parts of two cosmogonies on papyri of the Roman era (*GDK* 24 and 46). But for the most part even cosmogony is mentioned only as a subject of song for an Orpheus (A.R. 1. 496 ff., [Orph.] *A.* 421 ff., cf. Ov. *M.* 10. 143 ff.) or a Silenus (Virg. *E.* 6. 31 ff., cf. Nonn. *D.* 19. 205 ff.; at 24. 230 ff. the Sileni form the audience). The poets cared not from where they drew for the contents of these swiftly paraphrased songs: what Apollonius puts in Orpheus' mouth is in fact a mixture of Pherecydes and Empedocles, while Virgil even more outrageously mixes Hesiod with Lucretius.

We have seen that accounts of the origin of the world and the birth of the gods in their generations, so far from being peculiar to Greek literature, are to be found over a very wide area, from Iceland to the Pacific. That any of those I have discussed were inspired directly or indirectly by acquaintance with Classical literature seems to me improbable in the highest degree. It is scarcely more plausible that Hesiod, a man whom only the prospect of renown and a tripod could induce to set foot on a ferry-boat, composed his *Theogony* in imitation of some foreign source known to him. Its contents are unmistakably Greek, or at least hellenized, and in the next section I shall argue that they go back to the Mycenean Age. The most reasonable view is that theogony was a traditional genre with a long history before Hesiod. We can no longer give credence to assertions that Hesiod was the first man to systematize Greek beliefs about the gods. If there is anything at all that he was the first Greek to do, it is, as I shall suggest later (pp. 47 f.), that he committed a theogony to writing.

In the comparative material reviewed above, it is to be observed that in a number of cases theogonic compositions are closely associated with ritual; they are recited to reinforce a magic spell, a sacrifice, or some other ceremonial, by rehearsing facts about origins (Egypt, Babylon, Persia, India?, Finland, Polynesia). In the case of the Druids, while this association is not directly attested, the poems were handed down by those priests without whom no sacrifice could take place (Diod. 5. 31; cf. Hdt. 1. 132 on the magi, quoted above, p. 3). It seems likely that, in these cases, the association is original and not a secondary development. The possibility thus arises that the origin of

theogonic traditions in general is to be sought in this direction, and that where they appear to have no practical application, an original ritual act has become obsolete, leaving the incantation in existence as a source of entertainment or valuable legendary history. This is a hypothesis that has been held, and it is not inherently implausible, though it cannot be proved. However, it makes it necessary to ask whether there is any evidence of such an association between theogony and ritual in Greece.

In Hesiod's *Theogony*, the earliest and the only complete example we possess, there is no trace of it. The tenor of the whole proem (1–115) suggests that its purpose was entertainment or instruction; cf. especially 98–103. The same impression is given by *h. Herm.* 425 ff., where Hermes sings a theogony to the lyre, to the delight of Apollo.

On the other hand, Pherecydes' account of the battle of the gods in his *Five-Nook Theogony* does seem to have a background in Greek ritual.[1] There is no evidence that the ritual in question, which survived only in Sparta, was accompanied by the recitation of Pherecydes' or any other theogony; in the Roman period it certainly was not, and our knowledge does not extend to earlier times. But the connexion is there. A myth like that retailed by Pherecydes and a ritual like that surviving at Sparta must originally have belonged together.

Furthermore, theogony is definitely associated in archaic Greece with seers and wonder-workers. Orpheus, Musaeus, Aristeas, Abaris, Epimenides, all had theogonies ascribed to them, whether rightly or wrongly. The Orphics, whose main interest was in living purely in this life and attaining immortality after it, felt it necessary to have their own theogonic literature. Pherecydes seems to have been a priest or prophet of some kind: he is said to have foretold an earthquake, and the sinking of a ship, and his theogony contained a warning that pollution by bloodshed in this life would be punished in the next. Heraclitus gave an account of the physical constitution and formation of the world and of God, but he was essentially not a scientific inquirer into the nature of things, but a religious prophet instructing men how to conduct themselves in life and what to expect in death; he thought of his pronouncements as similar to those of Apollo or the Sibyl. Empedocles was another priest

[1] See *C.Q.* 1963, p. 162.

promising immortality to the pure, and at the same time expounding cosmogony and cosmology in verse. The two things were evidently often combined, as they were by the Gallic Druids; and hence it came about that any purveyor of cosmology was liable to be taken for a seer on superficial acquaintance. The story arose that Hesiod had learned the mantic art from the Acarnanians (Paus. 9. 31. 5), and an anonymous poem about famous seers, the *Melampodia*, perhaps actually composed by a seer,[1] attached itself to his name; while even physicists like Thales, Anaximander, and Anaxagoras were credited with feats of supernatural prediction.

It is likely that the situation in prehistoric times was similar, and that μάντεις played a part in the transmission of theogonic poetry. They may have recited it at certain sacrifices, like their Persian counterparts; for even in the fourth century the two things were apparently sometimes associated.[2] This would imply that the theogony served a practical purpose, that it was originally not just a poem, but an incantation.[3] But it was as instructive and entertaining as any heroic lay, and ordinary singers must have included it in their repertoire from the earliest times. Hesiod is to be classed with them: his *Theogony* is no incantation, it is simply a poem.

II. HESIOD'S *THEOGONY*: ANALYSIS

A. SYNOPSIS

1–103	Proem	Hymn to the Muses
104–15		Invocation
	(*Genealogies*)	(*Myths and Digressions*)
116–22	The first created beings: Chaos, Gaia, Eros.	

[1] Ingrid Löffler, *Die Melampodie*, 1963, p. 59.

[2] Cf. Pl. *Rep.* 378A, *Lg.* 887D.

[3] There is further evidence for this in the magical papyri; see Gow on Theocr. 2. 44 ff., Schwabl, *R.E.*, suppl. ix. 1559 ff. The papyri are of course late, and one must allow for foreign elements introduced in the Hellenistic age. But magic was practised in Greece throughout the classical period (cf. Nilsson, *Greek Folk Religion*, pp. 111 ff.), and the applied cosmogony of the papyri may be Greek in origin.

	(*Genealogies*)	(*Myths and Digressions*)
	Generation I:	
123–5	Ch(ildren) of Chaos, with their children.	
126–53	Ch. of Gaia (i) *per se*, (ii) by Uranos.	
154–210		*Succession Myth part 1*: castration of Uranos, birth of Aphrodite.
	Generation II:	
211–32	Ch. of Nyx, including Eris with her ch.	
233–9	Ch. of Pontos.	
	Generation III:	
	Grandchildren of Pontos.	
240–64	Ch. of Nereus.	
265–9	Ch. of Thaumas.	
270–336	Ch. of Phorkys and Keto—Graiai, Gorgons . . .	Medusa beheaded by Perseus; birth of Chrysaor and Pegasus, and what befell them; birth of Geryoneus and what befell him.
	. . . Echidna, with her progeny: Orthos, Hydra—Chimaera—Phix, Nemean Lion—. . . apple-guarding serpent.	Heracles killed it—Bellerophon killed it—Heracles killed it.
	Grandchildren of Uranos.	
337–70	Ch. of Tethys and Oceanus.	
371–4	Ch. of Theia and Hyperion.	
375–88	Ch. of Kreios and Eurybia, with their ch.	
389–403		Styx and her children.
404–13	Ch. of Phoibe and Koios, with their grandchild Hecate.	
414–52		Commendation of Hecate.
453–8	Ch. of Kronos and Rhea.	
459–506		*Succession Myth part 2*: deceit of Kronos, birth of Zeus.
507–11	Ch. of Iapetos.	
512–616		What happened to them: the story of Prometheus; the origin of women; the misogynist's dilemma.

	(*Genealogies*)	(*Myths and Digressions*)
617–731		*Succession Myth part 3*: Titanomachy.
732–819		Description of Tartarus and its inhabitants.
820–68		*Succession Myth part 4*: Typhoeus . . .
869–80	Ch. of Typhoeus: evil winds.	
881–5		. . . and Zeus' accession . . .
	Generation IV:	
886–929	Zeus' marriages to goddesses. Metis—	
		. . . Zeus swallowed Metis . . .
	Themis, Eurynome, Demeter, Mnemosyne, Leto, Hera—	
		. . . and gave birth to Athene himself; Hera retaliated.
930–3	Ch. of Poseidon.	
933–7	Ch. of Ares and Aphrodite.	
938–62	Other marriages of gods (childless, or with nymphs or mortal women).	
963–8	New Proem	
969–1018	Unions of goddesses with mortal men.	—with brief digressions on Geryoneus, Phaethon, Medea.
1019–*Catal.* 1. 22?	New Proem	
(*Catalogue*: Unions of gods with mortal women—		—with frequent digressions.)

B. THE MYTHS

Since our discussion here concerns the structure of the *Theogony* as a whole, those myths which are told in one self-contained piece, such as the Prometheus myth, will be left for the Commentary. Here we confine ourselves to the 'Succession Myth' which forms the backbone of the poem. It relates how Uranos was overcome by Kronos, and how Kronos with his Titans was in his turn overcome by Zeus. It is not told as a self-contained piece, but in separate episodes, as each generation of gods arises.[1]

Uranos begets eighteen children, but prevents them from

[1] For this narrative method, compare the artistic distribution of the Ithacan scenes in the *Odyssey*; or that of the Samian history in the third book of Herodotus.

being born, apparently by continuing his intercourse with Gaia. In her discomfort, she calls upon her children to help. Kronos alone has the courage to do so. He waits in ambush, and when the time comes, castrates his father with an adamantine sickle (see on 175). This act, as Andrew Lang first realized,[1] represents that separation of heaven and earth which is a frequent motif in mythology all over the world. It enables Uranos' children to be born; and from now on, the kingdom is theirs (cf. 486). Uranos is all but forgotten. Various sub-divine beings are born from the blood that falls from his wound, while from his genitals, which Kronos throws in the sea, Aphrodite is formed. (132–210.)

Kronos has six children by Rhea. But he treats them no more affectionately than his father had treated his offspring. Afraid for his throne, he swallows them as they are born. But Rhea hides the youngest, Zeus, in Crete, giving Kronos a stone to swallow in his place. Zeus rapidly grows up, and by a trick of unspecified nature, makes Kronos disgorge the stone and his brothers and sisters; the stone is set up at Delphi for men to admire. (453–500.)

Kronos now rallies the other Titans to war against the new gods. This war drags on until, on the advice of Gaia, Zeus fetches the three Hundred-Handers up from the lower world. With their aid the Titans are at last overwhelmed and consigned to Tartarus. (617–720.)

Zeus has still one more threat to face: the earthborn monster Typhoeus. He quickly blasts him with thunderbolts and throws him into Tartarus. Typhoeus is the source of the ill winds which cause shipwreck at sea and devastation on land. (820–80.)

Zeus is now elected king of the gods. He apportions their functions, and undertakes a series of marriages to establish order and security in the new régime. His first wife, Metis, is destined to bear a son stronger than Zeus; but Zeus, instead of waiting to swallow the child, as Kronos had done, swallows Metis, thus halting the cycle of succession. (881–929.)

This Succession Myth has parallels in oriental mythology which are so striking that a connexion is incontestable. They occur principally in Hittite and Akkadian texts, and in Herennius Philo's translation of the *Phoenician History* of Sanchuniathon. Some account of these must now be given.

[1] *Custom and Myth*, 1884, pp. 45 ff.

(a) Hittite Texts

The texts with which we are concerned are in cuneiform, and come from the royal archives at Boghazkale (formerly Boghazköy), the ancient capital Hattusas. They were therefore written not later than the end of the thirteenth century B.C., when the palace was destroyed. The myths related in them are not Hittite in origin, but were taken over, if not actually translated, from Hurrian originals: this is shown by the facts that the scene of action covers Hurrian territory and that many of the gods involved bear Hurrian names, as well as by the existence of fragments of the actual Hurrian texts. The Hurrians were a people of south-east Asia Minor, extending across north Syria to northern Mesopotamia. Their civilization flourished in the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries, rivalling that of the Hittites. Then they were annexed by the Hittite king Suppiluliumas I (1375–35); but it was a case of *Graecia capta*, and the Hittites inherited Hurrian names, Hurrian cults, and Hurrian myths.

The text that concerns us most is a story of kingship in heaven; its title is lost.[1] Only a small portion is preserved, mostly at the beginning. Once, it recounts, Alalu was king in heaven. Then he was defeated in battle by Anu (the Babylonian sky-god), and fled down to the dark earth. Anu then reigned for nine years, at the end of which he became involved in battle with Kumarbi. He fled up to heaven (his element); but Kumarbi chased him, caught him by the feet, bit off his genitals, and swallowed them. Anu tells him not to be too exultant, for he has swallowed three fearful gods. Kumarbi at once spits out what he can. From what he spits out, the god Tasmisu and the river Tigris are born. But the third god, the Weather-god (chief deity of both Hurrians and Hittites), is still inside him. Kumarbi eats something, apparently with the idea of destroying the god inside him; but it seems to hurt his teeth, and he starts to moan. There is mention of a *kunkunuzzi*-stone in this fragmentary passage, and it is reasonable to guess that that is what Kumarbi has eaten.[2] At length

[1] Text and German translation in H. G. Güterbock, *Kumarbi*, Zürich–New York, 1946, supplemented by H. Otten, *Mythen vom Gotte Kumarbi*, Berlin, 1950. Text and Italian translation: P. Meriggi, *Athenaeum*, 1953, pp. 101–57. English translation: Güterbock, *A.J.A.* 1948, pp. 123–34; Götze in *A.N.E.T.*, pp. 121 f.

[2] Güterbock's restoration DUM]U (??) 'child', at ii. 42, would make it Kumarbi's child that he swallows. This has been widely adopted (Götze even prints 'child' without brackets), but cannot be right: it is clear that the Weather-god is already

the Weather-god comes forth from Kumarbi's body. After a lacuna the Weather-god is telling Seri, one of his sacred bulls, that certain gods are coming against him in battle. The outcome of the conflict is not preserved; but we may be sure that the Weather-god was victorious. He was, after all, the chief god, whereas Kumarbi (like Kronos) had practically no cult.

A sequel is recorded in a longer text entitled *The Song of Ullikummi*.[1] Kumarbi plans evil against the Weather-god. He goes and lies with a huge rock, which duly gives birth to a stone child, Ullikummi. The child rapidly grows to a prodigious size, and soon he reaches the sky, disrupting divine communications and constituting a serious threat to the gods. Thunderbolts and the charms of Ištar are equally ineffective against him. Finally the ancient copper 'cutter' (see on *Th.* 175), wherewith earth and heaven were once separated, is brought out, and the monster's feet are cut through. Then the gods make a further assault on him, and (we must assume) overthrow him.

The close similarity of this Hurrian Succession Myth to that in Hesiod was recognized as soon as the text was read.[2] There are four generations of rulers instead of three; but the first king, Alalu, is a nonentity. The second, Anu, is an Akkadianized form of the Sumerian An = Sky, and he therefore corresponds to Uranos in name as well as in rank. He had no cult among the Hittites. Like Uranos, he is castrated, and gods are born from his severed members. The third king, Kumarbi, like Kronos, castrates his father and swallows his son, and (probably) a stone. In a Hurrian text from Ras Shamra, Kumarbi is equated with El, and the Greeks identified the Phoenician El with Kronos; the 'identity' of Kronos and Kumarbi is thus indirectly confirmed. The fourth king is the Weather-god, who is the chief god, corresponding to the Greek Zeus. He survives Kumarbi's attempt to destroy him, and is victorious in a theomachy. Like Zeus again, he is threatened even after his victory by a prodigious monster, and defeats him.

There are other texts in which the Weather-god has different

inside Kumarbi. But even with no paedophagy, the parallel with Kronos is striking enough.

[1] Editions and translations as in note 1 on p. 20; also Güterbock, *The Song of Ullikummi*, New York, 1952 (text and English transl.; reprinted from *J. Cun. St.* 5, 1951, pp. 135–61 and 6, 1952, pp. 8–42).

[2] E. Forrer in *Mélanges Cumont*, 1936, pp. 687–713.

monsters to face. One of these agrees remarkably with Apollodorus' account of Zeus' battle with Typhon; see on *Th.* 853.

(b) Akkadian Texts

After the *Epic of Gilgameš*, the most celebrated poem which has come down to us from ancient Babylon is undoubtedly that known originally after its opening words as *Enûma Eliš*, 'When on high'.[1] Its subject is war among the gods, the emergence of Marduk as their king, his creation of the world, and his organization of it. Unlike the Hittite texts and Hesiod's *Theogony*, *Enûma Eliš* is not just one among many similar poems that might have chanced to survive in its stead. It was the official, canonical text regularly used in the Babylonian New Year festival.[2]

The mythological background of the narrative is Sumerian, as shown by the names of the gods involved. The language is the epic dialect of Akkadian, and the epic quality of the composition is manifest even in translation: like Greek epic, it arranges events, important or unimportant, into orderly sequences, recurring patterns; there is much verbal repetition in the reporting of speeches, etc.

The poem consisted of some 1,050 verses, of which some 910 are preserved. The fragments come from various sites and are of widely differing dates; the oldest were written *c.* 1000 B.C. The date of composition must have been somewhat earlier. Both linguistic and historical considerations have generally been thought to indicate the First Babylonian Dynasty (*c.* 1895–1595, according to the current chronology).[3]

In the beginning, before heaven or earth or any of the other gods existed, Apsû and Tiâmat mingled their waters in a single body. Apsû represents the sweet, male waters, Tiâmat the bitter, female waters of the sea. Within Apsû and Tiâmat, gods came into being: first Laḫmu and Laḫâmu, then their children Anšar and Kišar, then their son Anu (Sky), and his son Ea, the wise

[1] Among the most recent of many translations since the first fragments were read in 1875 may be mentioned: A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*, 2nd ed., Chicago, 1951; E. A. Speiser in *A.N.E.T.*, pp. 60 ff.; G. Steiner, *Der Sukzessionsmythos in Hesiods Theogonie und ihren orientalischen Parallelen*, Diss. Hamburg, 1958.

[2] Cf. above, p. 2. The source for this is a temple programme of the Seleucid period, *A.N.E.T.*, p. 332.

[3] But a case has now been made out for a much later date: L. Matouš, *Archiv Orientální*, 1961, pp. 30–34.

and strong. The noise and movement of these gods disturbs Apsû and Tiâmat. Apsû resolves to destroy them, but Tiâmat protests. The young gods learn of the danger, and fall silent. But Ea casts a magic sleep on Apsû, strips him of his regalia (and thereby of his strength), and slays him. A new régime. Ea begets Marduk, whose fearsome appearance seems to alarm some of the older gods. They incite Tiâmat to renew the war against the younger gods. She creates eleven species of monsters to serve as allies. Ea goes out to fight her, but is overcome with fear and returns. Anu goes out instead, with the same result. Finally Marduk agrees to go, on condition that he is made king of the gods. He arms himself with a bow, a club, a net, lightning, and the four winds; in addition he creates seven more terrible winds, which fill Tiâmat's belly when she opens her mouth to devour him. Unable to close her mouth again, she is torn open by an arrow from Marduk's bow, while her helpers are entangled in his net. He divides her monstrous carcass in two, and makes the halves into heaven and earth. Then he creates stations for the gods, sets up the constellations and the moon, and fashions man from the blood of one of the defeated gods. The poem ends with a catalogue of the fifty ceremonial names of Marduk.

The similarities between this story and the Hesiodic Succession Myth, while not so striking as those between the latter and the Hurrian myth, are nevertheless unmistakable, and include some features absent from the Hurrian. In both, we begin with a pair of primeval, elemental parents: Apsû and Tiâmat, Uranos and Gaia.[1] The parents beget children, who in each case are confined within their mother, and cause her distress; the father hates them, but the mother does not. The children fall silent with fear: in Hesiod, because of what Gaia suggests they should do, in the Babylonian poem because of what Apsû intends to do to them. Then one god takes courage: Ea, the wise god; Kronos, the cunning god. He overcomes the oppressive father by means of a trick: a magic sleep in the one case, a bedtime ambush in the other. He robs him of the symbols of his strength, and the oppression is over.

The stories here diverge, in that Ea does not become king of the gods. That distinction belongs to Anšar. Yet Ea is the father of the eventual king, Marduk. And before Marduk can succeed

[1] For Homer their place is actually taken by Oceanus and Tethys, *Il.* 14. 201.

to the throne, he must, like Zeus, encounter and defeat in battle a huge and fearsome opponent. In *Enûma Eliš* it is the primeval mother herself, Tiâmat: Zeus' antagonist is not Gaia, but Gaia's son.

Now in the Titanomachy (*Th.* 626–8), Gaia assists Zeus by telling him what he needs to do to gain the victory. At his very birth she had saved his life by receiving him from Rhea in Crete and bringing him up in safe concealment from his father (479 f.). And later she and Uranos will save him from overthrow, by advising him to swallow his wife Metis (890–4). Throughout, Gaia plays the part of a wise and benevolent grandmother: with this one exception, that after the defeat of the Titans, she unites with Tartarus, as if in deliberate malice, to produce Zeus' worst enemy, Typhoeus (820–2). In another version of the myth, we are expressly told that it was deliberate malice (sch. [B] *Il.* 2. 783). When we compare the role of Tiâmat in *Enûma Eliš*, the odd little inconsistency in Gaia's character appears in a new light.[1]

The two stories end with the establishment by the new king of the world order we know. In Hesiod this part is very sketchily treated—an inadequate fulfilment of the programme heralded in 112–13. In *Enûma Eliš* it is the climax of the poem, occupying the last three of the seven tablets.

(*c*) *The* Phoenician History *of Sanchuniathon*

Herennius Philo of Byblos (A.D. 64–*c.* 140) published a work in eight (Porph. *abst.* 2. 56) or nine (Eus. *PE* 1. 9. 23) books, consisting, or purporting to consist, of a Greek translation of the *Phoenician History* of one Sanchuniathon.[2] This person was said to have lived before the Trojan War, and to have used as his source the sacred writings of Taautos, whom the Egyptians call Thoth. These were to be found in temples, written in a script which not everyone understood: *ὁ δὲ συμβαλὼν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδύτων εὑρεθεῖσιν ἀποκρύφοις, Ἀμμουνέων γράμμασι συγκειμένοις, ἃ δὴ οὐκ ἦν πᾶσι γνώριμα, τὴν μάθησιν ἁπάντων αὐτὸς ἤσκησε.*

Philo's work is first mentioned by Athenaeus (126A), and is quoted about a century later by Porphyry. Our knowledge of

[1] Cf. F. Dornseiff, *Antike u. alter Orient*, p. 64.

[2] 'Sanchun has given'; cf. Jo-nathan, etc. See P. Nautin, *Rev. Bibl.* 56, 1949, p. 272.

it, however, is mainly due to Eusebius, who reproduces extensive excerpts from it in the *Praeparatio Evangelica*, especially 1. 9. 20–1. 10. 53. The fragments are assembled in *FGrHist* 790 F 1–7 (? +9–11).[1]

The world begins with a breath of mist and darkness. After many ages, this fertilizes itself, and becomes a σύγκρασις, called Pothos. Mōt—mud—came into being, and from it the seeds of all creation; living things without sense, living things with sense, called Zophasēmin, 'watchers of heaven'. And Mōt(?) took the form of an egg, and the sun and moon shone out, and the stars and 'great stars'. Then there is a separation of elements, in the manner of a pre-Socratic cosmology. So much was found in the cosmogony of Taautos.

There follows a long series of πρῶτοι εὑρεταί, through whose activities the development of civilization is explained. The list culminates in Taautos himself. Then comes Eliun, called Hypsistos. His son Epigeios or Autocthon, later called Uranos, marries his own sister Ge, and having succeeded his father, produces four sons: El (equated with Kronos by Philo, as by other Greeks before him), Baitylos (a word which according to Hesychius was applied to the stone that Kronos swallowed), Dagon (rendered Siton), and Atlas. He also has children by other women, which causes a quarrel and separation from Ge. But he still comes and rapes her whenever he likes. He tries to destroy her children, but she protects them, till Kronos, assisted by his scribe Hermes Trismegistos, and his allies the Elohim, drives him out, and becomes king of the land in his place. A pregnant concubine of Uranos' is taken and given to Dagon as wife; she gives birth to Dēmarūs.

Kronos' rule is tyrannical. He throws Atlas his brother into a deep cell, kills his son Sadidos, and beheads his daughter. From exile, Uranos sends his daughters Astarte, Rhea, and Dione to undo Kronos by means of a trick. Kronos marries them, and has numerous children by them. Uranos makes war on him, and later, assisted by Dēmarūs, on Pontos. In the thirty-second year of his reign, El-Kronos ambushes Uranos 'in an inland place', and castrates him. The blood drips into the springs and rivers, reddening the water; the place is still shown.

[1] A forgery, purporting to be the complete text of Philo's *Phoenicica* discovered in a Portuguese convent, was published by F. Wagenfeld in 1837.

Then Astarte, Zeus-Dēmarūs, and Adōdos, king of the gods, govern the land, advised by Kronos. There is a plague, and Kronos sacrifices his only son to Uranos, and circumcises himself, making his supporters do the same. He deifies his dead son Mouth (Thanatos, Pluton). Finally he allots Byblos to Baaltis-Dione, Beirut to Poseidon, the Kabeiroi, Agrotai and Halieis, and Egypt to Taautos.

The extreme view of Movers (*Jb. f. Theol. u. chr. Philos.* 1836, pp. 51–94), that 'Sanchuniathon' was from first to last a fiction created by Philo, finds no supporters today. The Phoenician names in the text are genuine ones, and for the most part correctly translated by Philo. (Eliun = Hypsistos, Samemrumos = Hypsuranios, etc.) Sometimes he offers alternatives: e.g. Epigeios or Autocthon; *ἀέρα ζοφώδη καὶ πνευματώδη, ἢ πνοὴν ἀέρος ζοφώδους*. These can only be understood as the efforts of a translator to reproduce the nuances of his original as best he can. There are, besides, places where Philo seems to have misunderstood the sense of the presumed original; see Grimme, *R.E.* IA 2237–8. It is beyond doubt that at least for parts of his narrative Philo followed some Semitic source.

He claimed that this source was older than the Trojan War. Such a date would not be unthinkable; the excavations at Ras Shamra have shown that the Phoenicians did have a written mythological literature at that time, and in 1934 O. Eissfeldt argued that the mysterious 'Ammunean letters', in which Taautos' writings were recorded, were an allusion to the alphabetic cuneiform of Ugarit.[1] Grimme (l.c. 2243) has, however, made it probable that the text known to Philo was composed much later, and not in ancient Phoenician at all, but in an Aramaic dialect. For the Greeks of Philo's time, this would be 'Phoenician'. Sanchuniathon, then, is probably to be placed in the late Phoenician setting of the Persian or Hellenistic Empire. The myths he related may, of course, have been much older. Kronos' sacrifice of his son is clearly the aition for a well-known Phoenician practice, which, however, was all but obsolete by 700 B.C.[2]

Now, what are we to think of the Succession Myth which forms an important element in the involved narrative? Because of its

[1] *Eine antike literarische Bezeugung des Ras-Schamra-Alphabets* = his *Ras Schamra und Sanchunjaton*, Halle, 1939, pp. 8–12.

[2] Cf. Curt. Ruf. 4. 3. 23; Eissfeldt, op. cit., pp. 69–71.

similarity to that of Hesiod, and the euhemeristic form in which it is cast, the opinion long prevailed that the Semitic source had been contaminated with the Greek, either by Philo himself, or by some Alexandrian predecessor.[1] The temple inscriptions from which Sanchuniathon is said to have culled his information have been compared with the inscribed gold column in the temple of Zeus Triphylios, which Euhemerus is supposed to have used in a similar way (Eus. *PE* 2. 2. 57); they are certainly suspiciously conventional.[2]

Since the discovery of the Hurrian kingship myth, however, the position has changed. The Hurrians had a Succession Myth closely similar to the Greek. Hurrian tablets are found at Ugarit itself, while connexions between Syria and Minoan Crete are well attested. So there is no difficulty from either side in the supposition that what was common to Hurrians and Greeks was also known to the Phoenicians.

The remarkable thing about Sanchuniathon's succession story is that it shows several features in common with the Hurrian myth, which are absent both from Hesiod and from *Enûma Eliš* (G. Steiner, op. cit.). There are four generations:

Eliun-Hypsistos	Alalu
Epigeios-Uranos	Anu
El-Kronos	Kumarbi
Dēmarūs-Zeus	Weather-god

There is no primeval mother to match Tiâmat and Gaia. The first king is a nonentity; the memorable deeds which characterize the story are all done by his successors. There is no provocation of the old king by tumultuous children. The fourth king is the son of the second, not of the third, who merely acts as a foster-parent.

These correspondences do much to raise Sanchuniathon's credit—or rather Philo's, since the question is whether he found the Succession Myth in his Semitic source, as he claimed. In the present state of knowledge, the most reasonable hypothesis is that he did. Nevertheless, it seems advisable to use Philo's testimony with caution; for the Hesiodic version of the myth

[1] Cf. C. Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques*, 2nd ed. 1905, pp. 396 ff.

[2] Cf. Acusil., *FGrHist* 2 T 1; Manetho, 609 T 11a; Iambl. *myst.* 8. 5; R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 1904, pp. 363 f.

was well known to him, and it may be that his interpretation of Sanchuniathon was not uninfluenced by it.[1]

We must now attempt a synthesis. We have found that Hesiod's Succession Myth is closely paralleled by myths known to the Phoenicians, the Babylonians, the Hurrians, and the Hittites, and in the case of the last three peoples, we can show that these myths were current in the second millennium B.C. The obvious and inescapable conclusion is that the Succession Myth came to Greece from the East. Were we dealing with a simple motif, such as the separation of earth and sky, or the battle between god and dragon, this would indeed be a naïve deduction: such motifs are so widespread that transmission itself is a questionable hypothesis, and the details of it beyond our power to discover. But in the case of a complex narrative, known and recorded in closely similar versions by five peoples within a small geographical area—peoples who are known to have had considerable commercial and cultural contacts in the very centuries in which their acquaintance with the myth is attested—then we must assume direct transmission of it from one to another; and we must inquire which transmitted it to which, and how and when it reached the Greeks.

There are two periods at which Greece was open to oriental influence: the Minoan–Mycenean period, and the eighth century onwards. It is at one of these two periods (if not earlier) that we must put the transmission of the myth to Greece. Forrer put it at the later time.[2] He assumed that the Hesiodic version was directly descended from the Hittite; to make this historically possible, he postulated survival of the Hittite myths in Midas' Phrygian kingdom, from where they might reach Hesiod's forefathers in Asia Minor. This tenuous construction cannot be upheld; for one thing, the agreements between the Hesiodic and Babylonian versions against the Hurrian (pp. 23 f.) make it impossible to derive the Greek in a direct line from the latter. But there are other considerations that make any eighth-century origin of the Greek myth unlikely. The foreign elements have been completely absorbed. In the Orphic traditions formed a little later they stand out undigested: names like Phanes and

[1] This might be the case, to give a possible example, with his information that El's father Epigeios or Autocthon was later called Uranos.

[2] *Mélanges Cumont*, 1936, pp. 711 f.

Erikepaios, patent iconographical borrowings like the winged serpent Chronos the Ageless. In Hesiod all the gods concerned in the narrative are traditional ones; the Asiatic setting has been forgotten, except for the traditional detail that Typhon lies *ἐν Ἀρίμοις*, and it seems even to have been forgotten where that was (see on 304). Further, the Succession Myth is associated by Hesiod with a certain stone kept and displayed at Delphi (498–500 with note). It cannot be doubted that the myth was related at Delphi in connexion with the stone. Is it to be supposed that at the very beginning of the orientalizing period a complex theological myth was taken over bodily from some Near Eastern source, translated completely into Greek terms, and immediately retailed by Greek poets and by the very priests at Delphi?

We know that there was a continuous poetic tradition in Greece from the Bronze Age down to historical times; and there are reasons for thinking that in his account of Zeus' birth in Crete, at least, Hesiod was indebted to a tradition of that antiquity (see on 477). Although the association of this account with the Succession Myth seems to be secondary (see on 453–506), it is reasonable, and indeed necessary, to assume that the Succession Myth, in its essential framework, was handed down by a similar tradition from a similarly early date: not a branch of the heroic tradition represented by Homeric epic, but a separate theogonic tradition, represented not only by Hesiod's poem but in equal measure by those of Epimenides and the rest.[1]

Of the three oriental versions we have discussed, the Babylonian appears to be the oldest. There is evidence that it is also the most original. For unlike the other versions, it is a reflection of national history. Marduk's emergence as king of the gods corresponds to that of Babylon as capital city in Mesopotamia, early in the second millennium: it was then that the local god Marduk replaced Enlil of Nippur as the national god.

In *Enûma Eliš* it is admittedly not Enlil whom Marduk succeeds as king, but Anšar. Yet curiously enough, Kumarbi, who

[1] The survival of the myth from Mycenean times with so little change, in contrast to the rather small Mycenean element in the Homeric poems, would be easier to understand if the myth was taken over with a ritual (as Cornford speculated, *The Unwritten Philosophy*, pp. 115–16), and if the ritual lasted for any time (cf. above, p. 16). A Minoan–Mycenean date for the coming of the myth to Greece is also upheld by U. Hölscher, *Hermes*, 1953, pp. 406–10, who, however, treats the Cretan birth of Zeus as an organic part of it.

occupies the corresponding position in the Hurrian myth as predecessor of the ultimate ruler, was regarded as the equivalent of the Sumerian Enlil.[1] There is no evidence that he was ever the chief god of the Hurrian pantheon, or indeed had much of a cult at all. He owes his mythological throne to Enlil. The Hittite text itself betrays the influence of Sumerian mythology, in the presence of the gods Alalu, Anu, Ellillu (Enlil), and A'a (Ea). At i. 42 Kumarbi goes to Nippur, Enlil's home town. The Hurrian myth is clearly derived from Mesopotamia.

The Phoenician and Greek myths have certain features in common with the Hurrian, which are absent from the Babylonian; notably that the Clever God (Kumarbi, El, Kronos) is identical with the deposed king, and that he succeeds the Sky (Anu, Epigeios-Uranos, Uranos). So possibly these three represent common descendants of a version itself derived from Mesopotamia. Exactly where in the eastern Mediterranean the Minoans or Myceneans learned of it, we cannot be sure. The Hittite Empire, Lycia, Syria, Cyprus, were all in contact with the Minoan–Mycenean world. Ugarit was an extremely important centre of trade—no less than seven languages are represented on the tablets found there—but there must have been others, and no certain conclusion can be attained.

What applies to Kumarbi applies also to Kronos. He was never the principal god in Greece. He owes his mythological throne to Enlil. He probably began as a deity of purely local importance; someone had to play the part of the old king in the Succession Myth, and he may have been chosen because of his characteristic guilefulness.

What most strikes the modern traveller to Greece is that the country belongs not to Europe, but to Asia. The most palpable signs of this are, of course, the legacy of the Turkish occupation. And yet, in a certain measure, it has always been so. 'The land divides, the sea unites.' Had ancient Dalmatia boasted a civilization as advanced as that of Egypt, its influence on Greece would still have been negligible in comparison—until Greek ships found their way up the Adriatic. As it was, the great civilizations lay in the East, and from the first, Greece's face was turned towards

[1] See Güterbock, *Kumarbi*, pp. 94 and 107; E. Laroche, *Recherches sur les noms des dieux hittites*, Paris, 1947, p. 53.

the Sun. Greece is part of Asia; Greek literature is a Near Eastern literature.

BIBLIOGRAPHY on Hesiod and the East: below, p. 106.

C. THE GENEALOGIES

If the Succession Myth is the backbone of the *Theogony*, the genealogies are its flesh and blood: a living body to which, as we shall see, Hesiod's own imagination has contributed. While their beginnings may have been very ancient, for the most part they are younger than the myths about which they have grown up.

Hesiod bids the Muses celebrate the holy race of everlasting gods (105). But like other Greeks, he uses the word 'god' for beings of very diverse kinds. We may distinguish the following:[1]

1. Gods of cult, e.g. Zeus, Apollo, Artemis, Thetis, Amphitrite, Hecate, Prometheus, Horai, Charites. As in Homer, the pantheon reflects no merely parochial interest. There are references to local Boeotian cults (Zeus, 4; Mnemosyne, 54), but at the same time there are allusions to cults of other parts of Greece, some of them remote from Boeotia though famous in poetry (Argive Hera, 12; Cytherean and Cyprian Aphrodite, 192–9).
2. Gods of mythology, e.g. Tethys, Phoibe, Kottos, Gyges, Hesperides, Phix, Typhoeus, Atlas, Epimetheus. Some of these may be forgotten figures of cult; their strange non-Greek names show that they are no poetic fictions, as is Epimetheus (511 n.) and possibly Phoibe (136 n.). To this group one should probably also reckon such beings as Briareos, Kronos, Iapetos, and the Titans collectively; for while there are traces of them in cult, their inclusion in the *Theogony* has certainly been determined not by this, but by their importance in the myths that Hesiod related.
3. A certain number of names are known to us neither in myth nor in cult, e.g. the Meliai, Thaumas, Kreios, Keto, Astraios, Perses. Of this group too, some may once have had cults; others, such as Astraios (father of stars and winds), Thaumas (father of Iris and Harpies), Keto (daughter of Pontos,

[1] A not dissimilar classification is made by Plutarch, *Mor.* 880.

mother of Echidna, etc.) lie under suspicion of having been invented for the sake of the genealogy, whether by Hesiod himself, or, as seems more likely in this case, by his predecessors.

4. Individual members of divine guilds. Besides individual gods, the Greek pantheon knows certain pluralities, originally indefinite in number and lacking individual identities: Nymphs, Nereids, Horai, Charites, Cyclopes, etc. In some cases plural and singular alternate: Muse(s), Eileithyia(i), Moira(i), Eriny(e)s. Where such pluralities appear in the *Theogony*, they are usually—not always (216 n.)—given a fixed number (very often three, see below) and individual names. Such precision is an artificiality foreign to the religious feeling which made these bodies plural; and while it is not unknown in cult,[1] it must be regarded as primarily a product of poetic invention. This is particularly clear in the case of the Muses, named in *Th.* 77–79. Eight out of the nine names are suggested by the passage immediately preceding (63–71), and the ninth by one only a little earlier (51). We may infer with some confidence that these names were invented by Hesiod himself when he composed this section: they are a crystallization of the ideas about them which he had just expressed.[2] If he invented the names of the Muses—not the only ones ever given them[3]—it is quite possible that he did the same for the Nereids, Oceanids, and others:[4] if not, his predecessors did. The names of his Horai at least (902) have a political significance which shows that they cannot have been found much earlier than Hesiod's time (see ad loc.).

5. Elements of the visible world, e.g. Uranos, Pontos, Aither, Nyx, Mountains, Stars, Rivers. Some of these do in fact have a cult (Gaia, Nyx, individual rivers), while Uranos and Gaia claim a place by virtue of their role in the Succession Myth too. In the invocation to the Muses (104–15, cf. 963–4), such elements appear to be distinguished from the gods proper.

[1] At Athens the Horai were called Thallo and Karpo; at Sparta, the Charites were called Kleta and Phaenna (Paus. 9. 35. 1).

[2] There is an interesting parallel in certain compound adjectives in the *Works and Days*, which Hesiod seems to have coined *ad hoc*: χειροδίκαι 189 (δίκη δ' ἐν χεροί 192); ἰθυδίκησι 230 (δίκας . . . ἰθείας 225–6); ἐτωσιοεργός 411 (ἔργον ἐτώσιον 440); ἀμβολιεργός 413 (ἀναβαλλόμενος 412); ὀψαρότης 490 (ὀψ' ἀρόσῃς 485).

[3] Cf. Eumel. fr. 17, Epicharm. fr. 41, Arat. *ap.* Tz. in Hes. *Op.*, p. 23 Gaisf., Cic. *ND* 3. 54, Plut. *Mor.* 746E, Paus. 9. 29. 2.

[4] As asserted by Solmsen, *Hesiod and Aeschylus*, p. 40, and others.

But the distinction is not consistently maintained; they mate and give birth like other gods; the Rivers work with Apollo and the Oceanids for the good of man (346–8).

6. Lastly, things that we should call abstractions: Death, Sleep, Deceit, Sex, Strife, Battles, Lies, Victory, Power, etc. In Hesiod's time it was not understood what abstractions are—no more was it in Plato's. They must be something; they are invisible, imperishable, and have great influence over human affairs; they must be gods. Hesiod himself uses this kind of reasoning:

> δεινὴν δὲ βροτῶν ὑπαλεύεο φήμην·
> φήμη γάρ τε κακὴ πέλεται, κούφη μὲν ἀεῖραι
> ῥεῖα μάλ', ἀργαλέη δὲ φέρειν, χαλεπὴ δ' ἀποθέσθαι.
> φήμη δ' οὔ τις πάμπαν ἀπόλλυται, ἥντινα λαοὶ
> πολλοὶ φημίξωσι· θεός νύ τίς ἐστι καὶ αὐτή.
>
> (*Op.* 760–4.)

When Alexander sacrificed to Phobos before the battle of Gaugamela,[1] he was acting in all seriousness. He did not revere the deity, he recognized its power and felt obliged to do it honour; as Hesiod says of the evil Eris,

> οὔ τις τήν γε φιλεῖ βροτός, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀνάγκης
> ἀθανάτων βουλῇσιν Ἔριν τιμῶσι βαρεῖαν.
>
> (*Op.* 15–6.)

We do not see such gods, because like other gods, they wrap themselves in *aer*; we do not hear them, because Zeus has taken out the voices they once had (cf. *Op.* 104).[2]

For many of them an actual cult is attested, with priests, sacrifices, and shrines or altars; for the evidence, see L. Deubner, *Roscher*, iii. 2127–45. It has been argued by Usener[3] that 'abstractions' in fact *begin* as daimones, and

[1] Plut. *Alex.* 31. 9. His example was followed by Scipio, App. *Pun.* 21; cf. also Plut. *Thes.* 27. 2.

[2] Cf. K. Latte, *Antike und Abendland*, 2, 1946, p. 161: 'In dem Augenblick, in dem der Mensch eine Wirkung an sich erfährt, wird sie ihm zur göttlichen Person; darum ist für dieses Denken die Zahl der Götter unbegrenzt, "alles ist voll von Göttern", und es ist nur eine Frage der Erfahrung, welche unter ihnen der Mensch erkennt.' So E. *Hel.* 560 ὦ θεοί—θεὸς γὰρ καὶ τὸ γιγνώσκειν φίλους. Zenob. 4. 36 θεὸς ἡ ἀναίδεια. ἐπὶ τῶν δι' ἀναισχυντίαν τινὰ ὠφελουμένων. Cic. *ND* 2. 61.

[3] *Götternamen*, pp. 364–75; cf. J. A. Kanne, *Analecta Philologica*, Leipzig, 1802, p. 73; P. Kretschmer, *Glotta*, 13, 1924, 101 ff.; Deubner, *Roscher*, iii. 2069.

only become genuine abstractions at a later stage. The arguments for this view are weighty, and in the case of some of the daimones in this class, it is certainly correct: e.g. Ate, Tyche, Peitho, the Latin Victoria. But the reverse process was also common. By Hesiod's time, true abstracts existed, and new ones were being created, to serve not as *Augenblicksgötter*, but as abstracts. The majority of them never attained divine status, and for those that did, it was secondary. In my opinion, this applies to most of those listed by Hesiod in the families of Nyx, Eris, and Styx.

These six classes, then, make up Hesiod's gods. The genealogies explain their relationships with one another. In constructing them, the poet—or the tradition—had two things to do: arrange the gods into families, deciding which was to be son of which (Family Planning); and arrange the separate families, together with the myths, in some sort of order in the poem (Presentation). We shall now examine the construction of the *Theogony* under these two heads.

(*a*) *Family planning*

In the case of gods of mythology and cult, the genealogical relationship is often given to the poet by mythology and cult, and he does not have to invent it. In other cases, he does; and in general, and especially where deities of types 4, 5, and 6 are involved, his invention is conditioned by the following fact: when the Greek, in poem or proverb, wishes to say that two things are significantly connected, he either says that they are neighbours (cf. *Th.* 64 n., 230, 386, 758; *Op.* 288 ff.; A. *Ag.* 1004, 1642, etc.), or that they are blood-relations;[1] occasionally he says both at once (cf. A. *Ag.* 494–5). Thus, gods similar in nature will tend to be grouped together in the genealogies, and these groups will then have to be combined with those which the poet receives in a fixed form. There will be gaps to bridge, and here the poet must fall back on arbitrary invention.

The form of the gods' family tree will be modelled on that of mortal families. Now it is noteworthy that in the *Theogony*, as in

[1] Cf. Paula Philippson, 'Genealogie als mythische Form', *Symb. Osl.*, Suppl. 7, 1936, p. 3; H. Schwabl, *Gymnasium*, 1955, pp. 526 ff.; E. Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 386 and 494 f.

the *Catalogue of Women*, the genealogies are basically matrilinear.[1] The whole system of formulae with which the births are described places the emphasis on the mother, who is usually the grammatical subject. Some of them have no husbands (Chaos, Eris; in part also Gaia and Nyx); sometimes there are husbands, but they are nonentities (Koios, Astraios, Pallas). Both Uranos' and Kronos' families are mother's children; and when it comes to Zeus' marriages, the children are much more closely connected with their mothers than with him—he steps in to take the credit for them. (Themis ~ Moirai, Demeter ~ Persephone, Mnemosyne ~ Muses.) Only at the end of the *Theogony* does the arrangement of material imply the precedence of the father (see below, *Presentation*, § 6).

The two first created beings are necessarily Earth, who supports all the other gods (117–18), and Chaos, whereon Earth herself lies (116 n.). The rest of the gods are descended from one or other of these two. Earth is visible and solid; and all the visible and solid parts of the world (sky, sea, mountains, sun, stars), together with all the familiar gods of cult, are descended from her. Chaos is dark, gloomy, and intangible; and all that is dark and intangible (Erebos, Night), including nearly all the 'abstractions', are descended from her.

An analysis of the progeny of Night will exemplify the different kinds of logic which have influenced the composition of the genealogies:

1. She is mother of Day, because Day follows her, comes forth out of her.
2. She is mother of Death, because the two are of like nature.
3. She is mother of Sleep, because Sleep is the brother of Death, and because it is practised at night.
4. She is mother of Dreams, because they come at night.
5. She is mother of Cavil, Pain, Nemesis, Age, Strife, because they are dark and dreadful.

[1] Cf. T. Bergk, *Gr. Lit.* i, 1001–2; F. Dornseiff, *Antike und alter Orient*, p. 57. It is significant for the origins of the *Catalogue* that it derives mankind from a Locrian hero, Deucalion, and confines it in the early generations to continental Greece and Macedonia. Locris preserved a matriarchal society into historical times, cf. Polyb. 12. 5. 6 (from Aristotle). Hesiod is said to have met his death there: Thuc. 3. 96. 1, *Certamen* 215 ff., Plut. *Mor.* 162C–E, 969E, Paus. 9. 31. 6, 38. 3. On matronymics in Hesiodic poetry, see note on 1002.

6. She is mother of the Hesperides, because they live in the far west, where she does (cf. 275).
7. She is mother of the Moirai and Keres, because of their affinity with Death.
8. She is mother of Deceit and Sex, because they are practised at night.

The progeny of Eris is more straightforward; e.g. she is mother of War (228) because she causes it (*Op.* 14).

Earth's descendants form two collateral branches, issuing from her union with her sons Uranos and Pontos. Pontos' branch comprises, naturally, those with marine connexions: the Nereids, Phorkys, Keto, Eurybie; and various monsters and others who could not be made near relations of Zeus: the terrible Harpies, the magical Iris, the mythical Graiai and Gorgons. The gods, and other constituents, of the familiar world range themselves in the other branch, as progeny of Gaia and Uranos. The sequence Uranos–Kronos–Zeus was fixed by the Succession Myth. The well-known Olympians naturally belong to Zeus' generation, which united in opposition to the Old Gods, as his brothers, sisters, and cousins. Rhea's family is firmly established in the *Iliad*; though the traditional epithets *Κρονίων*, *Κρονίδης*, *Κρόνου πάις*, which refer exclusively to Zeus, suggest that originally he had no brothers and sisters.[1]

The Titans, the Old Gods, Kronos' allies, were too important to be left without individual names. Kronos himself and Iapetos are the only two known by name to Homer. In the *Theogony* a full list is offered. Its very heterogeneity betrays its lack of traditional foundation. Rhea, as Zeus' mother, must be married to Kronos, Zeus' father. Hyperion, as father of Helios, must be put back to that generation; so must such ancient and venerable personages as Oceanus and Tethys, Themis and Mnemosyne. By the addition of four more colourless names (Koios, Kreios, Theia, Phoibe), the list is made up to a complement of six males and six females.[2]

[1] Cf. F. G. Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre*, i. 141 f.; Wilamowitz, *Kleine Schriften*, v (2), 176.

[2] According to Pohlenz, *N.Jb.* 1916, p. 575 (cf. M. Mayer, *Giganten u. Titanen*, p. 53, n. 7), the number was modelled on the Olympian twelve. But the latter do not appear as such in Hesiod. On the other hand, he does very often arrange families in threes or multiples of three. There are three Cyclopes, Hundred-Handers, Gorgons; Kronos has three sons and three daughters; Hyperion has

When we come to the marriages of the younger gods, we find that much is predetermined by firmly established mythology. Apollo is Zeus' son, and Athene his daughter. Persephone is daughter of Demeter. But there is much more that the γενεαλόγος can add. Zeus has overthrown Kronos, and the Succession Myth ends with an account of his establishment of law and order and permanence. To the Greek living under an aristocracy this implied marriage and sons.[1] The remarkable number of marriages Zeus has in fact to undertake is a measure of the scarcity of husbands in mythology;[2] but it enables him, as I said above, to take the credit for all that symbolizes a pleasant life: Persephone, corn-spirit, with her half-brother Wealth; the Muses; the Graces, Aglaia, Euphrosyne, and Thalia; the Horai, novelly identified as Eunomia, Dike, and Eirene. Even the Moirai are numbered among his daughters, as if to make it plain that in critical cases their power is subordinate to his.

It would be wrong to suppose that every link in the genealogical chain has some significance, beyond that of making the chain continuous. But many of them have; and while many of the details must be left for the commentary, enough has been said to indicate the principles on which they were designed.

(*b*) *Presentation*

In the arrangement and presentation of the genealogies, the following principles may be discerned.

1. The order is basically chronological. Each generation is dealt with, in the surviving collateral branches, before the next is taken up. Thus we have:

   (i) Children of Chaos and Gaia.
   (ii) Children of Gaia's children Uranos and Pontos, and of Chaos' child Night.

three children (Sun, Moon, Eos—an artificial extension of the natural dyad); so do Kreios, Ares, and Zeus with Hera; there are three Winds, Horai, Moirai, and Charites; thrice three Muses. (Ziegler, *Roscher*, v. 1505; cf. H. Haas, *Arch. f. Rel.* 1900, p. 59; Usener, *Rh. Mus.* 58, 1903, pp. 1–47, 161–208, 321–62.)

[1] Jacoby's comparison (p. 27 of his edition) of the marriages undertaken by Darius on his accession (Hdt. 3. 88) is apt. But similar conditions obtain—not necessarily with polygamy—with any hereditary monarchy. One may think of the importance attached to ensuring the succession under the Roman Empire.

[2] Of course this applies to his many unions with mortal women too.

(iii) Grandchildren of Pontos and of Uranos.
(iv) Children of the Olympians.

2. If, however, the end of a branch is in sight, it is often followed to its end, instead of being deferred to the next generation. For if the treatment by generations were strictly adhered to, the multiplying branches would soon become unmanageable. Thus, Chaos' line is taken immediately as far as Night's children by Erebos (124–5), because they have no further issue; but Night's fatherless children are not listed until the next generation, because one of them, Eris, has a family of her own. When we reach this second generation, Eris' children are listed at once. Similarly, among the offspring of Phorkys and Keto, Medusa's 'son' Chrysaor and his son Geryoneus are grouped with her, and Echidna's monstrous children and grandchildren with her. Again, the family of Kreios and Eurybie is taken down to their grandchildren (375–403); and of the two daughters of Koios and Phoibe, Asteria has her daughter Hecate registered at once, while Leto must wait until Zeus is born and ready to take her.
3. Where possible, related sections are made adjacent. The effect of this is sometimes a chiasmus. Thus Pontos' children end the second generation, and his grandchildren begin the third: Uranos' grandchildren (the Titans' children) complete the third, and lead on to the Titanomachy. Similarly in 280–94: (i) Chrysaor, (ii) Pegasus, (iii) what happened to Pegasus, (iv) what happened to Chrysaor. And again, in 509 ff., Epimetheus is the last of Iapetos' sons to be named, and the first whose fate is recorded. Here Prometheus is placed last, because his story is to be told at length: we may compare *Sc.* 122–40, where the customary order in which armour is put on is varied so as to make the shield come last (Russo, ad loc.).
4. In other cases, families are arranged in the same order as that in which the parents were first listed: cf. the children of Pontos, and their families, 233–336; Chaos and Gaia, 116–32; Astraios and Pallas, 375–85; Hephaestus, Dionysus and Heracles (all childless), 927–55. But the Titans form an exception to this rule. The order in which they are listed in 133–8 bears no relation to that in which their families are

catalogued in 337–511. The order of these six families is determined rather by the mythological digressions which attach to four of them (Kreios–Styx, Koios–Hecate, Kronos–birth of Zeus, Iapetos–Prometheus). These four are placed last, and in ascending order of length of digression.[1]

5. The last god in a family to be listed is sometimes specified as the youngest: the apple-guarding serpent 333; Zeus 478; Typhoeus 821; Kronos is last and youngest of the Titans, 137, though the Cyclopes and Hundred-Handers are yet to follow. Likewise Hestia, who is the first named of Rhea's children (454), is also the oldest (*h. Aphr.* 22); Nereus is first-named and oldest of Pontos' children (234).

   An exception is Aglaia, first named of the Graces in 909, and called the youngest in 946. Styx, last of the Oceanids (361), is also the oldest (777), and the same may be true of Calliope, who, like Styx, is called *προφερεστάτη ἁπασέων* (79, cf. *Sc.* 260, Pl. *Phdr.* 259D).

6. With the transition from gods to mortals at the end of the *Theogony*, which led on to the *Catalogue*, various combinations of parties occur. Father, mother, and offspring may be divine or mortal. Here matriarchy obtains no longer. The families are taken in order of precedence, according to the divinity of the father, children, and mother, in that order. Divine fathers precede mortal fathers; in each of these groups, divine offspring precede mortal, mixed or wanting offspring; and after that, divine mothers precede mortal ones. The only exception is that the unions of gods with mortal women, producing mortal issue, are perforce placed last (cf. § 3 above), forming the *Catalogue* or *Ehoiai*. The resulting order is as follows:

   (i) Father and offspring divine, mother mortal or doubtful (940–4).
   (ii) Parents divine, offspring mortal, mixed or none (945–62).
   (iii) Mother and offspring divine, father mortal (969–74).
   (iv) Mother divine, father and offspring mortal (975–1018).
   (v) Father divine, mother and offspring mortal (*Catalogue*).

[1] This gives a guarantee, if one is needed, that the Hecate-section (411–52) is genuine.

III. THE DATE AND OCCASION OF THE *THEOGONY*

MOST Greeks in the late fifth and early fourth centuries B.C. regarded Orpheus, Musaeus, Hesiod, and Homer, in that order, as their oldest poets;[1] and throughout antiquity, while the order of priority varied, there was never any doubt that Hesiod belonged to an older generation than Terpander and Archilochus.[2] He was, therefore, earlier than Gyges, who was contemporary with Archilochus, and whom the Greeks dated *c.* 700.[3]

So far as relative chronology is concerned, internal evidence tends to confirm Hesiod's priority over the extant lyric poets and elegists: he is certainly imitated by Alcaeus, and probably or possibly by Epimenides, Mimnermus, Semonides of Amorgos, Tyrtaeus, and Archilochus.[4] When we bear in mind that a certain time must be allowed for knowledge of his poems to spread over seas that he never crossed himself, it is hardly possible to consider any date for him later than 650 B.C.

Nor, I think, can we consider any date earlier than 750. In all probability, Hesiod wrote his poems down, or dictated them. A period of oral transmission in which rhapsodes other than Hesiod spoke of him in the first person (*Th.* 24), or berated a deceased Perses with his faults, or talked of 'my father and thine, foolish Perses' (*Op.* 633), or boasted of a success at Chalcis which had never been theirs, is not easy to conceive, and the impression that the poems give of direct contact with a pronounced personality would surely have been diluted by such transmission. The laboured quality of much of the composition might also suggest painful written rather than unencumbered oral creation. Some critics have seen an indication of oral transmission in the

[1] Hippias, *Vorsokr.* 86 B 6; Ar. *Ran.* 1032 ff.; Pl. *Apol.* 41A; cf. also Hellanicus, Damastes, and Pherecydes *ap.* Procl. *chrestom.* 19 (p. 99. 20 Allen) (with Damastes 5 F 11), Gorgias, *Vorsokr.* 82 B 25 (*ap.* Procl. ib.), Pl. *Rep.* 363A, 377D, 612B.

[2] The absolute dates given range from 200 years after the Trojan War (Archemachus, 424 F 3) to Ol. 11 (736/3) (Tz. *Chil.* 13. 649 f.). See F. Jacoby, *Apollodors Chronik*, 1902, pp. 118 ff., and *Das Marmor Parium*, 1904, pp. 152–8; E. Rohde, *Kl. Schr.*, i. 39 ff., 71 ff.; A. Rzach, *R.E.* viii. 1173–7.

[3] Archil. 22. In fact Gyges reigned *c.* 687–652, and Archilochus belongs to the mid-seventh century: see Jacoby, *C.Q.* 1941, pp. 97–109 = *Kl. Schr.* 1. 249–67.

[4] Alcaeus, fr. 347 ~ *Op.* 582–9. Epimenides, fr. 1 ~ *Th.* 26. Mimnermus, fr. 6. 1 ~ *Op.* 91; fr. 12. 3 ~ *Th.* 670. Semonides, fr. 6 ~ *Op.* 702–3; fr. 7. 94–97 ~ *Th.* 592, 600. Tyrtaeus, fr. 6. 3–6 ~ *Op.* 399–400; fr. 9. 43 ~ *Op.* 291. Archilochus, fr. 118 ~ *Th.* 120–2.

large-scale changes and expansions which they conceive the text to have undergone; others, however, have found that the longer and the more familiarly they have been acquainted with Hesiod, the less easy it has seemed to detach considerable sections from his poems without damaging the tissues of some underlying unity or interrupting some connexion of thought.

The date of the introduction of the alphabet to Greece is still uncertain. But there is only one known specimen of Greek alphabetic writing that need be dated earlier than 700;[1] and it is at just about this time, because of the rise of literacy, that Greek literature in general comes into view, and individual poets with names and dates appear. Apart from Hesiod, the oldest are Eumelus and Callinus, and it would be gravely implausible to isolate Hesiod by putting him as much as two generations before them.

This *terminus post quem* is confirmed by a reference to the sanctuary at Delphi (*Th.* 499), which did not rise to any national importance before *c.* 750;[2] by the description of Pandora's gold headband (*Th.* 578–84), which seems to owe something to eighth-century art (see on 582 and 584); and by the extent of Hesiod's geographical knowledge. I do not think he mentioned Etna in *Th.* 860, and if he did, it would not follow that the passage was composed after the foundation of the first Sicilian colonies in 735–28, for Etna must have been known to the Greeks before the settlement at Cumae a generation earlier. I refer rather to the catalogue of rivers in *Th.* 337–45. This catalogue is remarkable for the appearance of several rivers which flow into the south and west of the Black Sea: Ister, Aldescus, Sangarius, and Parthenius.[3] Penetration and exploration of the Euxine seems to have begun in the eighth century. The earliest foundation-date given by Eusebius is 756 (Trapezus).[4] The southern shore was apparently explored a little before the western. The earliest datable evidence for knowledge of the latter is the name of

[1] L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, p. 68.

[2] P. Amandry, *La Mantique apollinienne à Delphes*, 1950, pp. 209 f. W. G. Forrest, *Historia*, 1957, p. 172, plausibly associates its rise with that of Corinth.

[3] One cannot count the Phasis, a name known from ancient myth and probably not yet identified with any river seen by explorers.

[4] Trapezus' mother-city Sinope would, of course, have to be older still. A pre-Cimmerian foundation of Sinope is known to ps.-Scymnus (941 ff.). The nymph Sinope is known to Eumelus (fr. 8, if genuine). Excavation at Sinope has revealed nothing older than the end of the seventh century; but see A. J. Graham, *Bull. Inst. Class. St.* 5, 1958, pp. 32 ff.

Istrocles, an east Greek potter born not later than *c.* 670.[1] But Eumelus[2] names Borysthenis as one of three Muses, daughters of Apollo; from which it is to be inferred that he had heard of the Dnieper, but thought of it as a Hyperborean river.[3] So while it is impossible to fix a *terminus post quem* for the degree of knowledge implied by Hesiod's list, the indications are that it is unlikely to have been attained much if at all earlier than 750.

The pioneers in Black Sea exploration were Miletus and Megara, and rumours of Black Sea geography must be traced to one of those two sources. In Hesiod's case, Miletus is the obvious choice. His father had traded along the Asiatic coast (*Op.* 633 ff.), and in the harbours of the towns at which he called, he must often have conversed with other seafaring men; it does not require much imagination to see him listening with admiration to tales of voyages to regions previously unknown, and years later, in wretched Ascra, telling exciting stories of his seafaring days to two impressionable young boys. In this case, the degree of knowledge shown in the catalogue of rivers would correspond to what was known in Asia Minor a generation before the *Theogony* was composed.[4]

The astronomical argument for Hesiod's date tells us little. It is based on the datum in *Op.* 564–7. Owing to the precession of the equinoxes, a datum of this kind is only true for one epoch in a periodic cycle of 25,800 years; so that, if the figure of sixty days could be taken as an exact one, and if a precise definition of the terms ἐπιτέλλεται and ἀκροκνέφαιος could be assumed, it would be possible to calculate, to within a few decades, the date of the observation on which the statement was based; this would be a *terminus post quem* for the *Works and Days*. The careful calculation by A. A. Rambaut *ap.* T. W. Allen, *Homer, The Origins and the Transmission*, pp. 86–88 and 92–97, shows that if sixty days is taken as an exact figure, no date earlier than 850 B.C. is possible, and 750 would be more likely.[5] But if the true figure was, say,

[1] J. M. Cook, *B.S.A.* 53/54, 1958/9, p. 16; J. Boardman, *Archaeol. Reports for* 1962/3, p. 37, n. 11.

[2] Fr. 17; again one must say, 'if genuine'.

[3] Hesiod's knowledge apparently stops short of it. By 600 Greeks had reached the Tanais; see Boardman, p. 50.

[4] For another indication that Hesiod was indebted to his father in nautical matters, cf. below, p. 90.

[5] Unfortunately Allen had told Rambaut that Hesiod could not be later than 800, and so he does not elaborate his conclusions; Allen settles for a floruit *c.* 800.

58 or 62, the date would be raised or lowered by a century. Clearly, all we can infer from the passage is that the information it contains was not passed down unaltered from Mycenean times[1] or Submycenean times: it is of no real help in determining the date of Hesiod.

There remains Hesiod's testimony that he took part in the funeral games of Amphidamas at Chalcis (*Op.* 654–9). The heroic epithets applied to Amphidamas (δαΐφρων, μεγαλήτωρ), and the very fact that games were held in his honour,[2] show that he was a nobleman. According to the *Certamen*, he was a king (βασιλεὺς Εὐβοίας, 64). Plutarch tells us that he was killed in a sea battle in the course of the Lelantine War (sch. Hes. *Op.* p. 206. 2–3 Pertusi; cf. *Moralia* 153F). This looks like a genuine tradition; for there was no particular reason to associate the funeral of a Chalcidian king with the Lelantine War at all, and the sea battle is a circumstantial detail not likely to have been invented. Something seems to have been known about Amphidamas from another source. One might conjecture that this source was a Euboean historian. If so, the obvious choice would be Archemachus, who is known to have written about the Lelantine dispute[3] and about Homer and Hesiod, both of whom he dated 200 years after the Trojan War.[4]

Uncertain though it is, the synchronism of Hesiod and the Lelantine War would agree well with the approximate dating towards which other considerations have ushered us. The war cannot be firmly dated; but as it was a cavalry war,[5] it presumably took place before the encounter in Euboea recalled (by implication) by Archilochus (fr. 3. 4–5), in which slings and bows are no longer used, and as it was remembered in the historical

[1] As seems to be the case with the statement attributed by Pliny to the Hesiodic *Astronomy* (fr. 290) that the morning setting of the Pleiades fell at the autumn equinox: this was true about 2500 B.C. But the date of the equinox may not have been accurately determined; cf. Nilsson, *Op. Sel.* ii. 784. It has recently been argued that Aratus shows traces of a pre-Mycenean tradition of astronomical poetry: see the *Journal of the British Astron. Assoc.* 71, 1961, pp. 91–95.

[2] Cf. *Od.* 24. 88–89; A.R. 3. 1273–4.

[3] Strabo 465.

[4] *FGrHist* 424 F 3. This hypothesis does not entail that Archemachus put the Lelantine War at that date: *Op.* 654–62 was athetized in antiquity, and the reason for the athetesis may have been Archemachus' demonstration of what he felt to be a chronological contradiction. Cf. Wilamowitz, *Vitae Homeri et Hesiodi*, p. 55 n. An alternative explanation is that of Nietzsche, *Rh. Mus.* 1870, p. 531, and Rohde, *Kl. Schr.* i. 43, n. 1, that Plutarch was unable to dissociate the passage from the *Certamen* legend.

[5] Arist. *Pol.* 1289b36–39.

and not the epic tradition, it probably did not take place in prehistoric (i.e. pre-literate) times. The period 730–700, falling nicely between these extremes, would thus suit it well; and it would also fit what can be inferred of the political situation in Greece in those years.[1] If our assumptions are right, it was then that Hesiod composed the poem which he recited at Chalcis.[2]

It is generally accepted that the *Works and Days* was composed after the *Theogony*. This seems to follow from comparison of *Th.* 225 with *Op.* 11 ff. The latter passage looks like a palinode upon the former; and while it is remotely conceivable that the reference should be to some other, lost poem, it is inconceivable that the doctrine of the two Erides, so important in the *Works and Days*, should have been forgotten or tacitly dropped in the *Theogony* if the latter was composed later.[3] Besides, we have Hesiod's testimony (*Th.* 33) that theogonic poetry was his first inspiration.

If the *Theogony* was composed before the *Works and Days*, it could be the poem referred to in the *Works and Days*, the one which was recited at the games of Amphidamas. This identification has been proposed by H. T. Wade-Gery,[4] without substantial arguments. Yet it seems to me that there are several things which support it.

First let it be noted that the eulogy of βασιλῆες in *Th.* 80 ff. and 434, 430, contrasts strikingly with the attitude taken towards them in the *Works and Days*.[5] One is tempted to find a parallel in the Kara-Kirgiz minstrels, of whom it is recorded that 'they vary their songs according to their audience, inserting the praise of their families when singing before the wealthy ones, and bitter reproof of their arrogance when singing to the people'. (Nilsson, *Homer and Mycenae*, p. 195, from Radlov.) One is tempted, in other words, to conclude that the *Theogony* was recited at some special occasion, before a king or kings.[6]

[1] A. A. Blakeway in *Greek Poetry and Life* (Essays presented to Gilbert Murray, 1936), pp. 47–48; Forrest, *Historia*, 1957, pp. 161–4.

[2] Chalcis was then under the rule of the Hippobotai (Strabo 447). But Amphidamas may have held the title βασιλεύς as a member of them, and not as a true monarch.

[3] So van Groningen, p. 283, n. 2.

[4] *Phoenix*, 3, 1949, p. 87 = *Essays in Greek History* (1958), p. 8.

[5] Mazon, *Hésiode*, p. 8, uses this as an additional argument for the priority of the *Theogony*: he thinks that the μέγα νεῖκος in *Th.* 87 may be a reference to the suit with Perses. But it is hard to see why it should be; cf. ad loc.

[6] Cf. van Groningen, p. 260.

Now consider the lines that immediately follow the eulogy of kings, *Th.* 98–103. 'For even if a man's heart be withered with the grief of a recent bereavement, if then a singer, the servant of the Muses, sings of the famous deeds of men of old, and of the blessed gods who dwell on Olympus, he soon forgets his sorrows, nor remembers his family troubles any longer, being swiftly diverted by the goddesses' gifts.' What is this talk of a recent bereavement? Some special allusion seems to be intended. Van Lennep saw an allusion to the sons of Amphidamas, before whom Hesiod once sang; but he did not draw the natural conclusion that it is before them that Hesiod is now singing.

Now consider the section on Hecate, *Th.* 411–52,[1] in which Hesiod, who is clearly enthusiastic about the goddess, seeks to commend her to his listeners. He commends her, in particular, to the following five classes of people:[2]

(i) Kings (434, 430).
(ii) Men at war (431–3), and especially
(iii) Cavalrymen (439).
(iv) Men taking part in athletic contests (435–8).
(v) Sea-fishermen (440–2).

He adds that she increases flocks and herds, and nurtures κοῦροι, if she chooses to, but he does not say 'she is a good goddess for herdsmen', as for the other five classes of men.

Why these five? There were no sea-fishermen at Ascra; no horses on Helicon. At the games of Amphidamas at Chalcis, on the other hand, there were men at war—a cavalry war; kings; athletes; I cannot promise that there were sea-fishermen, but at least there was a sea. The hypothesis that the passage was designed for those games provides a satisfying explanation of its contents; and as I have pointed out, it accounts equally well for two passages in the proem to the *Theogony*. I am therefore tempted to accept Wade-Gery's suggestion.

If it is right, the *Theogony* can be roughly dated to the years 730–700. Now Hesiod cannot have composed it much before the age of 20.[3] Indeed, the earnestness with which he reviews the

[1] On the authenticity of the section, which has often been disputed, see the introduction to 404-52.

[2] The transpositions which I adopt in the text are immaterial to the argument.

[3] One must, of course, remember the precocity of Pindar and Aristophanes.

advantages and disadvantages of marriage (*Th.* 590 ff.), as Darwin did in his diary, might suggest that he was nearer the marrying age, which was then 30 (*Op.* 695–7, cf. Solon 19. 9–10). But even if he was only 20, he cannot have been born after 720. When he was born, his father can hardly have been less than 30, married, and with his trading career behind him. (This follows from *Op.* 650–1: Hesiod had never crossed the sea, except to Chalcis; therefore he was born on the mainland.) The lowest possible date for the birth of Hesiod's father, then, is 750, and 760 or 770 would be rather more likely.

The *Works and Days* was composed, apparently, at a time when Hesiod and Perses had recently shared out their κλῆρος (*Op.* 37). This was presumably the occasion of their father's death. If he was born as late as 750, and lived to the age of 90, his death would fall no later than 660, by which time Hesiod himself would be 60. This seems to me the latest date that it is possible to consider for the *Works and Days*; an argument from less extreme assumptions about the father's lifetime would indicate 730 and 690 as probable *termini* for that poem.

The *Theogony* may well be the oldest Greek poem we have. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are both later, at least in their present form;[1] for they both admit elements that archaeology shows to be not older than *c.* 700, and not only admit them, but attribute them to the Heroic Age.[2] That Hesiod is earlier than Homer[3] is no

[1] And any other form can only be hypothetical.

[2] I refer to the hoplite tactics described in *Il.* 13. 126 ff., 16. 211 ff. (developed in the mid-seventh century: A. Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons*, 1964, pp. 176–82); Agamemnon's shield with its Gorgon blazon, *Il.* 11. 36 (Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, p. 190); Odysseus' clasp, *Od.* 19. 226 ff. (Lorimer, pp. 511 ff.). Of these, only the gorgoneion can be treated as an 'interpolation' in any ordinary sense. There are also passages that may well be sixth century, such as Theano's supplication, *Il.* 6. 286 ff. (Lorimer, pp. 442 ff.) and parts of the *nekyia*. When one considers how conservative the epic tradition in general is, and what a small fraction of Homer is datable at all, it is difficult to be impressed by the often-repeated argument that we ought to see more post-eighth-century elements in the Homeric poems if they were mainly composed later than the eighth century. This may seem brusque treatment of an important matter; but possibly it has a better chance of piercing the armour of Prejudice, that Amazon who alone sustains the cause of the Homeric Eris when her Hectors are slain, than the heavier but blunter assault of a more prolix discussion.

[3] That is, 'Homer' in the sense of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Homer the man may well have lived as early as Hesiod, especially if it is true that Callinus mentioned him by name (Paus. 9. 9. 5: Καλαΐνος codd.). We know less of his life than of Hesiod's, but of course that is because Hesiod talks about himself; it is no reason for assuming that Homer (any more than Lucretius) lived earlier.

revolutionary view;[1] but as the reverse is taken as axiomatic by most writers, it may be worth recalling that until the latter part of the fourth century B.C., Hesiod's priority was widely accepted. We have seen (above, p. 40) that in the late fifth and early fourth centuries the earliest Greek poets are regularly named in a fixed order: Orpheus, Musaeus, Hesiod, Homer.[2] The reason is presumably that this was held to be their chronological order. We know from Herodotus (2. 53) that certain poets were said to be more ancient than Hesiod and Homer (he names them in that order, twice), and he must be referring to Orpheus and Musaeus. Herodotus himself considered Hesiod and Homer about contemporary. So, apparently, did the sophist Alcidamas, the author of the work on which the extant *Certamen* is based; otherwise he would not have made the poets meet at Chalcis, but in Hades, like Aeschylus and Euripides in the nearly contemporary *Frogs*. Ephorus made Homer a cousin of Hesiod, but a younger cousin (*FGrHist* 70 F 101).

Orpheus and Musaeus owed their acknowledged priority, no doubt, not so much to the genuine antiquity of their poems as to the propaganda of their devotees. It was from a similar cause, the propaganda of the Homeridae, who were devoted to spreading Homer's fame, and told stories about his life,[3] that the order Hesiod–Homer was reversed in later antiquity, and has remained so to the present day. Hesiod had no corresponding body to look after his interests.[4]

Hesiod must, in any case, have been one of the first Greek poets to take the momentous step of writing his poems down, or more likely of dictating them to someone who knew how to write.[5]

[1] It has been maintained by such a distinguished Homeric scholar as Bethe; see especially his *Homer*, ii. 299–339.

[2] 'Homer' by now means the poems going under Homer's name.

[3] Pl. *Ion* 530D, *Rep.* 599E, Isocr. 10. 65. These stories must be the ultimate source of the Homeric Lives—which ignore the meeting with Hesiod.

[4] The earliest known upholder of Homer's priority is Xenophanes (Gell. 3. 11. 2). But (i) the report may be a mere inference from the fact that Xenophanes says *Ὅμηρός θ' Ἡσίοδός τε* (fr. 11); (ii) if it was based on an explicit statement in Xenophanes, the fact that such a statement was made may imply that the opposite view was current. Rejection of a common opinion would be characteristic of Xenophanes. The next known champion of Homer's priority is that excellent authority, Heraclides Ponticus (fr. 177 Wehrli).

[5] On the difficulties of this operation, see the instructive remarks of Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic*, 4th ed., pp. 95 ff., and A. B. Lord, *T.A.P.A.* 84, 1953, pp. 124–34, especially p. 131, and *The Singer of Tales*, pp. 124 ff.

He was no professional singer. He had acquired the ability to compose by constant listening, as people often do in countries where oral poetry is education and entertainment in one.[1] But in competition he could not afford to stake his chance on the inspiration of the moment: he prepared his poem beforehand with laborious care. He could not produce such a poem every day, like the trained rhapsodes. It was perhaps to keep the treasured creation with him, to live with it, that he had it written down; certainly not in order to be read, or in hope of immortality. His era had no conception of such things. And yet, after his death, his poems were remembered, and famed, because they had been written down. And they belonged to him, inalienably, more than any oral poet's work had ever done. Little wonder that more and more poets took to writing in the century that followed.

IV. THE TRANSMISSION OF THE TEXT

A. GENERAL OUTLINE

I have argued that the *Theogony* and *Works and Days* were written down by Hesiod himself, or at his dictation. His original manuscripts, probably wooden tablets or animal skins,[2] are the ultimate ancestors of the medieval and renaissance manuscripts we have.

In its present form, the *Theogony* is designed to lead without a break into the *Catalogue of Women*. And the join is no superficial one achieved by slight tampering with the end of the *Theogony*. The proem of the *Catalogue*, partly preserved on P. Oxy. 2354, is not the proem of an independent poem. It was clearly designed

[1] Cf. Nilsson, *Homer and Mycenae*, pp. 201 ff.; Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, p. 21.

[2] Egyptian papyrus is unlikely to have been available so early; see Bethe, *Forsch. u. Fortschr.* 1939, pp. 163 ff.; Collart in the Budé *Introd. à l'Iliade*, p. 71; though Dornseiff pointed out that the name *βύβλος* implies a Phoenician source (*Antike u. alter Orient*, pp. 31 f.). For tablets, cf. *Il.* 6. 169; for skins, Hdt. 5. 58, E. fr. 627; and on the whole question Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, pp. 526–7 (where for Mazon read Collart), and L. H. Jeffery in Wace–Stubbings, *Companion to Homer*, pp. 555–9. The leaden text of the *Works and Days* shown to Pausanias (9. 31. 4) in the Vale of the Muses sounds like an appurtenance of the revived cult of the Hesiodic Muses in the fourth century, rather than a genuine archaic book; Pausanias does not report that it was claimed to be Hesiod's autograph. Compare the story in *Certamen* 320 about the *Hymn to Apollo*, and thereon Bethe, *Ber. sächs. Ak.* 83 (2), 1931, pp. 6 ff.

from the start as a *re*-invocation introducing a new subject, similar to those in *Th.* 965 ff., *Il.* 2. 484 ff., 11. 218, 14. 508, 16. 112, and in later epic (e.g. A.R. 3. 1, 4. 1, Enn. *Ann.* 326, Virg. *A.* 7. 37, Q.S. 12. 306, Nonn. *D.* 25. 1). *Th.* 1019–20, likewise, was obviously never meant to be the end of a poem. It is the division between the two poems, not their combination, that is artificial.

We are faced with two alternatives. Either Hesiod wrote the *Catalogue* as well as the *Theogony*, and wrote them all as one poem; or the end of the *Theogony* as we have it is spurious. That Hesiod's plan included heroic as well as divine genealogies is in itself quite possible. Even so do his Muses, after singing of the gods and of the kingdom of Zeus, go on to sing of men and of giants (*Th.* 43–52). But he cannot have composed the *Catalogue* current in antiquity.[1] And of the lateness of the end of the *Theogony* there are internal indications.[2] The second alternative must therefore be preferred.

At some time between 700 and 300, then, the *Theogony* in the original form as composed by Hesiod gave place to an expanded version which formed merely the preface to the much longer *Catalogue*. A parallel is to be found in the arrangement of the Trojan and Theban epics into continuous cycles. This cannot be dated later than the fourth century, since the alternative proem to the *Iliad* which linked it to the preceding *Cypria* was mentioned by Aristoxenus.[3] A more likely date for it is the sixth century, for this is the most reasonable date for the final composition of the *Catalogue*, as of other epic poems apparently composed in continuation of existing poems.[4] It seems to have been a period of editorial activity, largely agglutinative in character, and grandiose in conception. The *Shield of Heracles* and the *Hymn to Apollo* each acquired their present forms by being welded together out of two separate poems.[5] To mention only the best-attested editorial enterprise of Pisistratus' Athens, Onomacritus

[1] The evidence cannot be discussed here; it will be elsewhere.

[2] See introduction to 881–1020.

[3] *Vitae Homeri et Hesiodi*, ed. Wil., p. 32.

[4] *Epigoni*, fr. 1; *Precepts of Chiron*, [Hes.] fr. 283. Compare the appendages to the *Works and Days* attested by sch. 828: *τούτοις δὲ ἐπάγουσί τινες τὴν 'Ορνιθομαντείαν ⟨καὶ ἄλλ⟩α τινὰ ⟨ἃ⟩ Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ 'Ρόδιος ἀθετεῖ*, and Paus. 9. 31. 5 *ὅσα ἐπὶ "Εργοις τε καὶ 'Ημέραις*. The technique was copied by Xenophon (*Hellenica*) and Quintus of Smyrna. It is in Xenophon again that we first find the idea of a sequel to one's own work (*Oeconomicus*, *Apology*); cf. Kalinka on [Xen.] *Ath. Pol.* 1. 1.

[5] That the author of *Sc.* 57–480 did not intend it as a continuation of the excerpt from the *Catalogue* that precedes it, is shown by 78–88, which is an attempt,

'arranged' the oracles of Musaeus, presumably in a continuous series.[1]

It would be unrealistic to deny the possibility that the *Theogony* suffered other alterations and interpolations in the archaic period; sanguine, on the other hand, to claim infallible ability to detect them. The clearest signs of *remaniement* are, in my opinion, in the description of the underworld, 720–819 (see the introduction to that section). But in general, unsubstantiated suspicion is all that one has to go on.

The expanded version that led into the *Catalogue* was the only version known to the scholars of Alexandria and Pergamum.[2] It was the Alexandrians, in all probability, who decided that the *Theogony* should end at line 1020, and the *Catalogue* begin there; just as Apollonius ended the *Works and Days* at line 828, and rejected all that followed as spurious; and just as Aristophanes of Byzantium, followed by Aristarchus, declared that the *Odyssey* should end at 23. 296—an opinion which did not prevail.[3] From now on the *Theogony* was copied separately, and bore a separate title.[4]

laudable in intention if clumsily executed, to inform us of the circumstances of the birth of Heracles and Iolaus while avoiding straightforward narrative: the story is put in Heracles' mouth. By prefacing the poem with the Ehoea, the editor has anticipated the content of Heracles' speech and thwarted its purpose.

[1] Hdt. 7. 6. 3. The only external evidence for a Pisistratean redaction of Hesiod is the allegation by the Megarian Hereas that Pisistratus suppressed a line of the *Catalogue* (*FGrHist* 486 F 1 = Plut. *Thes.* 20 = [Hes.] fr. 298). All other ancient sources refer only to Homer. I would regard Hereas' assertion as an *ad hoc* extension of the tradition about Homer, founded on no direct tradition, though perhaps not entirely wrong. For other views on the Pisistratean Hesiod, see T. Bergk, *Gr. Lit.* i. 989, n. 61; M. R. Dimitrijević, *Studia Hesiodea* (1899), pp. 11–12; R. Herzog, *Die Umschrift d. älteren gr. Lit. in d. ion. Alphabet* (1912), p. 61; H. G. Evelyn-White, *C.Q.* 1924, pp. 142 ff.; T. A. Sinclair, *C.Q.* 1927, pp. 195 ff.; C. Buzio, *Esiodo nel mondo greco* (1938), pp. 33 f., 40; R. Merkelbach, *Rh. Mus.* 1952, pp. 40–41; J. Schwartz, *Pseudo-Hesiodeia*, pp. 493–5; Krafft, p. 20.

[2] Chrysippus (fr. 908) speaks as if he knows two different recensions. In some texts, he seems to say, the birth of Athene was described in the *Theogony*, and in the version we have; in others it was described in a poem following the *Theogony*, and in different words. But whatever this refers to, it cannot be to the original version; one of his versions is the one we know, and the other is 'cyclic' (see on 886–900). Inaccurate summaries of the contents of the *Theogony*, as in Manil. 2. 12–18, and doubtful testimonia such as Hes. fr. 389, 395, 400, are unreliable evidence for the existence of a variant recension.

[3] The division into twenty-four books had evidently already established itself; it may have been pre-Alexandrian. Cf. Mazon, *Introd. à l'Iliade*, pp. 139 f.; G. S. Kirk, *The Songs of Homer*, pp. 305 f.

[4] See at the beginning of the commentary.

It was at this period the subject of a considerable amount of interpretation and criticism: in particular, critical study by Apollonius, Aristophanes, Aristarchus, Didymus, Seleucus, and Crates, and systematic philosophical interpretation by the Stoics. But none of this had any effect on the text until much later, and then only in small degree. It found its expression in the medium of the commentary, which existed not as an appendage to a text, but as a separate book; a text might, however, be marked with σημεῖα which corresponded to the conclusions reached in the commentary. It was only when these commentaries were excerpted and copied as scholia into the margins of the text, that the text was in danger of being directly affected. A variant reading recorded in the scholia might then be preferred by a scribe and put in the text in place of the reading of his exemplar, which he then might or might not note as a variant in his own margin. Besides genuine variants, the scholia contained some conjectures—in one case (307 ἄνεμον) suggested by allegorizing interpretation.

In the Roman period a new arrangement of the Hesiodic poems appears. It takes the form of a selection of three poems: *Theogony*, *Works and Days*, *Scutum*.[1] The earliest evidence for the selection is perhaps a first-century papyrus, P. Mich. inv. 6828. This is an unusual example of a roll with text on both sides. The recto contains parts of *Th.* 710–54; the verso, apparently written by the same scribe but later and with a different pen, contains parts of *Op.* 313–404. The verso text is a little more crowded than the recto, and I have calculated that when the scribe reached the end of the *Works and Days*, he would have left himself room for about 550 verses more. It looks very much as if he meant to include the *Scutum*, which has 480 verses. The next certain evidence[2] is provided by two fourth-century papyri, both codices,

[1] Hardly a selection for school use; more likely a convenient grouping for book-production. The *Works and Days*, and the *Theogony* as it was interpreted at this time, were educational enough. But the inclusion of the *Scutum* is hard to account for in this way, especially as Aristophanes doubted its authenticity: his rejection of other Hesiodic poems, the *Precepts of Chiron* and perhaps the *Wedding of Ceyx*, may have contributed to the general neglect into which they fell after the Alexandrian Age. It is probably significant that the *Theogony*, *Works and Days*, and *Scutum* are the only three Hesiodic poems, so far as we know, on which commentaries were written. (Seleucus wrote on all three.) Compare Barrett's excellent account of the origin of the Euripides selection (*Euripides: Hippolytos*, pp. 50–53).

[2] Luc. *Salt.* 24 refers to *Th.* 3–4 as ἐν ἀρχῇ τῶν ἐπῶν. This may mean only 'at

which contained the three poems in the same order. In P. Vindob. G 19815, fragments from all three are preserved; the order *Op.*–*Sc.* is proved by the page-numbering, and the fact that the *Theogony* fragments come from the end and not the beginning of the poem shows that *Th.* stood before *Op.* and not after *Sc.* In P. Achmîm 3, we have a *sillybos*:

]ησιοδου
]θεογονία
]εργακαιημερ[α]ι
] ασπις

The list of Hesiod's works in the *Suda*, from Hesychius, begins with *Th.*, *Op.*, *Sc.*, then adds the *Catalogue* and other works.

In the early sixth century, 'Nonnus the abbot' (*Patrol. Gr.* 36. 1025) wrote: *Ἡσίοδος εἷς ἐστι τῶν ποιητῶν· οὗ πράττονται τρία ποιήματα, ἡ καλουμένη Θεογονία, τὰ καλούμενα Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι, καὶ ἡ καλουμένη Ἀσπίς.* These were thus the only three poems which survived the end of antiquity and were transcribed into minuscule.[1] From now on, the history of the transmission can be traced in much more detail.

B. MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE MANUSCRIPTS

The *Theogony* is contained, entire or in part, in sixty-nine medieval and renaissance manuscripts.[2] Apart from some *schedae*, the earliest is of the late thirteenth century, and only about a dozen are older than the fifteenth.

Only thirty-four of these MSS. have been used by previous editors. I have taken a further thirty-two into account in preparing this edition; of the three remaining, one is locked in the Meteora, the other two contain only eight lines of the poem

the beginning of his poem'; and if it does mean 'at the beginning of his poems', we still cannot assume a reference to the '*editio tripertita*'. Another passage of the same author (*Hes.* 1) suggests an arrangement in which the *Theogony* was still followed by the *Catalogue*, and then by the *Works and Days*.

[1] Of the other Hesiodic poems only the *Catalogue* had much currency in the Roman period, though the *Wedding of Ceyx* and *Great Ehoiai* are now also represented on papyrus. None of the numerous papyri of the *Catalogue* is certainly later than the fourth century; it is imitated by Triphiodorus in the fifth.

[2] This figure includes two MSS. no longer available, of which some record survives in older editions: a Turin MS. used by Goettling, and a Naples MS. used by van Lennep.

between them. I can thus claim that my text is the first to be based on a tolerably complete view of the tradition.

The following summary of my conclusions is intended merely to facilitate the use of this edition; for a somewhat fuller exposition, see *C.Q.* 1964, pp. 165–89.

1. B = *Parisinus supplément grec* 663 (*C Rzach*)

This composite volume contains, among other things, a number of leaves from a parchment codex written by a thoughtless and unschooled monk on Mount Athos, probably in the latter part of the eleventh century. Two of these leaves contain parts of the *Theogony*, verses 72–145 and 450–504; the rest are from the *Scutum*, the *Batrachomyomachia*, and an epitome of the *Iliad*.

In the 127 verses preserved in this MS., there are three places where it has the true reading against all later MSS.: 111 om. (so a papyrus and citations); 453 δμηθήσα, i.e. δμηθεῖσα; 459 ὥστισ. At least sometimes, therefore, B is independent of all the other MSS, but it has errors of its own, and others which it shares with them (87 αἰψά τε, 93 οἵα τε, 126 ἑαυτῇ).

2. *The hyparchetype k*

Another important witness is a lost MS., *k*, reconstructed from the readings of four extant codices:

K = Ravennas 120. Fourteenth century.
U = Matritensis 4607. Copied by Constantine Lascaris (1434–1501); corrections by him (U^1) and a second hand (U^2).
Ambrosianus (999) D 529 inf. Fifteenth century.
Vaticanus graecus 2185. Fifteenth century.

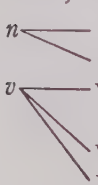
The last three of these were not copied direct from *k*, but from an intermediate MS. which I call *u*. In the first part of the *Theogony*, as far as about verse 250, *u* is copied from a MS. of the *r* family (below, § 8), and *k* is represented only by K; thereafter *k* can be reconstructed, from the agreement of K with *u* (or with individual representatives of *u*). The value of *k* is shown by the following good readings which it alone preserves: 259 τ' om. (so a papyrus), 481 μιν, 606 ζωήν (so a papyrus and Stobaeus),

800 δ' ἐξ, 812 ἀστεμφές. Besides these certainly or probably right readings, *k* (K) gives many other interesting variants which deserve consideration; see the apparatus at 31, 137, 157, 210, 231, 627, 730, 731, 732, 839, 843, 853, 874, 909, 920, 971, 982, 989.

U was corrected from S (below, § 6), with the result that many readings stemming from *k* were effaced. Towards the end of the poem, Lascaris began to look at S even while copying; hence he wrote κάλλιστον in 981, which is an error peculiar to S in the medieval tradition—K has κάρτιστον, Ambr. and Vat. κράτιστον.

3. *The hyparchetype a*

For the greater part of the poem we are without B; and the best substitute is a lost MS., *a*, reconstructed from five extant MSS., which fall into two groups:



n = Marcianus IX 6[1] (K Rzach). Fourteenth century.
Salmanticensis 243. Fifteenth century.

v = V = Laurentianus conventi soppressi 15. Fourteenth century.
W = Panormitanus 2Qq–A–75. Late fifteenth century.
X = Parisinus supplément grec 652. Fifteenth century. A later corrector (X^2) made many violent emendations.

The two representatives of *n* have a very similar text to one another, and were evidently faithful copies of the exemplar. They seldom need to be quoted singly, and I have not given them individual sigla. VWX show less solidarity; any two of the three may sometimes be found sinning together, either with or without *n*. We must assume that none of them is constantly faithful to *v*, but that the reading of *v* may normally be inferred from the agreement of two of them.

a is a contaminated source, though this is only apparent when B is available. For it is found in error now with B against *k*, now with *k* against B. Yet a contaminated source may be indispensable, if the sources that feed it are not otherwise at hand; and where B is wanting, *a* offers several good readings that we should not otherwise have, e.g. 5 Περμησσοῖο, 600 ὣς δ' αὔτως (so Stobaeus), 799 τελέσει, 871 γενεήν, 916 οἱ.

[1] The number used in the library is 1006.

4. P = *Parisinus supplément grec 679*

Like B, which it resembles in provenance and character, this is a mere fragment: a single page from a parchment codex of the twelfth century, containing scholia to *Th.* 746–859. The thirty-eight lemmata that P gives us contribute a meagre amount of text, but their early date makes them precious fragments. Little can be established about P's affinities. It is free from several specific errors both of *a* and of *k*, while its ἔπρεσε in 856, a reading also known from Triclinius and Etymologica, is superior to the ἔπρεε of $\Pi^{12}ak$. But it does not always have the best of the known variants; it has ἀστεμφής at 812, with all MSS. except *k*, and several peculiar errors of its own. Its place in the stemma might well be similar to that of B, but as it does not cover the same portion of the text, no real comparison is possible.

5. *The hyparchetype b*

Another lost manuscript of some importance is reconstructed from five extant MSS.:

L = Laurentianus conventi soppressi 158 (E Rzach). Fourteenth century. Many corrections and variants, in several hands: L^1 denotes those made by the original scribe during copying, L^2 those added when the scholia were copied in (perhaps by the same scribe as L^1), L^3 and L^4 those of later correctors (both fifteenth century).

m —— Parisinus (anciens fonds) grec 2763.
Parisinus (anciens fonds) grec 2833 (F Rzach).
Vratislavensis Rehdigeranus 35.
Mosquensis 469 Vlad. (*olim* 404).

The four representatives of *m* are all of the fifteenth century, and all but the first are on vellum. Rzach used only Par. 2833: it and the Laurentianus constitute his group Ωb (Jacoby's *b*). But the other three are closely similar to it, and none of them is copied from it. All four seem to have been copied from a single exemplar (*m*). They often err in twos and threes, in different combinations; this is probably a consequence of the relatively large number of marginal variants in the *b* family as a whole, which allowed much scope for choice.

When *k* was unknown, *b* appeared as an important independent branch of the tradition. It is now seen that *b* is indebted to *k* for many of its good readings, and that it is a contaminated source, being found in error now with *k*, now with *a* (never with B alone). Yet its sources are not entirely accounted for; there is a residue of places where it offers a good reading found neither in *a* nor in *k*: 169 *αἰψ'*, 188 *δ'*, 243 *Εὐκράντη*, 273 *Πεμφρηδώ* (so schol., *Et. gen.*), 345 *Ἀλδῆσκον*, 506 *τοῖς* (*τοῖσι ak*), 675 *στιβαραῖς*, 720 *γῆς*, 783 *ψεύδηται*, 820 *ἀπ'*, 825 *δεινοῖο*, 896 *ἔχουσαν* (*ἔχουσα ak*), 974 *δή*, 979 *Ὠκεανοῦ*. Most of these are easy corrections of what the other MSS. give, and need not have been taken from an independent source. But this is not true of all, and *b* cannot be altogether dispensed with.

6. S = *Laurentianus* 32.16 (*D Rzach*)

This celebrated MS. originated in the circle of Maximus Planudes, who copied some of it (not Hesiod) himself. It is dated to the year 1280. It is a scholar's collection of *poetae minores*; for Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* it is our sole authority, and it also contains Theocritus, Apollonius, Nicander, Oppian, Triphiodorus, and more. Its scribes thought more of conserving paper than eyesight: the writing throughout is small, crowded, and full of abbreviations and corrections. The latter were made both during copying (S^1) and later (S^2), perhaps by the same scribe.

Rzach regarded S as the best manuscript, and other things being equal, preferred its readings to those of his other MSS. He does not seem to have realized that most of its superior readings do not represent direct transmission, but emendation by the learned scribe. This was pointed out by Aly in the preface to his edition (1913), and shortly afterwards Wilamowitz issued a warning based on his study of the tradition of the bucolic poets.[1] Thus apprised, Jacoby watched for and collected many examples of this tendency to emend.[2] But he still allowed the MS. a place of honour in his stemma; which it does not deserve, for as might be expected of a scholar's text, it is contaminated from several sources. Now it exhibits the errors of *a*, now those of *k*, now those of *b*. It cannot be accommodated in any stemma.

It is in the main for its emendations that S needs to be quoted.

[1] *Die Ilias und Homer*, p. 463.

[2] Pp. 68–70 of his edition.

But there is a small residue of good readings and ancient readings that may not be conjectures:

18–19 transposed. This is probably not the right order, but it is ancient, being found also in a papyrus. A trace of the same disturbance is seen in K, where 19 is again out of place, after 14. S has preserved the ancient variant more truly.

83 *χεύουσιν*. So Themistius. But perhaps this is not based on transmission, but on Planudean grammatical theory. Cf. commentary on 480 and 491.

112 *ἄφενον*. Probably read also by Hippolytus, cf. apparatus.

459 *μέγας Κρόνος*. Also in B—perhaps a clue to the source of these readings—and a papyrus.

562 *χόλου* before correction, a variant which I have ventured to prefer.

592 *ναιετάουσαι* before correction. This reading seems to me to offer the best solution of the difficulty of the sentence, and it is unlikely to be a conjecture, though it might have been an accident.

847 *δέ*. Confirmed by papyri. I doubt if the removal of *πυρί* was within the capabilities of Byzantine textual criticism.

981 *κάλλιστον*. So a papyrus; but the error has a mechanical cause, and may have occurred independently in the two MSS.

7. Q = *Vaticanus graecus 915 (G Rzach) and the hyparchetype c*

Q is perhaps the second oldest of the whole MSS. A note at the end shows that its copying was complete by 1311. It represents another mixed recension, being found in error with *a*, *k*, *b* and S. Yet there are one or two isolated good readings:

554 *θυμόν*. Apparently known also to the scribe of K, who at first wrote *θυμοῦ* and then suprascribed two alternative corrections, *ῶ* and *ν*.

924 *γείνατ' Ἀθήνην*. So Chrysippus. See commentary ad loc.

1010 *ἠνεμοέσσης*. See commentary ad loc.

These readings may be derived from the same source as the good readings of S: the readings which Q has in common with S were evidently not taken from S itself, but from a common source, since several of them were altered by the first hand in S.

There is a group of about twelve other MSS., mostly of the

fifteenth century, that generally follow Q, though with an admixture of readings from other sources including *b*, *k* and Triclinius. Rzach used two of them (his H and I), regarding them as brothers of Q. Jacoby also assumed this of 'H', while making 'I' an apograph of 'H'. However, these MSS. do not seem to contain good readings that are not also in Q, and I do not think it justified to argue from their agreements with Q to the readings of a hypothetical hyparchetype. I have not investigated this group closely enough to establish anything about its internal structure, and refer to the source of its peculiar readings as *c*. The following representatives of *c* are mentioned individually in the apparatus:

Parisinus (anciens fonds) grec 2834 (at vv. 359, 576–7).
Senensis (Biblioteca Comunale) I. IX. 3 (at v. 862).
Phillipps 11723 (at vv. 87, 656).

Z = Mutinensis αT9.14. This manuscript was written *c.* 1460–70, probably in Crete. Although a member of an unimportant family, Z is of special interest for two reasons: the relatively pure form in which it preserves the scholia, and the number of peculiar variants to the text of the *Theogony* added by the second hand (Z^2). None of them is palpably correct or ancient, but several deserve mention; cf. at 121, 398, 401, 563, 574, 615. Others not mentioned in the apparatus or the commentary are 423 οὔτέ τε, 473 κατέπιε, 782 γένηται, 814 δνοφεροῖο, 824 ἀθάνατοι.

8. *The hyparchetype r*

Another group is made up by eight MSS., three of which were used by Rzach as representatives of his 'recensio x':

Romanus Casanatensis 356. Written *c.* 1300.
Vaticanus graecus 1332. Fourteenth century.
Laurentianus 91 sup. 10. Fifteenth century.

I have occasionally quoted readings also from:

Taurinensis *ap.* Goettling (at v. 511). Goettling calls it Taur. B III 16, and attributes it to the fifteenth century. I assume it to be the same as Taur. 112 (C V 3), which is the only Turin MS. in Pasini's catalogue containing the *Theogony*, and which was destroyed in the fire of 1904.

From the readings reported, it seems to have been copied from the Laurentianus.

Glasguensis Hunterianus U. 6. 11 (293). Fifteenth–sixteenth century. At about v. 175 the scribe switched his allegiance to Z. (Quoted at v. 826.)

The closest affinity of the *r* family is with *a*; but it deserts *a* too often to be brought into the stemma, being found in error at different times with *k*, *b*, S, and Q. There is no clear case of its being the sole preserver of a true reading, for its *μεγήρατα* at 240 may have been taken from the scholia, and may not be right anyway, while its *Μάχας τε Φόνους τ'* at 228 may be due to memory of Homer rather than direct transmission.

9. *Triclinius*

Demetrius Triclinius' recension is contained in Marcianus 464[1] (= Tr). He copied the *Theogony* sometime between 20 August 1316 and 16 November 1319. Rzach realized that Tr is contaminated; and it now appears that the *k* branch, which was unknown to Rzach, was the source of many Triclinian readings. Tr agrees particularly often with Q, and we are fortunate in knowing which manuscript was written first. Quite often the agreement is with *a*, once (in a true reading) with P (856). But there are no true transmitted readings that are not found in other MSS. Triclinius' importance lies in his emendations, several of which Rzach ascribes to later MSS. or to Aldus.

10. *Other contaminati; apographa*

The remaining MSS. are apographa of known copies, or idiosyncratic recensions based on MSS. of the known classes. Among the latter I have mentioned Ambrosianus (218) D 15 sup. (fifteenth century) at v. 656.

The apographa are divided as follows: one from K, six from U, one from Salm. 243, one from X, two from L, four from Z, three from Tr, five from the Aldine edition. A clearly and attractively written MS. like U was more likely to be copied than a difficult one like S, of which we have no apographa. In the cases of U and Tr, the fame and authority of the scribe may also have been an incentive to copying; in the case of the Aldine, the diffusion of copies explains the number of apographa.

[1] The number used in the library is 762.

Occasionally apographa have to be quoted in the apparatus, when their scribes by accident or design produce a worth-while reading. I have referred to the following:

Mosquensis 462 Vlad. (*olim* 238). A fourteenth-century copy of K. (At v. 675.)

Bodleiani Barocci 60 (at 61) and 109 (at 71); Scorialensis Φ III 16 (at 781); Parisinus (anciens fonds) grec 2678 (at 145, 281, 530). Four sixteenth-century copies of U, the first three through an intermediate copy.

Parisinus (anciens fonds) grec 2708 (L Rzach). A late fifteenth-century copy of Salm. 243. (At 683 and 691.)

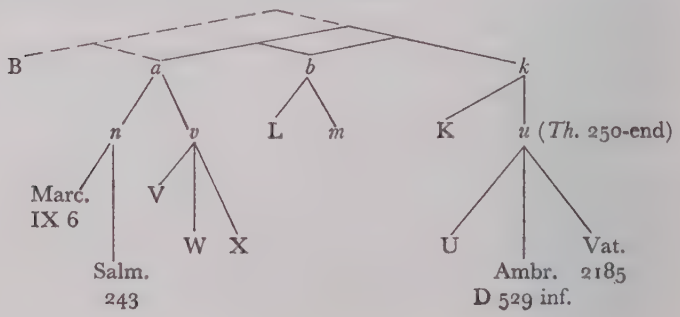
Neapolitanus incertus *ap.* van Lennep. Copied from the Aldine. (At 447.)

11. *Conclusions*

The tradition of the *Theogony* is extensively contaminated, and in general one can only identify different recensions, and assign the individual MSS. to them. The recensions that are of principal importance in constituting the text are those represented by B, *k*, *a*, *b*, S, and Q. It is impossible to arrange these sources in a satisfactory stemma; a more appropriate form of arrangement is a spectrum, in which their order is roughly as follows:

B—*a*—S—Q—*b*—*k*

But there is no point in quoting all these MSS. all the time. The most economical procedure is to quote those at the outer ends of the spectrum, in order to achieve as wide a representation of the tradition as possible. For the most part, therefore, I quote only *a* and *k*, and B where it is available, and the rest only when they offer independent good readings.



The above stemma, even if unsatisfactory as a historical reconstruction, may nevertheless be found helpful. The broken lines leading to B are a reminder that it is only available for a small part of the poem.

C. EARLY PRINTED EDITIONS

LONG before the Greek text was printed, Boninus Mombritius of Milan published a version of the *Theogony* in Latin hexameters (Ferrara, 1474). It is often possible to see what was written in the manuscript he used, especially in the case of proper names; and it is clear that it was a representative of *u*, though not any of the three extant representatives. It does not yield any good new readings.

The Greek text of the *Theogony* was first printed by Aldus (Venice, 1495, with bucolic and gnomic poets).[1] He apparently used several MSS., not all identifiable, but none containing better readings than those we know. I postulate five sources, namely: a representative of *m*; a representative of *r*; U or an apograph; Z or an apograph; and Paris. 2708. The only improvements of the text that seem attributable to the editor are 399 ἔδωκεν, 605 ὅ δ' οὐ βιότου ἐπιδευής. Others ascribed to him by Rzach are found in earlier MSS.; some go back to Triclinius.

The first Juntine edition (Florence, 1516)[2] was edited by Eufrosyno Bonini, from two sources: the Aldine, and a MS. of the *c* family which I have not identified.[3] Its importance for the text is nil.

Ioannes Frobenius (*Scriptores aliquot gnomici*, Basel, 1521) based his text on the Aldine and Juntine. ἐπέκειτο in 145 is an innovation, also met in cod. Paris. 2678 (sixteenth century) and easily suggested by the reading ἐπέκειτο in 143 (Aldine). Of more interest is Ἀργαίῳ in 484 (see commentary ad loc.): presumably a conjecture and not a misprint, as it is the first word on its page and confirmed by a catchword at the foot of the preceding page.

Io. Franc. Trincavelli used the Aldine and three Venetian MSS. for his elegantly printed edition (Venice, 1537), in which

[1] The *Works and Days* had been printed at Milan *c.* 1480.

[2] On the date cf. Gow, *Theocritus*, I. xlvi, n. 1.

[3] Apparently not Paris. 2772, Laur. 31. 32, Vat. gr. 1948, Vat. Barb. gr. 43, Phillipps 11723, Sen. I. IX. 3, Mosqu. 470, or *Z*; perhaps Paris. 2834.

the scholia were printed for the first time. The MSS. are the Marciani IX 6, 464 (Triclinius) and 480 (apograph of 464). The second Juntine edition (1540; reprinted at Venice in 1543 *ex officina Farrea*) was based on the first, but included some new readings from Trincavelli.

The most important of the early editions is that printed at Basel in 1542. The editor was Ioannes Birchman, a Cologne bookseller; the printing-house is identifiable as that of Oporinus (Johann Herbst). The preface is addressed to Cuthbert Tunstall, then Bishop of Durham. It emerges that that worthy had given to the University of Cambridge a manuscript of Hesiod containing scholia, and that Sir John Cheke, being Professor of Medicine and Greek, had sent it to Birchman to edit; unwisely, for he never saw it again.

For the text of the *Theogony*, Birchman made no use of the manuscript, but reprinted the Aldine text with very little correction.[1] The scholia, on the other hand, must have been printed direct from the manuscript, as Birchman seems not to have known of Trincavelli's edition. Hermann Schultz, *Abh. Gött.* 12 (4), 1910, has shown that the Basel edition, i.e. the lost Cambridge MS., is of some importance as a source for the scholia: the version it represents is very corrupt and lacunose, but comparatively full. The edition also contains Mombritius' translation (the text of which differs in details from that of the original publication), and an anonymous prose version: a literal word-for-word translation, respecting every particle, from which it is possible to reconstruct almost perfectly the Greek text from which it was made. This was not the text printed with it, or the text of any known manuscript; and it is reasonable to guess that it was the text of the manuscript sent by Cheke from Cambridge. If so, the translation may have been made specially for Birchman's edition; or it may have been interlinear in the manuscript itself—the Greek word order is strictly followed. In either case, it may have been altered in places to accord with the printed text, so it is prudent to argue only from the places where it diverges. I have noted over fifty such places. In most of them the variant presupposed is known from MSS.; there is no consistent agreement with any one MS. or family, but the significant coincidences are with *b*, *r*, Q, S. In addition there are a number

[1] One reading, in 484, comes from the earlier Basel edition of 1521.

of interesting unique variants, at least one of which (832) is certainly right:

45	*genuerunt*	implies	ἔτικτον.
93	*tale*	,,	τοίη? But cf. U οἷά τε with gloss τοιαύτη.
321	*Illi erant*	,,	τῆς ἦν. Cf. ad loc.
363	*grandiores natu*	,,	πρεσβύτεραι.
418	*uero*	,,	δέ οἱ (cj. Koechly).
639	*apposuerunt*	,,	παρέσχεθον? (cj. Goettling).
832	*incoercibilis*	,,	ἀσχέτου (scripsit Winterton).
892	*illa duo enim*	,,	τὼ γάρ (scripsit Winterton).

These do not look like conjectures, and it appears that the lost MS. had a rare good source to draw on for text as well as for scholia.

The edition was reprinted by Oporinus under his own name in 1544. In a later revision of it by Georgius Henisch (1574, 1580), some of the readings implied by the Latin version make their appearance in the Greek text: 45 ἔτικτον, 227 λοιμόν (*pestemque*; this reading also Junt.), 393 ἀπορήσειν (*non cariturus sit*), 675 στιβαρῆς for στιβαράς (*ualidis*), 725 ἵκεν for ἵκοιτο (*uenit*). These might be emendations designed to remove discrepancies; but the obvious way to remove them was by altering the Latin, and it is more natural to suppose that the Cambridge MS. was still at Oporinus' premises in Basel and was consulted by Henisch.[1] That it eventually returned to Cambridge might be thought to be suggested by the appearance of two more of these readings in Winterton's edition (Cambridge, 1635; cf. above). But these may very well be conjectures inspired by the Latin version; there is no other indication that Winterton used manuscripts.

The first edition to be printed in France appeared at Paris (*apud Iacobum Bogardum*) in 1544. It is based on the Aldine and Trincavelli, but includes a Latin version adapted from that of the Basel edition.

For a list of the main editions after 1544, see p. 101.

D. PAPYRI

EIGHT papyrus fragments were known to Jacoby; four more have been published since then, and I have been able to make use of

[1] This supposition accounts for the appearance of two other new readings: 236 μήδεα (γρ. m^2 in cod. Mutin. αN5. 9, a copy of U written by George Valla; *consilia* interpr., which represents μήδεα also in 398 and 559); 990 ἀναρειψαμένη.

a further seventeen unpublished ones. The full list is as follows:[1]

Π^1 P. Oxy. 2090, 2nd century. Edited by Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, xvii (1927), p. 119. Now in Queen's College, Oxford. Fragments of *Th.* 1–7, 28–52, 148–54. Recollated in 1961.

Π^2 P. Cair. 47269, 2nd–3rd century. Edgar, *Annales du Service*, xxvi (1926), pp. 205–6. Now in Cairo. *Th.* 1–51.

Π^3 P. Achmîm 3 = Paris. suppl. gr. 1099, codex, 4th–5th century. Wilcken, *Sitz.-Ber. preuss. Ak.* 1887, pp. 807–8; Collart, *Les Papyrus grecs d'Achmîm à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*, Cairo, 1930 (reprinted from *Bull. de l'inst. français d'archéol. orientale*, xxxi). *Th.* 75–106, 108–45. Recollated in 1961.

Π^4 P. Lit. Lond. 33 (inv. 159), 3rd–4th century.[2] Kenyon, *Rev. Phil.* 16, 1892, pp. 181–3; Milne, *Catalogue of the Literary Papyri in the British Museum* (1927), p. 29. *Th.* 210–38, 259–71, 296–97. Recollated in 1960.

Π^5 P. Vindob. G 19815, codex, 4th century. Wessely, *Studien z. Paläographie u. Papyruskunde*, 1. Heft (1901), pp. iii–xxiii; Rzach, ib., pp. 11–16; Livadaras, *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 66, 1962, pp. 425–7, and *Ἱστορία τῆς παραδόσεως*, pp. 90–115. In the Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna. *Th.* 626–40, 658–73, 777–83, 811–17, 838–40, 845–9, 871–2, 879–81; *Op.* 179–85, 210–15, 243–8, 252–65, 274–9, 283–96, 309–31, 344–63, 491–4, 511–19, 527, 528, 544–52, 686–828; *Sc.* 1–32, 350–4, 382–4, 426–40, 456–70. Recollated in 1961.

Π^6 P. Ryl. 54, 1st century B.C. or A.D. Hunt, *Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, i (1911), p. 179. *Th.* 643–56. Re-examined for me by Stephanie West.

Π^7 P. Oxy. 873, 3rd century. Grenfell–Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vi (1908), p. 179. Now at Yale. *Th.* 930–40, 994–1004.

Π^{12} P.S.I. 1086, 2nd century. Vitelli, *Papiri greci e latini*, ix (1929), pp. 131–2. In the Laurentian Library. *Th.* 837–69. Examined in 1961.

Π^{13} P.S.I. 1191 (Bartoletti, *Papiri greci e latini*, xi (1935), pp. 66–68. In the Laurentian Library. Examined in 1961) + P. Oxy. 2639, 2nd–3rd century. *Th.* 57–75, 84–96, 566–92, 628–42, 652–64, 866–76, 913–32, 1016–20.

[1] I have adopted and extended Jacoby's system of numbering. Π^8–Π^{11} are excluded here, as they contain only the *Works and Days*.

[2] G. Arrighetti, *Athenaeum*, 1961, pp. 230 f., wishes to raise the date to the 2nd century; I do not know whether his grounds are sufficient.

Π^{14} P. Heidelb. 204, 2nd century. Siegmann, *Literarische griech. Texte aus d. Heidelberger Papyrussammlung* (1956), pp. 65–66 and pl. 11a. In the Universitätsbibliothek, Heidelberg. *Th.* 606–13.

Π^{15} P. Antin. 71, codex, 6th century. Barns, *The Antinoopolis Papyri*, ii (1960), pp. 58–61. In the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. *Th.* 825–53, 868–96. Examined in 1961.

Π^{16} P. Milan Vogliano 38, 1st century. Colonna, *Papiri della Università degli Studi di Milano*, ii (1961), pp. 14–15. *Th.* 271–99. I have a photograph.

Π^{17} P. Antin. ined., 4th–5th century. To appear in *The Antinoopolis Papyri*, iii. *Th.* 367–71, 394–402, 503–6, 511–?, 531–6.

Π^{18} P. Mich. ined., inv. 6644, 2nd–3rd century. *Th.* 1–23.

Π^{19} P. Mich. ined., inv. 6828, 1st century. *Th.* 710–54, *Op.* 313–31, 338–67, 374–404. See above, p. 51.

Π^{20} P. Oxy. 2638, 2nd–3rd century. *Th.* 46–60.

Π^{21} P. Oxy. 2640, 1st–2nd century. *Th.* 135–50.

Π^{22} P. Oxy. 2641, 3rd century. *Th.* 245–92.

Π^{23} P. Oxy. 2642, 2nd century. *Th.* 271–83.

Π^{24} P. Oxy. 2643, 2nd–3rd century. *Th.* 359–94.

Π^{25} P. Oxy. 2644, codex, 5th–6th century. *Th.* 421–43, 456–81.

Π^{26} P. Oxy. 2645, 2nd–3rd century. *Th.* 504–19.

Π^{27} P. Oxy. 2646, 2nd–3rd century. *Th.* 650–63.

Π^{28} P. Oxy. 2647, codex, 3rd century. *Th.* 680–9, 735(?)–46.

Π^{29} P. Oxy. 2648, 2nd–3rd century. *Th.* 681–94, 751–71.

Π^{30} P. Oxy. 2649, 2nd–3rd century. *Th.* 731–40.

Π^{31} P. Oxy. 2650, codex, 4th–5th century. *Th.* 847–56, 886–95.

Π^{32} P. Oxy. 2651, 2nd–3rd century. *Th.* 963–81.

(P. Oxy. 2638–2651 are to be published in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, xxxii.)

We still have no papyrus of Ptolemaic date. If we had, we might expect, on the analogy of the Homer papyri, to find considerable variations in the text: additional verses, verses omitted, verses appearing in a substantially different form. Such things can happen even in later papyri: Π^{8} gave us four new verses before *Op.* 174, and may have contained more; while Π^{19} seems to have had eight verses in place of *Op.* 314–16. But there is nothing of this sort in the *Theogony* papyri. They give little support to modern atheteses, except that Π^{3} omits 111 (as do B, Hippolytus, and Theophilus), Π^{28} apparently omits 736–9,

and Π^{29} omits 768. The omission of 630 in Π^{14} is no doubt accidental (Π^{5} has it in a different place from the vulgate), and that of 830 in Π^{15} (which has 829 after 831, an impossible order) was rectified by the corrector. On the omissions by papyri of 19, 288, and 382, see below. The displacement of 434 in Π^{25} lends weight to Schoemann's transposition of the verse.

The papyri bring us good new readings in several places, in some cases confirming conjectures made long ago: 93 *τοιη* (cj. Winterton), 210 *γε|σεσθαι* ?, 213 *θε|ων*, 229 *λογ|ους τ* (cj. C. Lascaris, Blaydes), 246 *ευνικη* (cj. Graevius), 466 *γ' αρ'* (cj. Peppmüller), 576 *ανθεα*, 582 *δεινα*, 583 *επι πασιν αητο*, 647 *κα|ρτευς*, 654 *αιψ*, 656 *ο τοι* (cj. Hermann), 661 *προ|φρονι θυμω|*, 715 *στιβαρεων*, 723 and 725 *κ ες* (cj. Thiersch), 733 *επεληλαται*.

In many more places they confirm variants already known and in most cases adopted (5, 28, 29, 34, 41, 49, 91, 102, 112, 126, 129, 277, 280, 282, 364, 469, 567, 606, 659, 664, 731, 732, 811, 830, 847, 850, 856, 874, 974). Even more often they present a new but inferior variant (22, 72, 78, 87, 88, 91, 131, 146, 250, 268, 277, 286, 373, 391, 394, 423, 437, 568, 652, 682, 684, 713, 719, 726, 732, 736, 840, 843, 844, 854, 858, 867, 870, 874, 876, 882).

In a few places, two papyri appear to agree in error:

51 *θεῶν* for *Διὸς* $\Pi^{1}\Pi^{20}$. Both papyri come from Oxyrhynchus, and they are of similar date; so it is not surprising if they are related.

652 *ἂψ ἵκεσθε* for *ἂψ ἀφίκεσθε* $\Pi^{6}\Pi^{27}$. It is not certain whether in fact this is an error; if it is, it has an obvious mechanical cause, and might have happened independently.

659, see below.

736 *δνοφέης* for *δνοφερῆς* $\Pi^{10}\Pi^{30}$. Again it is not certain that this is not right, cf. ad loc.

Not infrequently a papyrus agrees with the vulgate in a suspect reading (74, 82, 253, 427, 435, 473 ?, 635, 694, 710, 742, 860, 863). The corruptions, if such they be, are thus shown to be ancient.

There remain a number of places where a papyrus shares a presumed error with part of the medieval tradition:

19 after 17 in Π^{2} S, after 14 in K, om. Π^{18} L. The most natural place for the line is after 18, and there is no obvious mechanical reason for its displacement, or ground for thinking it interpolated.

31 *δρέψασαι* Π^{1} (judging from the space), *a*, cf. *A.P.* 9. 64. 3; *δρέψασθαι* K, sch., Diac., Aristides. But see ad loc.

48 *λήγουσι* Π^{1} S; perhaps an independent conjecture.

288 om. $\Pi^{16}\Pi^{22}$ *ak*, present in *b*Q and read by Tzetzes. Probably a genuine verse.

370 *οἳ ἂν* Π^{24} *ak*. Perhaps right, but parallels and imitations support *ὅσοι*.

382 om. Π^{24} *k*. Probably a genuine verse.

462 *ἀν* om. Π^{28} and Q; probably a mere coincidence.

475 (*ὅσα*) *περιτροτο* Π^{28} and W; probably coincidence (haplography).

636 *συνεχεως* Π^{5}, *συνεχῶς π*, *συνεχέως kv*. The variant may have been transmitted by the scholia, since *συνεχές* was an Aristarchean reading in Homer.

659 *δ' ἐξαῦτις* $\Pi^{5}\Pi^{27}$ *k*, *ἐξαῦτις* Π^{13} *a*.

664 *ἐπήνησαν* Π^{14} SWX Salm. 243, *ἐπηρήρεσαν* Π^{5} Q p.c., *ἐπήνεσαν* cett. Insignificant.

762 *τῶν δ' a*, and perhaps Π^{29}, *τῶν k*.

856 *ἔπρεε* $\Pi^{12}\Pi^{31}$ (?) *ak*, *ἔπρεσε* PTrU[1] Etym.

Not all these agreements are significant; but enough of them are to make it clear that the variants of our medieval tradition are in many cases ancient variants. Whether they were handed down through a single ninth-century minuscule archetype liberally equipped with marginal variants, as Jacoby believes, or through independent copies of more than one uncial exemplar, cannot be determined, and is not of much importance. What matters is that more than one ancient manuscript has contributed variants to the medieval tradition. The practical consequence of this is that, when the MSS. are divided, it is reasonable to choose the variant supported by a papyrus if other things are equal, but legitimate to reject it if they are not.

E. CITATIONS

There are many verbal citations from the *Theogony* which are not dependent upon extant manuscripts, and which must therefore be taken into consideration as sources for the text. They extend from Plato to Moschopulos, and may be divided into three classes: philosophical, rhetorical, and grammatical.

The last type is the most useful, for several reasons. Firstly,

they often take us straight back to the Alexandrian period, even if they are attested only in comparatively late sources such as the *Etymologica*; secondly, they are normally taken from texts, and not from memory like the other types; thirdly, the oddity that forms the subject of a grammarian's citation tends by nature to be the *lectio difficilior*, more likely to be the victim than the child of corruption. We may accept τρέε in 850 with little hesitation from the commentators on Hephaestion; and δήσας in 521, for all the difficulties attending it, deserves serious consideration.

In using the other kinds of citation, the utmost circumspection is necessary. It was all too easy for an educated sophist, for example, who had read and heard more Greek poetry than we can dream of, to misremember, contaminate, and omit. There is no great significance in the fact that Chrysippus leaves out 891–9, or that Aristotle, whose memory for poetry was as lamentable as his talent for composing it, quotes 120 in a variant form. One must take note of such things; but it would be foolhardy to put trust in them when we have a direct manuscript tradition, even though the MSS. are so much later in date. A man's memory may do more to corrupt a text in a month than 1,500 years of copying from books.

Besides committing accidental errors, a writer may be forced by his theme, or may choose, to omit or adapt. A good illustration of this is the citation of 722–5 by Anon. *isagog. in Arat.* (pp. 319 and 333 Maass): ὁ γοῦν Ἡσίοδος φυσικευόμενός φησιν·

> ἐννέα γὰρ νύκτας τε καὶ ἤματα χάλκεος ἄκμων
> οὐρανόθεν κατιών, δεκάτῃ δ' ἐς γαῖαν ἵκοιτο. (722–3)

εἶτα πρὸς τὸ ἴσον βάθος τῆς γῆς·

> ἐννέα δ' αὖ νύκτας τε καὶ ἤματα χάλκεος ἄκμων
> ἐς γαῖαν κατιών, δεκάτῃ δ' ἐς τάρταρον ἵκοι. (724–5)

He omits 723a, perhaps indeed because he does not know it, but perhaps because he has paraphrased it. In either case, he naturally writes δ' αὖ in 724, not γὰρ, as in those MSS. which have 723a. Further, he replaces ἐκ γαίης κατιών in 725 by ἐς γαῖαν κατιών. His motive is clear from the context. He is assuming a four-storey universe, not Hesiod's three-storey one; Tartarus is identified with the underside of the earth, below which is the other hemisphere of heaven. The distance from here to Tartarus is thus the

thickness of the earth itself, and to reach Tartarus you would travel not down from the earth, but down into it.

The ideal witness is one who has no motive for alteration, whose variant is unlikely as a figment of memory, and who is supported by a papyrus or part of the medieval tradition. Such is Stobaeus with *ζωὴν* for *κτῆσιν* in 606; Theophilus and Hippolytus with their omission of 111; the Pindaric scholia with *τῆς ὅτε* in 280. Such testimonies are of real value; and even where a witness stands alone, he may add weight to suspicion founded on internal grounds; so it is, for example, with 218–19.

Little can be inferred from the citations about the state of the text in antiquity. The total range of variation in it appears small by comparison with the *Works and Days*, or Homer, or the early elegiac poets. The evidence of the papyri that the variants of the medieval MSS. are sometimes ancient variants receives some confirmation: see the apparatus at 81, 82, 83, 91, 112. This means that the agreement of a citation with one of two manuscript variants does not automatically discredit the other.[1]

F. OTHER SOURCES FOR THE TEXT

(*a*) *The Scholia*

The scholia descend from an ancient commentary which combined the results of Alexandrian scholarship with allegorical interpretation deriving from the Stoics. This commentary seems to have been compiled in the first century A.D.: for it draws upon no authorities of later date.[2] Zeno and Chrysippus are cited, but no use is made of such convenient secondary sources as Cornutus and Heraclitus. The author cites Aristonicus and Didymus, and no doubt derives from them all his knowledge of the Alexandrian scholars' opinions; but not Apollonius Dyscolus or Herodian. The latest grammarians mentioned are Tryphon and Habron (*s.* i A.D.).

This commentary suffered the usual fate. It was excerpted

[1] One must also allow for the possibility of cross-contamination between the tradition of Hesiod and that of the citing author. There are several places where both traditions exhibit the same variants (see apparatus at 3, 31, 32, 81, 82, 84, 94, 281, 287, 364), though in every case the variants could have arisen independently. Cf. E. R. Dodds, *Plato: Gorgias*, p. 64; Barrett, *Hippolytos*, pp. 429 f.

[2] Muetzell, *De emendatione Theog. hesiod.*, 1833, p. 341; cf. Schoemann, *Opuscula Academica*, ii. 539.

and continually abridged, and the original wording was freely altered by copyists. At the same time, new material was introduced: Byzantine paraphrase, and excerpts from other sources which seemed relevant, such as the Proclan scholia to the *Works and Days* (on Prometheus), and the allegorical Exegesis of Diaconus (see below). Triclinius was responsible for substantial additions, with citation from Byzantine writers.

In using the scholia as a source for the text, it is necessary to consider to which element in the compound each item belongs. Otherwise one may be misled. For example, from sch. 180 *μήδεα λέγει ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς γονῆς ἄρχειν. ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ μέζεά τινα εἶναι τὰ μέσον ὄντα τῶν μηρῶν, ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ μήδω τοῦ βουλεύομαι*, one might be tempted to infer a variant *μέζεα*. The derivation is rather an importation from a fuller version of sch. *Op.* 512 than we now have.[1] A mere paraphrase or gloss is of little value for deciding between the MS. variants, because it may be of very recent origin. In several cases such notes are demonstrably based on false readings. But they are useful for recovering lost readings, cf. 253, 732 nn.

Where a scholium goes back to an ancient commentary, however, it is especially welcome, whether it confirms the reading of the MSS. or corrects it. The otherwise unknown word *λόχεος* (178) would be considerably more suspect were it not explicitly attested by Aristonicus. It is to the scholia, confirmed by papyri, that we owe the readings *γηρύσασθαι* (28), *ἀν' ἀγῶνα* (91); cf. also at 82, 709, 732.

It is not only the Alexandrian fragments that are important for the text. In some places the allegorical interpretation indicates a different text from the vulgate, though not always a better one; e.g. 257 *Λαομέδεια. ἡ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐν πλῷ μνήμη πραγμάτων*—sc. *Ἀλλομέδεια*, which Flach needlessly alters to *Ἀλομέδεια*. See also on 216 and 300.

(*b*) *Diaconus*

We also possess a Byzantine Exegesis by one Ioannes Diaconus Galenus, about whose person nothing is known.[2] It consists of a continuous allegorical commentary on the *Theogony*, written

[1] A fuller version of the *Works and Days* scholia was known to Tzetzes: Schoemann, *Opusc. Acad.* iii. 47 ff.; Usener, *Rh. Mus.* 1867, pp. 587 ff. = *Kl. Schr.* i. 119–31; Dimitrijević, *Studia Hesiodea*, pp. 15–22.

[2] He also wrote an allegory on *Il.* 4. 1–4, published by Flach, *Glossen u. Scholien*, pp. 420–4.

for the author's son Ioannes, who was apparently studying in Athens. Its date is uncertain; the earliest manuscript that contains it is Tr. Muetzell[1] maintained that Diaconus lived not later than the eleventh century, but his arguments are insubstantial.[2] The only positive evidence is a possible citation by Eustathius 989. 38: *καὶ περὶ Σεμέλης δέ, ἣν καὶ εἰς ἄμπελόν τινες, ἧς ὁ οἶνος* (l. *ἄνεμος*) *κατασείει μέλη, ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Θεογονίαν ἀλληγοροῦσιν.* Cf. Diac. p. 359. 8 Flach *Σεμέλη δὲ ἡ ἄμπελος λέγεται ὡς σειόμενα ὑπ' ἀνέμων ἔχουσα τὰ μέλη.* But Eustathius may of course be referring to some much earlier work which Diaconus here happened to use. The only certain *terminus ante quem* is provided by Triclinius.

The text used by Diaconus had a definite affinity with *a*: 243 *Εὐκράτη* (p. 313. 9 *εὐκρατοῦσθαι*) = *ak*; 245 *Κυμοθέη* (p. 313. 13 *κύμασι θέειν*) = *n*; 273 *Πεφριδώ* (p. 315. 6 *τὰ φρίσσειν ἡμᾶς ποιοῦντα*) = *a*; 358 *Τελευτώ* (p. 323. 19 *ἀπὸ τοῦ τοὺς τελευτῶντας πηγαίοις ὕδασι καταλούεσθαι*) = *v*; 383 *θυγάτηρ* om. (p. 325. 12 *γεννᾷ μιγεῖσα τῷ τοῦ 'Ωκεανοῦ Πάλλαντι*) = *r*; 779 *ἀργαλέοισι* (p. 348. 9) = *a*; 792 *πῆμα θνητοῖσι* (p. 351. 1–7) = *a*. Occasionally he had a text different from our MSS.: 214 *Μῶλον* (p. 311. 29 *ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Μῶλον καὶ τὴν 'Οιζὺν γεννᾷ, τὸν Μῶλον μὲν ὅτι ἀοράτως οἱ πόλεμοι ἀναφύονται*); 217 *κλεοπόνους* (p. 312. 12 *ἢ Μοῖραι καὶ Κῆρες εἶεν ἂν τέκνα κλεοπόνα, αἱ δόξαι αἱ . . . παρεχόμεναι καὶ κλέα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐκ πόνων τῶν ἐν νυκτί*); 246–7 transposed; 293 *Ὄρθρον* (p. 316. 30, cf. 320. 30). None of these is right.

(*c*) *The Anonymous Exegesis*

We also possess another, anonymous, Exegesis, independent of Diaconus and based on a better text. It is first found in Casan. 356. It is free from some *a*-errors (352, 779); in 353 it agrees with *n* in *'Ερατώ* for *ἐρατή* (p. 396. 22), but this is also in the scholia. It also differs from *b*: 148–9 in the right order; 243 *Εὐκράτη*, 811 *χάλκεος*. In several places it presupposes a different text from all the MSS.: 184 *περιπλομένου δ' ἐνιαυτοῦ* (p. 381. 18 *τοῦ χρόνου* ('year') *δὲ περιερχομένου*: *-ῳ -ῷ Et. Gud.*); 195 *μαραίνετο* (p. 382. 23 *ἐν τῷ τέλει οὖν καὶ τῇ ἐκπληρώσει τῆς συνουσίας* (Aphrodite's feet!) *μάρανσις γίνεται καὶ ἀπομαραίνεται τὸ τοιοῦτον*

[1] Op. cit., pp. 295–301.

[2] Cf. K. Krumbacher, *Gesch. d. Byz. Litteratur*, 2nd ed., pp. 557 f.

ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ βοτάνη: the repetition of the word shows that it was in the text); 229 *Ἀντιλογίας* (p. 385. 24: also in some dett.); 273 *Πευφρηδώ* (p. 388. 30 *ἡ διὰ τοῦ γινομένου ἀφροῦ εὐδία, ᾗ οἱ ναῦται εὐφραίνονται, τοῦ π πλεονάζοντος*); 321 *τῆς ἦν?* (p. 392. 17 *ἧς Χιμαίρας . . . τρεῖς ἦσαν κεφαλαί*, 394. 19 *ἐγέννησε δὲ καὶ τὴν Χίμαιραν . . . οὗ τρεῖς εἰσι κεφαλαί*: cf. 393. 4 *ἣν Χίμαιραν = τὴν μὲν* (325), *contra* 389. 26 *ὁπότε δὲ ταύτης τῆς Μεδούσης = τῆς δ' ὅτε* (280)); 918a (p. 412. 21), see ad loc. The Exegesis ends at verse 926.

(d) Tzetzes

Finally we must mention the *Θεῶν Γενεαλογία* of John Tzetzes, first published by Bekker, *Abh. Berl. Ak.* 1840, pp. 147–69, from cod. Casan. 306.[1] It was composed *c.* 1143.[2] Its sources and character are discussed by Ziegler in *Roscher*, v. 1510–16. It is mainly based on the *Theogony*, but other authorities are sometimes explicitly cited, and the use of Hesiod is both careless and free. As a source for the text, Tzetzes is therefore of little use; but in view of his relatively early date, it is worth noting that he read the vulgate text in 214 *Μῶμον* (Tz. verse 115), 227 *Λήθην τε Λιμόν τε* (Tz. 122), 276 *Σθενώ* (Tz. 139), 732 *θύρας* (Tz. 276). At Tz. 138–42 (Hes. 273) the MSS. vary between *Πεφριδώ* and *Πεφρηδώ*, at 162 (Hes. 309) between *Ὄρθον* and *Ὄρθρον*. From 328 it might be thought that Tzetzes read *Εἰλειθυίας* in Hes. 922; but there is a similar substitution of the plural in 122 (Hes. 231) *καὶ τοὺς Ὅρκους*.

V. STYLE

Most of what I have to say on the subject of Hesiod's style belongs in the Commentary. But a few general remarks may be in place here.

Hesiod has many styles, varying according to his subject-matter. Gnomic, genealogical, hymnic, and narrative poetry each had its own tradition, and all were known to him. But he

[1] See also P. Matranga, *Anecdota Graeca* (Rome, 1850), ii. 577–98, and the fragment in Paris. gr. 2705 published by Miller, *Catal. des MSS. grecs de l'Escurial*, 1848, pp. 30 f.

[2] Krumbacher, p. 531.

did not find them all equally easy to manipulate, and while impressing something of his personality upon each of them, he did not succeed in imparting to them a uniformity of style such as we are accustomed to in literary art, ancient and modern, and such as might be employed with confidence as a criterion in questions of authenticity.

He is most fluent in genealogical passages. Where it is a matter of stringing names together, as in the catalogue of Nereids, he does it with a melodious grace that leaves nothing to be desired.[1]

It is in general narrative that one is most conscious of a contrast between Hesiod and the Homeric singer. It is as if an artisan with his big, awkward fingers were patiently, fascinatedly, imitating the fine seam of the professional tailor. A few examples must here suffice. Hesiod knows that in the epic style, when an extended simile follows that to which it refers, it is customary to return to this at the end, e.g.

καίετο γαῖα
. . . . . καὶ ἐτήκετο κασσίτερος ὥς
. . . . . .
τήκεται ἐν χθονὶ δίῃ ὑφ' Ἡφαίστου παλάμῃσιν·
ὣς ἄρα τήκετο γαῖα. (*Th.* 861–7)

But adherence to this principle leads him into redundancy. In *Th.* 700–4 he writes:

εἴσατο δ' ἄντα
ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδεῖν ἠδ' οὔασιν ὅσσαν ἀκοῦσαι
αὖτως, ὡς ὅτε γαῖα καὶ οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὕπερθε
πίλνατο· τοῖος γάρ κε μέγας ὑπὸ δοῦπος ὀρώρει,
τῆς μὲν ἐρειπομένης, τοῦ δ' ὑψόθεν ἐξεριπόντος.

The sense of the last two lines is, 'For even such a noise (as now arose in the battle) would be arising (in that hypothetical event)'. After this it is superfluous to add, as he does, 'Such a noise (as would then be arising) now arose':

τόσσος δοῦπος ἔγεντο θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνιόντων. (705)

While he can imitate formal devices like this, he does not achieve the smooth, leisurely expansiveness of the professional

[1] Cf. Dion. Hal. *De imit.* 2. 2 'Ἡσίοδος μὲν γὰρ ἐφρόντισεν ἡδονῆς δι' ὀνομάτων λειότητος καὶ συνθέσεως ἐμμελοῦς. If Quintilian seems less appreciative (10. 1. 52 *magnaque pars eius in nominibus est occupata*) it is because the study of this kind of poetry is of small use to the budding orator.

rhapsode's narrative. His natural inclination is to tell the story more laconically. Thus, in his account of the Titanomachy, he does not descend to details of individual conflicts and successes, but characterizes the battle as a whole and its effects upon the world. Zeus has indeed his aristeia (687–711), but it is not directed against specific opponents, it is treated as a contribution to the struggle at large.

This directness of Hesiod's finds its most characteristic expression in the speeches. These are curt little affairs, devoid of Homeric rhetoric, and quaintly formal. Take Prometheus' exchanges with Zeus:

> "'Ἰαπετιονίδη, πάντων ἀριδείκετ' ἀνάκτων,
> ὦ πέπον, ὡς ἑτεροζήλως διεδάσσαο μοίρας."
> (*Th.* 543–4)
>
> "Ζεῦ κύδιστε μέγιστε θεῶν αἰειγενετάων,
> τῶν δ' ἕλευ ὁπποτέρην σε ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θυμὸς ἀνώγει."
> (548–9)
>
> "'Ἰαπετιονίδη, πάντων πέρι μήδεα εἰδώς,
> ὦ πέπον, οὐκ ἄρα πω δολίης ἐπελήθεο τέχνης."
> (559–60)

Or the Muses' address to Hesiod himself:

> "Ποιμένες ἄγραυλοι, κάκ' ἐλέγχεα, γαστέρες οἷον,
> ἴδμεν ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγειν ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα,
> ἴδμεν δ' εὖτ' ἐθέλωμεν ἀληθέα γηρύσασθαι." (26–28)

Such short speeches are very rare in Homer.[1]

Another curious feature of the speeches may be remarked upon. Hesiod knows, of course, that when a speech made by A to B is repeated by B to C, it is reproduced in as nearly as possible the same words (e.g. *Il.* 2. 11–15 = 28–32 = 65–69; 9. 122–57 = 264–99; cf. Hdt. 3. 30. 2, 65. 2). Such repetition may also occur where A asks B a question, and B answers it (cf. *Il.* 6. 376–87, *Od.* 11. 397–408). But Hesiod tries to do the same thing in different circumstances, namely where A makes a proposal, and B assents to it.

> "Παῖδες ἐμοὶ καὶ πατρὸς ἀτασθάλου, αἴ κ' ἐθέλητε
> πείθεσθαι· πατρός κε κακὴν τεισαίμεθα λώβην
> ὑμετέρου· πρότερος γὰρ ἀεικέα μήσατο ἔργα." (164–6)

[1] Cf. W. Arend, *Die typischen Scenen bei Homer*, p. 13, n. 1.

"Μῆτερ, ἐγώ κεν τοῦτό γ' ὑποσχόμενος τελέσαιμι
ἔργον, ἐπεὶ πατρός γε δυσωνύμου οὐκ ἀλεγίζω
ἡμετέρου· πρότερος γὰρ ἀεικέα μήσατο ἔργα."

(170–2)

We find the same phenomenon again in 644–63. The effect is curiously stilted.

When I say that Hesiod's narrative is more condensed than Homer's, I do not mean that he never says a word more than he need. His brevity is a brevity of thought, not of language. There are, indeed, many lines in the *Theogony* which could be omitted without detriment to the sense.[1] Some of them may be interpolations; for the early Homeric papyri provide us with external evidence that inorganic verses often are interpolated. But the fact that a line is inorganic is in itself no ground for suspecting it. *Antiquissimi poetae non numerant voces.*[2] Fullness of expression is characteristic of the epic style and of Hesiod.

Prolixity and repetitiousness are particularly noticeable in what may be called the hymnic parts of the *Theogony*, the hymn to the Muses which forms the proem, and the passage commending Hecate. Hesiod's enthusiasm both for the Muses and for Hecate inspires him to speak of them at some length, but he has not a great variety of things to say about them.

Lastly, artistic elements in Hesiod's style—word-play, figures, etc. The instances in the *Theogony* are listed below under what seems the most appropriate heading, with an example in each case to show what is meant, and parallels (incomplete) from the *Works and Days* and Homer. I have arranged the types in two classes, which I call Antithesis and Synthesis, according to their tendency.

1. *Antithesis*

(i) Of separate clauses, emphasized by juxtaposition of the leading words, e.g. 178–9:

ὡρέξατο χειρὶ
σκαιῇ, δεξιτερῇ δὲ πελώριον ἔλλαβεν ἅρπην.

605–6; *Op.* 10, 155; *Il.* 1. 501.

[1] e.g. 12, 38, 59, 76, 93, 166, 172, 307, 318, 373, 407, 408, 465, 470, 494, 519, 522, 528, 564, 584, 587, 623, 625, 634, 653, 663, 684, 701, 719, 721, 731, 747, 761, 783, 806, 841, 851, 908, 911, 980, 1002.

[2] Clericus on *Th.* 465.

(ii) Within the clause, e.g. 599:

ἀλλότριον κάματον σφετέρην ἐς γαστέρ' ἀμῶνται.

447, 497, 585, 602, 609, 942, 967 8 — 1019–20; *Op.* 3–4, 179, 193, 490, 497, 538, 751, 753 4; *Il.* 6. 236, 22. 481, *Od.* 2. 241, 3. 296, 18. 73, 21. 325, 22. 13, 23. 12–13, 97.

(iii) Oxymoron, e.g. 585: *καλὸν κακόν.* 270; *Op.* 40, 58; related to the paradox-wish, *Op.* 270–2, *Od.* 2. 230 ff. — 5. 8 ff.

2. *Synthesis*

(i) Simple anaphora, e.g. 27–28 (quoted above), 121, 211–12, 442–3, 656; *Op.* 5–7, 101, 150–1, 267, 349, 391–2, 453–4, 558, 579, 580–1, 644, 691–2, 761–3, 814–20; *Il.* 2. 382 ff., 5. 385 ff. *et saep.*

(ii) Repeated preposition, e.g. 35: *περὶ δρῦν ἢ περὶ πέτρην.* 689; *Op.* 91, 102; *Il.* 22. 126, etc.

(iii) Phrase repeated in contrasted sentences, e.g. 722 ff.:

ἐννέα γὰρ νύκτας τε καὶ ἤματα χάλκεος ἄκμων
οὐρανόθεν κατιών, δεκάτῃ κ' ἐς γαῖαν ἵκοιτο.
[. . . . . .]
ἐννέα δ' αὖ νύκτας τε καὶ ἤματα χάλκεος ἄκμων
ἐκ γαίης κατιών, δεκάτῃ κ' ἐς τάρταρον ἵκοι.

Op. 284–5; *Il.* 9. 38–39, 20. 226–8, *Od.* 14. 395 ff., 19. 329 ff.

(iv) Epanalepsis, e.g. 406–8:

μείλιχον αἰεί,
. . . .
μείλιχον ἐξ ἀρχῆς.

Op. 317–19, 578–80; *Il.* 2. 870–1, 6. 153–4, 395–6, 20. 371–2, 22. 127–8, 23. 641–2, *Od.* 1. 22–23.

(v) Co-ordinated epithets with negative prefix, e.g. 797: *ἀνάπνευστος καὶ ἄναυδος.* 277, 489, 955; *Od.* 1. 242, 4. 788.

(vi) Consecutive epithets or names with the same stem, e.g. 251: *Ἱπποθόη τ' ἐρόεσσα καὶ Ἱππονόη ῥοδόπηχυς.* 257, 258, 273, 353, 1017–18.

(vii) Polyptoton, e.g. 380: *θεὰ θεῷ εὐνηθεῖσα.* 405, 742, 800, 875; *Op.* 23–26, 182–3, 361, 644, 824; *Il.* 4. 451, 11. 150–1, 13. 130–1, 16. 111, 776, *Od.* 7. 120–1, *et saep.*

(viii) Words in one sentence picked up in the next, e.g. 395–6:

τὸν δ' ἔφαθ', ὅστις ἄτιμος ὑπὸ Κρόνου ἠδ' ἀγέραστος,
τιμῆς καὶ γεράων ἐπιβησέμεν.

550–1; *Op.* 29–30, 253–4, 313, 352, 369, 375, 602–3, 707–8, 760–1; *Il.* 13. 115, 15. 203, 23. 256–7, *Od.* 1. 422–3, 2. 422–3, 3. 73, etc.

(ix) Word-play hinting at etymology, e.g. 252:

Κυμοδόκη θ' ἣ κύματ' . . . πρηΰνει.

346–7, 775–6, 901–3; *Il.* 4. 354, *Od.* 12. 85–87, 20. 56–57.

Classification is defied by such word-revelling as *Th.* 603–6, *Op.* 352–8. The latter passage goes far beyond anything in Homer, where the most elaborate examples of word-play are perhaps *Il.* 2. 362–3, 22. 199–201, *Od.* 9. 269–71, 11. 613–14, 14. 523–5, 23. 12–13.

VI. VOCABULARY

Hesiod's is an epic vocabulary, of more interest for its differences from the Homeric repertory than for what it has in common. The degree to which the two overlap in their phraseology may be seen from the material collected by J. B. E. Kausch, *Quatenus Hesiodi in Theogonia elocutio ab exemplo Homeri pendeat* (Königsberg, 1876), and *Quatenus Hesiodi elocutio ab exemplo Homeri pendeat* (Elbing, 1878), and printed below the text in Rzach's *editio maior* of the poems (1902).

The un-Homeric words in Hesiod have been studied by H. K. Fietkau, *De carminum hesiodeorum atque hymnorum quattuor magnorum vocabulis non homericis* (Königsberg, 1866), and are signalled with an asterisk in Paulson's *Index Hesiodeus*.[1] As one might expect, by far the greatest number of un-Homeric words occur in the *Works and Days*. Fietkau lists 278 words from the *Works and Days*, 151 from the *Theogony*, 95 from the *Scutum*, and 54 from the fragments in Goettling's edition (op. cit., pp. 2–18). Among the more surprising of the words that occur in Hesiod (*Th.* and *Op.*) and not in Homer, I have picked out the following: those marked with an asterisk occur in both poems. *ἄγαυρος*, *αἰμύλος*, *ἀλιτραίνω*, *ἄπλητος*, *αὐαλέος*, *αὖλαξ* (Hom. *ὦλξ*), *αὖξω* (Hom. *ἀέξω*), *ἄφθονος*, *βαιός*, *βαρύκτυπος**, *βλαβερός*, *γηρύομαι**, *γονεύς*, *δαπάνη*, *ἑλικοβλέφαρος*, *ἐμπορίη*, *ἐπαυρέω* (Hom. *-ίσκω*), *ἔργμα**, *ἐρίκτυπος*, *ἐρόεις*, *εὐδαίμων*, *εὐσφυρος*, *εὐφρόνη*, *ἐφίμερος*, *ζῆλος**, *ζηλόω*, *ἤσυχος** (Hom. *-ιος*), *ἠχέω*, *θαυμάσιος*, *θησαυρός*, *ἰσχύς*,

[1] Cf. also I. Sellschopp, *Stilistische Untersuchungen zu Hesiod*, Hamburg, 1934.

καιρός, καταπίνω, κερδαίνω, κιθαριστής, κλύω, κοινός, κτέανον, κύδιμος, κώμη, λυπέω, μάρτυς (Hom. *μάρτυρος*), *μαρτυρίη, μελέτη, μέτριος, μηχανή, νόμος** and *ἄνομος, νύκτωρ, ὀβριμόθυμος, ὀμβρέω, ὀργή, ὄρθρος, οὐδέτερος* (Hom. *-ωσε*), *ὀχυρός, πάγκακος, παν-άριστος, πένης, περισσός, πίστις* and *ἀπιστίη, πλάσσω**, *πλούσιος, πλουτέω, ῥοδόπηχυς, σκληρός, σκοτόεις, σπείρω, συνεχέως, σῶμα* (live body), *τανίσφυρος, τέρψις, Τύχη, ὑμνέω**, *ὑπερήνωρ, ὑπερή-φανος, ὑποχθόνιος, φειδωλός, φέρβω, φορτίον, φραδμοσύνη**, *χαράσσω, χθόνιος**, *ὠνέομαι, ὡραῖος.*

Another interesting feature of the Hesiodic vocabulary consists in phrases, or formulae, which recur in the Hesiodic poems and are absent from the Homeric.[1] The number of these 'Hesiodic formulae' is not inconsiderable, and argues a certain independence for the Hesiodic tradition. It will be noticed that several of them belong to the language of genealogy.

αἰθαλόεντα κεραυνόν Th. 72, 504, 707, 854, fr. 30. 18.
ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες/ἔχουσαι Th. 61, *Op.* 112, 170.
Γαῖα πελώρη Th. 159, 173, 479, 821, 858, cf. 505, 731, 861.
διὰ χρυσῆν Ἀφροδίτην Th. 822, 962, 1005, 1014, fr. 23(a). 35, 221. 3.
Δία μητιόεντα Op. 273 (v. l.), cf. *Th.* 457; *Διὶ μητιόεντι Th.* 286, *h.* xxiv. 5; *Διὸς . . . μητιόεντος Op.* 51, 769, *h. Ap.* 344.
Διώνυσον πολυγηθέα Th. 941, *Διωνύσου πολυγηθέος Op.* 614.
δόλον αἰπὺν ἀμήχανον Th. 589, *Op.* 83. Cf. *h. Herm.* 66.
ἐπιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν Th. 493 (v. l.), *Sc.* 87.
ἠνορέης ὑπερόπλου Th. 516, *ἠνορέην ὑπέροπλον* 619.
θανάτοιο δότειρα Op. 356, *θανάτοιο . . . δοτῆρες Sc.* 131.
θεῶν πατέρ' ἠδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν Th. 47, 457, 468.
θαυματὰ ἔργα Sc. 165, fr. 204. 45, *h. Herm.* 80, 440, *h. Dion.* 34.
ἠχέτα τέττιξ Op. 582, *Sc.* 393.
θεῶν σημάντορι πάντων Sc. 56, fr. 5. 2, cf. *h. Herm.* 367.
ἱερὸν λέχος εἰσαναβαίνων Th. 57, fr. 211. 10, cf. *Th.* 939.
θεῶν κῆρυξ Op. 80, *θεῶν κήρυκα* fr. 170, *κήρυκ' ἀθανάτων Th.* 939.
λακέρυζα κορώνη Op. 747, fr. 304. 1.
μήδετο θέσκελα ἔργα Sc. 34, fr. 204. 96.
μιγεῖσ' ἐρατῇ φιλότητι Th. 970, 1009, 1018, cf. fr. 235. 3.
νηὸς πτερὰ ποντοπόροιο Op. 628, fr. 205. 7.
νόσφιν ἄτερ Op. 91, 113, *Sc.* 15.

[1] Cf. Krafft, pp. 192 ff.

πολιὸν ἔαρ Op. 477, *ἔαρ . . . πολιόν* 492 (cf. Hockstra, *Mnem.* 1954, pp. 297–9).
πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης Th. 980, *Op.* 521, *Sc.* 8, 47, fr. 185. 17, 253. 3, *h. Aphr.* 1, 9.
πρωὶ μάλα Op. 461, fr. 313.
τετελεσμένον εἰς ἐνιαυτόν Th. 795, *Op.* 561.
τηλοῦ ἀπ' ἀθανάτων Th. 302, *Op.* 169.
ὠκυπόδων σθένος ἵππων Sc. 97, fr. 75. 22, cf. *h. Ap.* 265.
(*Ζεὺς ἄφθιτα μήδεα εἰδώς Th.* 545, 550, 561, fr. 141. 26, 234. 2; occurs once in Homer, *Il.* 24. 88.)

Finally mention may be made of a small group of noun–epithet formulae for gods which are only used in the nominative in Homer, but in the accusative by Hesiod.

Homer	Hesiod
Ἄρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα (9 times)	*Ἄρτεμιν ἰοχέαιραν* (*Th.* 14)
Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης (6 times)	*Ζῆν' ὑψιβρεμέτην* (*Th.* 568)
θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη (48 times)	*θεὰν γλαυκῶπιν Ἀθήνην* (*Th.* 888)
Ποσειδάων γαιήοχος (4 times)	*Ποσειδάωνα γαιήοχον* (*Th.* 15)
πότνια Ἥρη (22 times)	*πότνιαν Ἥρην* (*Th.* 11)
ὠκέα Ἶρις (20 times)	*ὠκεῖαν . . . Ἶριν* (*Th.* 266)

In *Op.* 84 I suspect that *κρατὺν Ἀργειφόντην* is to be written, corresponding to the Homeric formula *κρατὺς Ἀργειφόντης* (*C.Q.* 1962, p. 180).

VII. DIALECT

The most important and not the least remarkable fact about the dialect of Hesiod's poems is that it is essentially the same as that of Homer: that is to say, while there are a certain number of Atticisms and what have traditionally been regarded as Aeolisms,[1] its salient features are those of Ionic—above all the uniform change of original long alpha to eta,[2] and the unrestricted use of movable nu.

[1] Contested by K. Strunk, *Die sogenannten Äolismen der homerischen Sprache*, Diss. Köln, 1957.

[2] But usually not of secondary long *α* produced by contraction or metrical lengthening.

In poems that developed in the Greek towns of Asia Minor, the mixture is at least understandable. But it is surprising to find the same mixture, with the same predominating Ionic colour, uniformly cultivated in the rest of Greece; by Hesiod in Boeotia, by Tyrtaeus in Sparta, by Solon in Athens, by Theognis in Megara. There are, it is true, many examples of verse inscriptions in epichoric dialects.[1] But so far as literature is concerned, the Homeric mixture prevails everywhere for hexameters until the Hellenistic period.[2] It has not yet been satisfactorily explained why this should be so; but the fact remains.

Yet there is in Hesiod a residue of dialect forms for which no Homeric parallel is to be found. They seem to be especially Aeolic and West Greek, though it is often impossible to limit a given one among them to any single dialect.

(*a*) *Ionic*

Hesiod has one or two hyper-Ionisms, or at least Ionisms which go beyond Homeric usage. Such is **δίη** for δῖα *Th.* 260: the text is guaranteed by the recurrence of the form in fr. 70. 10 and 169, cf. δίᾱ in [E.] *Rhes.* 226 (lyric). δῖα < δίϝ-ι̯α is the original form, the other is the product of analogy. So **Μαίη** for *Μαῖα Th.* 938; **ἰθείην** *Op.* 443 cj. Bentley, see p. 93.

Ἑρμείην *Op.* 68 is guaranteed by fr. 66. 4, *h. Pan.* 28, 36, Anon. epic. in P. Harris 6. 4, Call. *H.* 3. 69, etc. The Homeric form is *Ἑρμείας*[3] (occasionally *Ἑρμῆς*), and similarly *Αἰνείας* (as *Th.* 1008), *Αὐγείας*. For the late reception of η in these forms cf. post-Homeric *θεή, τάλης, Ἰήονες*; K. Meister, *Die hom. Kunstsprache*, p. 157. Black-figure vases have *αινεες* and *ηερμεης* in epic contexts: *GDI* 5293 (Chalcidian), 5783 (Cycladic?). *Αἰνείης* appears in Menecrates of Xanthos, *FGrHist* 769 F 3, and [Luc.] *astr.* 20; *Αὐγείης* in A.R. 1. 172, *al.*

[1] e.g. Buck, *Greek Dialects*, 3rd ed., nos. 37, 68, 71, 91–94, 96, 100, 111, 114.

[2] Eumelus' prosodion for the Messenians (Paus. 4. 4 and 33) was probably not in hexameters (Bowra, *C.Q.* 1963, pp. 145 f.). Clement's citation of a line from the *Little Iliad* (fr. 12) in Aeolic or Doric form is unaccounted for; the Euripides scholia cite it in Attic form, and the other frr. of the poem are all in the usual epic dialect. Fick's attempt to restore an original Hesiod in Delphian was no more successful than his translation of Homer into Aeolic; this approach to the question has justly been abandoned.

[3] Two MSS. give *Ἑρμείην* in *Il.* 24. 679; so does one in *Od.* 1. 38 and one in *Od.* 8. 323.

ἑωυτῇ appears on papyrus at *Th.* 126, and in Theophilus' citation of the passage; the medieval MSS. give ἑαυτῇ. At *Il.* 14. 162 Zenodotus read ἑωυτήν (ἑαυτήν Aristarchus, MSS.), and at *Il.* 1. 271 he read ἐμωυτόν. Recently ἑωυτῆς has appeared on a Hesiodic papyrus, fr. 45. 4. ἑωυτ- developed by contraction, first in the genitive case ἕο αὐτοῦ, then extended by analogy to the other cases in Ionic. (In Attic the 'etymological' form of crasis (Buck, *Greek Dialects*, § 94) preserved the α of αὐτός, as in ταὐτό, τἀνδρός, etc.). Aristarchus implies a distinction between the cases (sch.A *Il.* 14. 162): ὅτι Ζηνόδοτος γράφει ἑωυτήν. οὐχ ἁρμόζει δὲ αἰτιατικῇ πτώσει τὸ οὕτως συναλείφειν. διαλύεται γὰρ εἰς τὸ ἕ καὶ αὐτήν. ἀγνοεῖν δὲ τὴν διαφορὰν αὐτόν φησιν Ἀρίσταρχος. This suggests that while he condemned ἑωυτήν, he may have been prepared to countenance ἑωυτῆς or ἑωυτῇ. These forms are at any rate genuine Ionic, and we shall naturally prefer ἑωυτῇ to Attic ἑαυτῇ in *Th.* 126, since both are attested.[1] In Homer it is another matter, for ἕ̈ αὐτήν can be written *divisim*.

(*b*) *Attic*

λαμπρὰν Σελήνην *Th.* 19 and 371 is a formula which recurs in Hom. *epigr.* 3. 3, *Il. parv.* fr. 12; *Or. Sib.* 3. 65. The unity of the tradition in all these places (except the *Little Iliad*, on which see above) guarantees the Attic form of the phrase, with its combination of -άν after rho and -ην after nu.

Ἑωσφόρον *Th.* 381 has been regarded as an Atticism,[2] since only Attic has ἕως for 'dawn': Ionic (literature and inscriptions) has ἠώς. But side by side with ἠώς, νηός 'temple', ληός, Ionic has ἐωθινός (Hdt. 3. 104, twice), νεωποίης and νεωκόρος, λεωσφέτερος and λεωφόρος. Why the short forms resisted the quantitative metathesis is uncertain; but it is clear that Ἑωσφόρος beside ἠώς fits the Ionic scheme. It also occurs in *Il.* 23. 226. This is one of the two Homeric passages which imply an eastern seaboard,[3] which does not fit Athens: one of the few places it does fit, oddly enough, is Chios.

The form Ἑωσφόρος was later regarded as compounded upon

[1] For ἑωυτ- in epic cf. also Parm. 8. 57. Empedocles, however, uses the Attic form, 22. 1 and 29. 3 (cj.).

[2] See especially Wackernagel, 100–7.

[3] Perhaps; but see Wilamowitz, *Il. u. H.* p. 509.

the Attic nominative ἕως; this led to analogical formations like Ἀωσφόρος in Pindar (*Isth.* 4. 34) and φωσφόρος (first in Euripides).

(*c*) *Attic, island Ionic, or Aeolic*

κᾰλόν *Th.* 585 and *Op.* 63, ἴσον *Op.* 752, must be regarded as Attic, island Ionic, or Aeolic. The Boeotians still said καλϝός and ϝίσϝος in the sixth century, see Buck, nos. 37–38; in east Ionic, compensatory lengthening produced κᾶλός and ἶσος, which are invariable in Homer (κᾰλὰ f.l. in *Il.* 21. 382; v.l. ant. *Il.* 18. 197 [nisi leg. κατὰ, cf. *Il.* 19. 12]).

ἔᾱγε *Op.* 534 has been thought an Atticism, but need not be. East Ionic has ἔηγα (Hdt. 7. 224, Hippocr. iii. 492); but Homer has the alpha-form in the subjunctive ἐάγῃ (*Il.* 11. 559), and it has a parallel in ἑᾱδότα *Il.* 9. 173 = *Od.* 18. 422. (ἔαγε also occurs in Sappho 31. 9, where however the text is unsound.) The regular change (ϝ)ᾱ > η was probably inhibited by the ᾰ of the other parts of the verb; in Attica, but perhaps also further east.

(*d*) *Aeolic*

Aeolic, i.e. recessive, accentuation is prescribed for ἄεισι *Th.* 875 by sch.^{T} *Il.* 5. 526 διασκιδνᾶσιν ἀέντες· ὡς τιθέντες· ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ ἄημι. τὸ δὲ παρ' Ἡσιόδῳ 'ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλοι ἄεισιν', Αἰολικόν. Cf. *Et. magn.* s.v. ἄεισι: . . . ἄεισιν Αἰολικώτερον, ἐχρῆν γὰρ ἀεῖσιν ὥσπερ ἐεῖσιν. On the other hand, the accentuation ἐεῖσι, τιθεῖσι is itself anomalous (Kühner–Blass, ii. 192); ἄεισι is what one would expect.

The orthodox accentuation λοχέοιο (*Th.* 178) was contested by Aristarchus, who recommended λοχεοῖο (sch. ad loc., sch.^{A} *Il.* 23. 160). Goettling claims λοχέοιο as an Aeolism. This would only be justified if the accentuation which Aristarchus rejects were based on the traditional pronunciation of rhapsodes. In fact the grounds for both views were purely theoretical, as is clear from the Homeric scholium.

At *Th.* 868 most MSS. give ἀκάχων, whereas papyri give ἀκαχών and ἀκαχῶν. The form is not found in Homer, but we do find the presumably[1] perfect forms ἀκάχησθαι and ἀκαχήμενος, which give some support to the aorist ἀκάχων.

[1] E. Hermann, *Sprachwissenschaftlicher Kommentar zu ausgewählten Stücken aus Homer*, p. 52, suggests the alternative that they are presents, from ἀκάχημι.

περίαχε *Th.* 678 is probably Aeolic. It represents *περι-ϝίϝαχε.[1] Choeroboscus' view (*Et. magn.* 92. 17) that the long iota in περίαχε results from contraction is a tenable one; the development would be parallel to *δίϝιος > δῖος. But it may be thought more likely that we have a case of elision or apocope of the iota of περί. This occurs in many dialects, before both vowels and consonants. But in combination with the loss of digamma, it could hardly be anything but Aeolic. The same would be true of περοίχεται *Th.* 733 if it were right.

In connexion with ἀμβολιεργός *Op.* 413, V. Clemm, in *Curtius' Studien*, 9 (1876), p. 418, speaks of 'die äolische Verdumpfung von α zu ο', evidently regarding -βολι- as representing the aorist stem of the verb, βαλ. This is most unlikely; the compound is much more probably based on the noun ἀναβολή, ἀμβολή, where the ο is the normal noun grade. So Debrunner, p. 70.

δείκνυ *Op.* 526 appears to be third person singular of the present tense; a variant or conjecture δεικνύει is attested by Herodian *ap. Et. magn.* and *gen.* s.v. δείκνυ, but it involves a harsh synizesis.[2] δείκνυ is paralleled by ζεύγνυ, which is attested as Aeolic by Herodian ii. 832. 36 L.; cf. Buck, § 138. 2a.

καυάξαις *Op.* 666 and 693, i.e. καϝϝάξαις < κατ-ϝάξαις. Analogous to Homeric αὐέρυσαν < ἀν-ϝέρυσαν, εὕαδε < ἔ-σϝαδε. The diphthongization of the vowel + ϝ(ϝ) is characteristic of Aeolic (αὖως, ναῦος, etc.), though it also occurs in Arcadian; see Strunk, op. cit., p. 42.

τριηκόντων *Op.* 696.[3] The inflected genitive is a peculiarity of Asiatic Aeolic and Chian (which shows other Aeolic features). The standard epic η is of course irrelevant. It is curious that this certain Aeolism occurs almost in the same sentence as West Greek τέτορα (see below, p. 87).

(e) Aeolic or West Greek

There are three instances of first declension genitive plural in -ᾶν: θεᾶν *Th.* 41 (*Π*[1]K*υ* sch.; -ῶν *n*) and 129 (*Π*[3], citations); μελιᾶν *Op.* 145. In each case the stem ends in a vowel, and the normal contraction -έων could not well have been used.[4] One

[1] W. Schulze, *Kl. Schr.*, pp. 330 ff., analyses it as περί-ϝϝαχε. But cf. περὶ δ' ἴαχε *divisim* in *Th.* 69, *Od.* 9. 395.

[2] For which, however, cf. the MS. text of Theognis 771.

[3] τριάκοντα *Φ*, Tzetzes. τριηκόντων is supported by *Π*[5] and Call. fr. 714. 2.

[4] P. Oxy. 1090 gives σκολιέων in *Op.* 261; this is irregular. Cf. *Il.* 23. 112 v.l.; *GDI* 5426. MSS. of Herodotus sometimes offer similar forms.

would accordingly have expected *-ῶν* (cf. Chantraine, i. 65). But *θεῶν* is never used as a feminine in epic; the form is elsewhere always *θεάων* (*θεός* feminine only in singular). A need for differentiation, such as occasioned Latin *deabus*, may have operated here too, and led Hesiod to have recourse to the form in *-ᾶν*. The scholia label it Doric, and so it is. But it is also Aeolic (Lesbian and Thessalian). One thing it is not is Boeotian, for there the original *-άων* remained uncontracted in the time of the inscriptions, except for the article *τᾶν*.[1]

ἦν *Th.* 321 and 825 with plural subject has often been taken as a dialect form, since most dialects except Attic-Ionic use *ἦν* for the third person plural. Boeotian has *εἶαν*. However, I have preferred to interpret it as singular in the syntactical phenomenon which grammarians call *σχῆμα Πινδαρικόν* or *Βοιώτιον* (though there is nothing peculiarly Boeotian about it); see on 321.

ἐὴν ἐγκάτθετο νηδύν occurs thrice in *Th.* (487, 890, 899) as a variant for *ἐσκάτθετο*, and in fr. 343. 7. The accusative governed by *ἐν-* has often been claimed as a dialect usage: *ἐν* with accusative, meaning 'into', does indeed occur in Boeotian, Thessalian, North-west Greek, and Arcado-Cyprian; but as this distribution itself shows, it is an inherited use, corresponding to Latin *in*, that all Greek dialects must once have possessed. We may compare *ἐμπίπτω*, which is sometimes used with the accusative in Tragedy. On the manuscript support for *ἐγκάτθετο* versus *ἐσκάτθετο*, see note on 487.

ἀρώμεναι *Op.* 22 is a unique form of the infinitive of *ἀρόω*, though analogous to Homeric *γοήμεναι*, *ποθήμεναι*, etc. This athematic flexion of the contract verbs is particularly characteristic of Aeolic, but there are examples, including some from verbs in *-όω*, in Arcadian and West Greek dialects too; see Strunk, op. cit., p. 89, n. 207, p. 90, nn. 210 and 213. In Lesbian, at any rate, the infinitive of such verbs regularly ends in *-ων*, not *-ώμεναι*.

αἴνημι *Op.* 683 is another example of the same phenomenon. Much the likeliest hypothesis is that this is an Aeolism,[2] though as Strunk's evidence shows (pp. 87–91), it would be possible to take it as an archaism without a definite dialect origin.

[1] *κορᾶν* in Ar. *Ach.* 883 (Aeschylean parody) is no evidence for contemporary Boeotian. *ν⟨ο⟩υμφᾶν* in *Melici* 692 fr. 8. 2 (Corinna?) is admissible, but need not be earlier than *c.* 200 B.C.

[2] Cf. Pl. *Prot.* 346 DE.

(*f*) *West Greek*

There are eight or nine (possibly ten) instances in Hesiod of first declension accusative plural in -ᾰ̄ς, against nine of -ᾱ̆ς (see on *Th.* 502): *Th.* 60, (184 dub.), 267, 401, 534, 653, 804 cj., *Op.* 564, 663, 675. There are none in Homer except *Il.* 8. 378 (Zenodotus, Herodian) and *Od.* 17. 232 (v.l. *ap.* Eustath.)—both probably mere conjectures. Elsewhere in literature they occur almost exclusively in Hesiodic or Doric poets: [Hes.] fr. 150.15, *h. Herm.* 106, Tyrt. 1. 14, 3. 5, 5. 4, Alcm. 17. 5, Stes. 7. 2, *Carm. pop.* 2. 2 (the Rhodian *Chelidonismos*), Epich. 9, 90, 124, Simon. 90. [3] D., Emped. 115. 6, orac. *ap.* Eus. *PE* 5. 28. 3, Theocr. *passim*, *Batr.* 161. Cf. also *Sc.* 302 λαγός. In the inscriptions, -ᾰ̄ς has to be inferred from the occurrence of -ος as acc. pl. in the second declension. These simplifications of original -ανς, -ονς are regular in Thessalian, Arcadian, and several Doric dialects; they are not Boeotian or Asiatic Aeolic. It is remarkable that -ᾱ̆ς is attested so much earlier and more strongly in literature than -ος: the development may have been influenced by the analogy of -ᾰ̄ς in consonant stems.

Herodian, Choeroboscus, and ps.-Dracon cite *Th.* 521 with δήσᾰ̄ς as an example of Doric participle in -ᾱ̆ς; the MSS. give δῆσε δ', which makes much better sense. With δήσᾱ̆ς is cited *Aἴᾰ̄ς* from Alcman (fr. 68). Both forms are anomalous, for the -ας represents reduction from original -αντς. Cf. Kühner–Blass, i. 168 (*c*).

At *Th.* 532 τίμα ἀριδείκετον υἱόν, Fick arbitrarily assumes elision of τίμᾱ̆ε, which would be a West Greek form. A more certain example of this type is ἀμᾰ́ειν *Op.* 392. Elsewhere, contract verbs only show a long stem vowel in dictatic forms like μενοινᾰ́ᾳ, ἠγᾰ́ασθε. To accord with these one would have to write ἀμάαν with Goettling. ἀμάειν has a parallel in Locrian ἀπελᾰ́ονται and other West Greek forms, see Buck, § 159; probably also in Aeolic forms like Thessalian -ᾶι, Lesbian -αι from -ᾰ́ει, since -ᾰ́ει would have become -ηι.

At *Op.* 280 the word-order εἰ γάρ τίς κε (for εἰ γάρ κέν τις) is unique in early epic, and seems to be influenced by the West Greek order αἴ τίς κα, αἰ δέ τίς κα (Buck, § 179). Boeotian sometimes has this order, but more often the ordinary Greek order.

μέζεα *Op.* 512[1] is surprising, since in the *Theogony* Hesiod uses the Homeric form of the same word, μήδεα. Archilochus 138

[1] μέζε' Π^5C, μάζε' DE. μεζε- Lyc. 762, Nic. *Th.* 722.

Bgk. has *μέδεα*. ζ for δ (usually before ε or ι) is a phenomenon that appears in early records of certain West Greek dialects,[1] especially Elean, also Rhodian, Argive, and Phliasian. What pronunciation it represents is not clear. Buck, § 62, regards it as an indication of the pronunciation of delta as a spirant, as in modern Greek; Strunk, *Indog. Forsch.* 1961, p. 169, treats it as an orthographical inversion connected with the change ζ > δ (Buck, § 84). It is unsafe to generalize; for whereas Hesiod's *μέζεα* is a dactyl, Rhodian *τόζ'* (= *τόδε*) is scanned short in *GDI* 4140. The zeta cannot then have had the same value in the two words. In *μέζεα* one may surmise that it fell somewhere within the range between Russian soft *d* (дь) and English *j*. To return to the question why Hesiod uses different forms for Uranos' genitals in *Th.* and for animals' in *Op.*: it may be that he knew *μήδεα* as the epic word for a man's genitals—he himself would probably have called them *αἰδοῖα*, as *Op.* 733—and learned *μέζεα* as a vernacular term for the place where miserable animals tuck their tails, not realizing that the two words were really the same.

ἀποδρέπεν *Op.* 611 is a variant for *ἀπόδρεπε* (D) or *ἀποδρέπειν* (CΦ). The latter is unmetrical, the former would be acceptable. If *ἀποδρέπεν* is right,[2] it is an example of an infinitive suffix found in Arcado-Cyprian, Delphian, many Doric dialects, and a late East Locrian inscription. (It is not attested in Boeotian, as Wilamowitz implies ad loc.) Since it occurs in Arcado-Cyprian, it could be taken as an inherited archaism of the poetic language; but the fact that a form so convenient does not occur elsewhere makes this unlikely.[3]

τεῖδε or **τυῖδε** is restored by Bergk in *Op.* 635 for *τῇδε* of MSS.[4] Proclus' scholium on the line runs: *δηλοῖ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ τῇδε* (*τεῖδε* Bergk) *οὐκ ἄλλο τι ἢ τὸ τῇδε καὶ ἐνταῦθα. καὶ οἱ λεξογράφοι Κρητῶν εἶναι τὴν φωνὴν ἀνέγραψαν· μέλει γὰρ οὐδὲν τοῖς ποιηταῖς τὴν πολλῶν συνήθειαν ἐκτρεπομένοις καὶ τοιαύταις διδόναι χώραν λέξεσιν* (p. 202. 14–18 Pertusi). We must choose between *τυίδε* (Lesbian and perhaps Cretan, cf. Cretan *υἱ*, *ὅπυι*, Hesych. *τυί· ὧδε*, *Κρῆτες*) and *τεῖδε*: *ει* or *ē* in these local adverbs, *ὅπει*,

[1] Also Cypr. *κορζία* = *καρδία* (Hesychius), Phocaean *Ζιονύ(σιος)*. Lesbian and epic *ζα-* = *δια-* is a comparable phenomenon, but should be kept distinct.

[2] The reading is favoured by the series of infinitives from 604 to 617.

[3] *δεικνύεν* cj. Bergk in Thgn. 771, *φεύγεν* id. ib. 260.

[4] Presumably meaning 'hither'; Waltz, however, translates 'il passa par ici'.

etc., is characteristic of West Greek dialects, including Cretan, and Boeotian (*αὐτῖ* = *αὐτεῖ*), though its normal sense is 'where', not 'whither'. However, *ὧδε* bears both meanings in Attic, and *τῇδε* sometimes approaches the sense 'hither'. For *τεῖδε* (*τῖδε*) we have the confused testimony of Hesychius *τί δαί· τί γὰρ ἄλλο, ἢ τί γάρ; Βοιωτοὶ δὲ ἐνθάδε. Ἀττικοὶ διὰ τί δή.* It seems more likely that it was *τεῖδε* which Hesiod used.

τέτορα *Op.* 698 is a peculiarly West Greek form (Delphi, Locris, Heraclea, Argos, Tegea, Cos, Cnidos), also used by Phocyl. 2. 1, Epich. 149, Simon. 91 D., Orph. fr. 356, Theocr. 14. 16, Opp. *H.* 1. 591 (Hes. fr. 411 is probably a confused reference to this passage). Boeotian has *πέτταρες*.

(g) Boeotian

Ἡσίοδον *Th.* 22. It used to be held that this was a mistakenly aspirated form for Boeotian *Ἠσίοδος* corresponding to Cymaean *Αἰσίοδος*.[1] The theory was based on *Et. magn.* 452. 37 (discussing Aeolic *θναίσκω*) : *ἀλλ' ἰδοὺ τὸ Ἡσίοδος καὶ ἡμίονος Αἰσίοδος καὶ αἰμίονος λέγουσιν*, and *Et. Gud. Ἡσίοδος. Αἰολικῶς, ὁ τὴν αἰσίαν ὁδὸν πορευόμενος*. Names such as *Ἀγάθοδος* and *Αἰσιγένης* occur, so that *Αἰσίοδος* is a plausible name in itself. But the equation Aeolic *αι* = Boeotian *η* cannot be made so easily. If it is made on the basis of the Boeotian *η* which represents *αι* of other dialects, it must be pointed out that this phenomenon dates only from the fourth century. The later Boeotian spelling of Hesiod's name was *Εἰσίοδος* (*Μωσάων Εἰσιοδίων IG* 7. 1785), an additional proof that the eta is not the Boeotian *η* for *αι*, but common Greek *η* > Boeotian *ει*.[2] If on the other hand the equation is made on the basis of the Lesbian *αι* which represents *η* of other dialects, this phenomenon is only attested in the world *αἴμισυς* and compounds *αἰμίθεος* and *αἰμίονος*, except for *Et. magn.* l.c.; and even if it also occurred in the name of Hesiod, it would not alter the meaning. In other words, *Αἰσι-* would not become related to *αἴσιος*, but would remain a peculiar Aeolic way of pronouncing and spelling *Ἠσι-* (*ἴημι*).[3]

[1] A. Fick, *Griechische Personennamen*, pp. 4 and 223; F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Eigennamen d. Griechen*, p. 29; O. Hoffmann, *Gr. Dial.* 2. 420–1; R. Meister, *Gr. Dial.* 1. 83; Schmid–Stählin, 1. 1. 249, n. 1.

[2] So Bergk, *Gr. Lit.* i. 919, n. 2.

[3] Rzach, *R.E.* viii. 1168, makes roughly this point. Cf. C. Buzio, *Esiodo nel mondo greco* (1938), p. 4. What lies behind the statement of the *Etymologica* remains

εἰρεῦσαι *Th.* 38 was assumed by Goettling to be a Boeotian form of εἴρουσαι. This is quite unfounded; the word may be corrupt, see ad loc.

In *Th.* 200 Aphrodite's epithet φιλομμειδής is explained by her birth from μήδεα. One group of MSS. gives μειδέων for μηδέων, while the other MSS. adapt the epithet to φιλομ(μ)ηδέα. Eustathius 439. 35 postulates ει written for η (sc. in μηδέων) Βοιωτικῶς. How the words were written matters little, since Hesiod himself will presumably have written *ΦΙΛΟΜΕΔΕΑ* and *ΜΕΔΕΟΝ*. The question is how he pronounced them. Eustathius may have been on the right lines. When the Ionian alphabet replaced the epichoric alphabets in the early fourth century, ει and η were so close in Boeotian and Thessalian that η is uniformly written ει. It is not at all unlikely that this tendency already existed in the pronunciation of Hesiod's time.[1] On the other hand, ancient etymology does not demand exact correspondence of sound (cf. G. P. Shipp, *Studies in the Language of Homer*, p. 47), and ordinary Greek η and ē may have been close enough for Hesiod to make the connexion. Cf. perhaps *Od.* 19. 518–19 ἀηδών–ἀείδῃσιν, E. *Ph.* 3 *Ἥλιε, θοαῖς ἵπποισιν εἰλίσσων φλόγα*, Ar. *V.* 771–2 *ἦν ἐξέχῃ εἴλη κατ' ὄρθρον, ἡλιάσει πρὸς ἥλιον*. Similarly with ō and ω (*Phoronis* fr. 5 *ὦνος–ἐριούνιος*). Boeotian pronunciation may also be relevant to another Hesiodic etymology: see on *Th.* 210.

Φίξ *Th.* 326 must be the Boeotian name for the Sphinx, since the mountain on which she sat is always called *Φίκιον* or *Φίκειον*,[2] and this must be the local name. Latin *Pix* (Plaut. *Aul.* 701, cf. Fest. 206. 2 and 248. 12 M.) shows that *Φίξ* was not peculiar to Boeotian. On other forms of the name see ad loc.

διδασκῆσαι *Op.* 64 is a form which recurs in Pindar *P.* 4. 217.[3] Its appearance in Hesiod and Pindar is quite insufficient ground for Wilamowitz's conjecture that it is a Boeotism.

πιλνᾷ *Op.* 510: Wilamowitz, following Ahrens, writes *πίλναι*, which he claims is Boeotian. It would in fact be Lesbian, cf.

uncertain; but the most likely explanation is perhaps that *Αἰσίοδος* was mentioned by Alcaeus (Sappho is less probable).

[1] Cf. Strunk, *Glotta*, 1959, pp. 74 ff.

[2] *Sc.* 33, Apld. 3. 5. 8, Palaeph. 4 (7), Plut. *Mor.* 988A, Aristid. 36. 113 (ii. 299 K.), sch. E. *Ph.* 26, Tz. in Lyc. 7 and 1465, Theognostus, *An. Ox.* ii. 127. 32 Cr., St. Byz., Hsch.

[3] And attractively conjectured by J. H. Voss in *h. Dem.* 144.

above p. 85 on ἀμάειν. At 526 he writes δείκνυι, for which I know no parallel in any dialect.

At *Op.* 617 πλειὼν δὲ κατὰ χθονὸς ἄρμενος εἴη is not yet understood; Wilamowitz's pseudo-Boeotism εἶοι does not recommend itself as a solution or as a form.

(*h*) *Dialect glosses*

A certain number of words are attributed to particular dialects by scholia, lexica, etc. Intelligence of this kind is seldom reliable or significant. A strange word or form may be called Boeotian or Aeolic precisely because it was used by Hesiod. Even genuine dialect vocabulary normally represents survival of what was once common Greek stock, and in hexameter poetry is best counted as archaism.[1] Here are some of those that apply to Hesiod:

τύνη *Th.* 36, *Op.* 10, 641, *Iliad.* Doric according to Hesychius, and in fact τούνη and ἐγώνη survived in Laconian.

Ἔρος *Th.* 120, 201, *Il.* 14. 315 (ἔρον 22 times in Homer in the formula ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο). Aeolic according to scholia, Eust. 136. 33, Ioann. gramm. περὶ Αἰολίδος (3), § 42. The assertion probably results from the use of the form by Sappho and Alcaeus. (Cf. Strunk, *Äolismen*, p. 17.)

ῥόθος *Op.* 220 was, according to Plutarch *ap.* schol., a Boeotian word meaning a rough mountain pass (cf. Nic. *Th.* 672). But Proclus' attempt to interpret the word in this way in the context (p. 81. 16–21 Pertusi) is mistaken.

μέταζε *Op.* 394 (restored from grammarians for MSS. μεταξὺ). Doric according to Hesychius. Not known from elsewhere.[2]

ἀνόστεος *Op.* 524. Lacedaemonian, according to Clitarchus ἐν Γλώσσαις cited by Proclus (p. 175. 12–13 P.). I infer that this term for an octopus, and similar *kenningar* in Hesiod, were not coined by him, or by oracle-mongers, but taken from popular speech. So φερέοικος (571), a term which was applied to various creatures besides the snail, see *LSJ* s.v.; and the Theban names for the swallow and the cuttlefish mentioned by Strattis 47.[3]

[1] This is the accepted explanation of Homer's occasional draughts from the vocabularies of Arcado-Cyprian, Acarnanian, etc., insufficiently regarded by C. J. Ruijgh, *L'Élément achéen dans la langue épique*, 1957.

[2] μετ' ἄζε Schulze, *Kl. Schr.*, p. 372.

[3] On the significance of *kenningar* see especially H. Güntert, *Von der Sprache der Götter u. Geister*, 1921, p. 123, n. 3.

(i) Conclusion

Hesiod's father came to Ascra from Aeolian Cyme, and may have been an Aeolic speaker. Hesiod himself was brought up in Boeotia, and must have spoken the Boeotian dialect. It would not be surprising if Aeolic and Boeotian forms occasionally infected his poetic language.

Aeolisms there certainly are. The best examples are *δείκνυ* and *τριηκόντων*; *περίαχε*, *αἴνημι*, and *καναξαις* are very likely. On the other hand, there is nothing in Hesiod which need be Boeotian. The zeal with which Sittl, Wilamowitz, and others introduced Boeotisms and monstrous pseudo-Boeotisms into the text appears on impartial investigation to have been expended upon an author who has no demonstrable propensity for them. There are phenomena which might be Boeotian, but need not be: there are also West Greek and Aeolic forms which cannot be Boeotian (*-ᾶν*, *-ᾶς*, *τέτορα*). How the West Greek forms are to be accounted for is a matter for speculation; it is not unreasonable to postulate influence from mainland poetry, as cultivated at Delphi and elsewhere. As for the Aeolisms, one naturally thinks of the influence of Hesiod's father. It is to be noticed that *ἄεισι*, *αἴνημι*, *καναξαις* (twice), all occur in passages concerning seafaring, a subject of which Hesiod disclaims all personal experience (*Op.* 649 ff.), and on which his father, who *πλωίζεσκ' ἐν νηυσί* (634), would be qualified to instruct him. See above, p. 42.

Should *'Ερμείην* be a Chalcidian form, we may recall that it was to Chalcis that Hesiod went for the funeral games of Amphidamas. Even if we are unconvinced by J. Schwartz's argument for a flourishing Chalcidian school of poetry,[1] there is no reason to suppose that Hesiod's excursion was an isolated case of rhapsodic traffic between Euboea and the mainland.

Atticisms in Homer tend to be attributed to the period of written transmission, in which Athens undoubtedly played a major part. In a poet who lived in Boeotia and employs mainland dialect forms, however, there is no *a priori* reason why Atticisms should not have been present in the original text. Attica had its own mythology—one of its myths is alluded to in *Op.* 568—and no doubt its own poetic traditions (cf. note on *Th.* 54). Apart from Homeric Atticisms like *χίλιοι* and *μείζων*,

[1] *Pseudo-Hesiodeia*, p. 491. Cf. *C.R.* 1962, p. 18.

the best attested case in Hesiod is the formulaic *λαμπρὰν . . . σελήνην*, and there is no reason to doubt that this is original.

A word about the digamma, and an apparent anomaly connected with it. In Boeotian, the dialect which Hesiod presumably spoke in his everyday affairs, *ϝ* was preserved, both initially and internally, for centuries after Hesiod's time. Observance of the epic digamma should have presented him with no difficulty, should have been no test of his memory. Yet he neglects it more frequently than Homer, who spoke it no longer in his vernacular (cf. below, p. 99). What cause forced Hesiod to succumb to this decadence of language? The answer is that he had no notion that it was decadence. He only knew that some dialects, including the epic, had a tendency to ignore the *w*-sound. It was the epic dialect that he wished to practise. If he gave any thought to the question which manner of speech was the more archaic and original, he was bound to suppose that it was that of epic. He neglected the digamma, therefore, in conscious imitation of the traditional poetic language; while the Ionian rhapsode did the opposite for the same reason.[1]

VIII. METRE AND PROSODY

The structure and characteristics of Hesiod's hexameter are in general identical with those of Homer's. These notes have the limited object of providing a few comparative statistics and of noting the occurrences of certain relatively rare phenomena.

(*a*) *The external structure of the verse*

There are no acephalous or meiouric lines in Hesiod.[2] But it has sometimes been held[3] that the Hesiodic poems are freer than

[1] Meister, *Die hom. Kunstsprache*, pp. 199, 201.—This seems the place to mention the vexed question of epic psilosis. In Alexandrian times, many obsolete Homeric words that must once have been aspirated (*ἦκα*, *ἠέλιος*, etc.) were regarded as unaspirated. We cannot tell whether this psilosis goes back to early times. In some papyri we find spellings like *οὐκ ἔδος*, *ὥλετ' ἑταίρους*, but this may be a purely graphic phenomenon (Meister, pp. 209–26). I follow the MSS. in the few places in Hesiod where they offer such spellings: *Th.* 830 *ὅπ' ἰεῖσαι Π*[15] *κν*, *ὅφ' ἰεῖσαι n* (cf. *h.* xxvii. 18); 855 *ἐπάλμενος* (so *Il.* 7. 260, etc.); 983 *ἕνεκ' εἰλιπόδων ακ*, *ἕνεχ'* S; *Op.* 559 *τῶμισυ*; 692 *ἐπ' ἄμαξαν* C, *ἐφ'* DΦ; 456 *δούρατ' ἀμάξης* CD testes, *δούραθ'* Φ testes (cf. *Il.* 12. 448, 22. 146, 24. 711, 782; E. Hermann, op. cit., p. 135).

[2] Unless *δίκας* be right in *Op.* 263.

[3] First by Schulze, pp. 411 ff.

Homer in admitting *στίχοι λαγαροί*, in particular a type where a trochee followed by word-break takes the place of the initial dactyl. Caution is needed in admitting examples, for small particles are often found after the first word in the line, and they can easily be omitted in copying. Thus in *Th.* 640 *νέκταρ τ' ἀμβροσίην τε*, the omission of *τ'* by *b* at once creates a trochaic first foot, and so does the omission by *a* of *δ'* in 800 *ἄλλος δ' ἐξ ἄλλου*.[1] Until the principle is established, it will be prudent to eschew all instances based on variant readings (such as *τὼς ὅ μὲν ἰαχῇ* at *Sc.* 441, discovered in Ambr. C 222 inf. and advocated by Solmsen, *Rh. Mus.* 1962, p. 282). The two firmest examples in the Hesiodea are both from the part of the *Catalogue* dealing with the suitors of Helen:

fr. 199. 3 *εἶδος οὔ τι ἰδών, ἀλλ' ἄλλων μῦθον ἀκούων.*
fr. 204. 54 *μνᾶτο· πολλὰ δὲ δῶρα δίδου· μάλα δ' ἤθελε θυμῷ.*

There is no reason to emend either line, apart from the metrical peculiarity. In the first, *οὗτοι εἶδος ἰδών* would be better than Wilamowitz's *εἶδός ϝ'* (which I do not understand) or Ludwich's *εἶδός γ'*; in the second, *μνώετο* would be better than Rzach's *πλεῖστα*, for in the line on which this conjecture is based, 204. 41 *μνᾶτο· πλεῖστα δὲ δῶρα μετὰ ξανθὸν Μενέλαον | μνηστήρων ἐδίδου*, the superlative has its proper force.

In the *Works and Days* there are no probable examples, despite Wilamowitz's attempts to introduce them by emendation at 22, 132, 372, and 655. In the *Theogony* there are two possible instances:

532 *ταῦτ' ἄρ' ἀζόμενος τίμα ἀριδείκετον υἱόν.*
961 *ἦ δέ οἱ Μήδειαν ἐύσφυρον ἐν φιλότητι.*

But the first of these is better treated as an example of hiatus; the text should perhaps be altered anyway, see ad loc. In 961, too, emendation is too easy for the abnormality to be established (*ἦ δή οἱ* Guyet, *ἦ δέ νύ οἱ* Triclinius, etc.). There are no clear examples in Homer.[2]

F. Sommer (*Glotta* 1, 1909, pp. 198 ff.) argued for a corresponding licence in the fourth foot. This would again mean that for the usual dactylic colon (×) – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – (×) is substituted

[1] Cf. also *Il.* 3. 178, 229, *Od.* 4. 429, etc.

[2] *Il.* 23. 493 *Αἶαν Ἰδομενεῦ τε* is quoted; but if Idomeneus' name is connected with Mt. Ida, it has an initial digamma (*Inscr. Cret.* 2. v. 35. 11 *τὸν Δῆνα τὸν Fιδάταν*, etc.); and cf. 964 n. In *Od.* 19. 327 *ἀϋσταλέος* must be tolerated; in 24. 299, even if *ποῦ δὲ* is read, the *δὲ* can be scanned long before *νηῦς*, see below, (*e*) 2 (i).

(×) – ∪ ⋮ – ∪ ∪ – (×). *Op.* 242 is quoted by Aesch. *Ctes.* 134 in the form

τοῖσιν δ' οὐρανόθεν μέγα πῆμα δῶκε Κρονίων

(v.l. πῆμα μέγα), where our MSS. have μέγ' ἐπήγαγε πῆμα: it would be dangerous to use such a citation as evidence. In *Op.* 443 the MSS. have

ὅς κ' ἔργου μελετῶν ἰθεῖαν αὔλακ' ἐλαύνοι

(ἰθεῖάν κ' S per coniecturam; ἰθείην Bentley, cf. [Orph.] *A.* 181 τρηχείην and *LSJ* s.v. τραχύς, Babr. 73. 1 ὀξέη, Opp. *H.* 5. 605, etc.). In fr. 204. 62 I have emended (*C.Q.* 1961, p. 131). There are no such cases in the *Theogony*.

In sum, there is no certain instance in *Th.* or *Op.* of either of these rare types of στίχος λαγαρός.

Cf. below, (*d*) (1) (iii) and (*e*) (2) (i); P. Maas, *Greek Metre*, § 128.

(*b*) *Dactyls and spondees*

The following table gives the average number of spondaic feet per 100 lines. It represents a reduction to percentages of figures given by A. Ludwich, *Aristarchs homerische Textkritik*, ii. 327–9.

	Il. 1	*Il.* 24	*Od.* 1	*Od.* 24	*Th.*	*Op.*	*Sc.*
1st foot	38·2	39·6	42·5	37·5	40·9	39·1	35·9
2nd „	39·3	38·4	42·2	43·5	40·5	48·1	38·8
3rd „	13·9	17·3	15·6	17·5	14·0	22·2	19·2
4th „	27·0	25·8	30·0	29·6	26·9	29·8	30·0
5th „	4·9	6·2	6·3	6·6	6·5	6·8	10·0

The most noteworthy feature is the relatively high number of spondaic second and third feet in the *Works and Days*. This seems to be due to the extensive gnomic element; for gnomic passages, particularly those which consist of a series of gnomai strung together like excerpts from a dictionary of proverbs, are metrically different (from a statistical point of view) from narrative. For example, take the two main passages of this type, *Op.* 342–80 and 695–764. In these sections, a spondaic fourth foot followed by diaeresis is nearly four times as frequent as in the rest of the poem (13 in 109 lines, against 22 in 719). A spondaic third foot is also more frequent, though not in such a marked degree (32 in 109 lines against 150 in 719, i.e. 29·4 per cent. against 20·9 per cent.).

Of 66 spondaic fifths in the *Theogony*, 31 occur in genealogical

sections (116–53, 211–388, 404–15, 453–8, 507–34, 901–1020: 382 lines in all), against only 11 in the various episodes of the Succession Myth (154–210, 389–403, 459–506, 617–721, 820–68, 881–900: 294 lines); that is, an average of 1 per 12 lines in the genealogies against 1 per 27 lines in the Myth. Yet only 12 of the 31 in the genealogies are accounted for by proper names.

(*c*) *Caesurae*

Twenty-two lines in the *Theogony* have no caesura in the third foot, but instead have a long word reaching over to the arsis of the fourth: 1, 11, 17, 136, 249, 256–8, 342, 345, 353, 443, 448, 466, 501, 544, 614, 751, 851, 882, 909, 947. This is a higher number proportionately than in the *Iliad* (14 per 1,000 lines) or the *Odyssey* (9 per 1,000 lines). The disparity is explained by the large number of proper names, which account for ten of the instances. But in the *Works and Days* the proportion is even higher (18 in 828 lines = 22 per 1,000), and here some different explanation must be sought.

For the third-foot caesura, the proportion of masculine to trochaic caesurae shows interesting variations. The following are the average number of masculine caesurae per 1,000 lines (from H. N. Porter, *Yale Classical Studies*, 1951): *Iliad* 381, *Odyssey* 410, *Theogony* 292, *Works and Days* (lines 1–400) 410, (lines 401–800) 605. The remarkably high figure for the second half of the *Works and Days* is another reflection of the different metrical features of gnomic hexameters: it is of course bound up with the high number of spondaic third feet. The low figure for the *Theogony*, in other words the relative frequency of the trochaic caesura, is again the result of the genealogical element; to see why it should be so, one need only look at the list of Nereids (243 ff.) or Oceanids (349 ff.).

Caesura after the trochee of the fourth foot (breach of Hermann's Bridge) occurs twice in *Th.*, neglecting such cases as:

122 δάμναται ἐν στήθεσσι νόον καὶ ἐπίφρονα βουλήν,

399 τὴν δὲ Ζεὺς τίμησε, περισσὰ δὲ δῶρα ἔδωκε.

The occurrences are:

23 ἄρνας ποιμαίνονθ' Ἑλικῶνος ὕπο ζαθέοιο.

319 ἡ δὲ Χίμαιραν ἔτικτε πνέουσαν ἀμαιμάκετον πῦρ.

435 is emended on other grounds. In the *Works and Days*, three cases are certain (427, 518, 751); two are variants (553, 693); and

one more would be effected by Peppmüller's conjecture at 412, τὸ for τοι. With one instance per 370 lines, Hesiod is slightly freer with this rarity than Homer, for whom the average frequency is once per 550 lines in both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.[1]

Caesura after (i) the trochee or (ii) the dactyl or spondee of the second foot, after a word beginning in the first (violation of Meyer's First Law), occurs 32 times in the *Theogony*: (i) 2, 85, 86, 95, 197, 219, 319, 370, 451, 474, 548, 598, 616, 701, 789, 843, 882, 890, 919, 974; (ii) 282, 306, 322, 443, 529, 534, 591, 719, 764, 869, 896, 965. The frequency—three instances per hundred lines—is the same as in Homer. (I have not included instances involving enclitics or quasi-enclitic particles, e.g. 244 *Εὐδώρη τε Θέτις τε*, since Callimachus admits such lines (*H.* 2. 15, 3. 77, 126, 4. 144) while otherwise abiding by Meyer's Law. There are forty such cases in the *Theogony*.)

(*d*) *Hiatus*

(1) Following long vowels and diphthongs, (2) following short vowels.

(1) Long final vowels and diphthongs are regularly shortened in hiatus, as in Homer ('epic correption'). They may remain long

(i) before words that originally began with ϝ or σϝ, e.g. 66 *νόμους καὶ ἤθεα κεδνά*.

(ii) In arsis before other words: some forty times in *Th.*, more often in the fifth arsis than elsewhere, least often in the second; more often with η, ηι, ωι than with αι, ει, οι. See the tables in F. Devantier, *Die Spuren des anlautenden Digamma bei Hesiod*, Zweiter Teil (Eutin, 1894), p. 18.

(iii) Occasionally in thesis before an original vowel. The instances offered by MSS. in *Th.* are 6 ἢ *Ὀλμειοῦ ζαθέοιο* (but see n.), 148 *τρεῖς παῖδες μεγάλοι καὶ ὄβριμοι* (*τε καὶ* Gerhard), 250 *Δωρὶς καὶ Πανόπη καὶ εὐειδὴς Γαλάτεια* (*Πανόπεια* Hermann, see ad loc.), 609 *κακὸν ἐσθλῷ ἀντιφερίζει*. There is no example in the *Works and Days* (at 705 either *δαλοῖο καὶ ὠμῷ* or *δαλοῦ καὶ ἐν ὠμῷ* is to be read). In Homer it is found chiefly in the first and fourth theses (Monro, § 380), where believers in trochaic feet are at liberty to assume correption.

[1] Maas, *Metre*, § 87, gives much too low a figure. The examples are collected by van Leeuwen, *Mnem.* 1890, pp. 265 ff.

(2) Short final vowels may remain unelided in hiatus

(i) before original ϝ and σϝ, e.g. 166 *ἀεικέα μήσατο ἔργα* (68 times in *Th.*);

(ii) at the trochaic caesura of the third foot: 19, 255, 264, 464, 549, 605, 787 (v.l.), 855;

(iii) at the bucolic diaeresis: 84, 182, 423, 750 (cj.);

(iv) rarely elsewhere: 297 *σπῆϊ ἔνι γλαφυρῷ* (*ἐν σπῆϊ* Gerhard, Homeric parallels); 369 *ἄνδρα ἐνισπεῖν* (*ἀνέρ'* Goettling); 399 *δῶρα δέδωκε* MSS., *ἔδωκε* Aldina; 435 *ἀγῶνι ἀεθλεύωσιν* (emended on other grounds); 532 *ταῦτ' ἄρα ἁζόμενος* (cf. above, p. 92; *Op.* 410 *ἔς τε ἔνηφι* (v.l. *ἔννηφι(ν)*); 516 *καί τε δι' αἶγα ἄησι* (suspect, cf. genitives in 513, 515, 519); 713 *ἄλλοτε ἄλλον* (regular in this phrase, cf. Rzach *ed. mai.* ad loc.).

(e) Lengthening in arsis

(1) Of short final syllables ending in a consonant, before an initial vowel; (2) of short final vowels before an initial consonant.

(1) A short, closed final syllable may be treated as long (i) before original ϝ or σϝ, e.g. *Th.* 40 (v.l.) *ἐκ στόματος ἡδεῖα*, 56 *ἐννέα γάρ οἱ νύκτας*, 307 (v.l.), 479, 520, 844, 892. The lengthening before postpositive *ὥς* in 91 and 862 is regular in Homer, but it is not certain that the word had a digamma; (ii) in arsis before original vowels: 334 *γείνατο δεινὸν ὄφιν, ὃς ἐρεμνῆς κεύθεσι γαίης*, 480, 503, 652, 703 (v.l.). On *πάϊς* in 178 see ad. loc.

(2) A short final vowel sometimes combines to form a long syllable

(i) with initial λ, μ, ν, ρ (in Homer also ϝ and σ), but only in arsis, and most often the second or fourth arsis (in Homer occasionally also in the first thesis). (λ) *Th.* [218] = 905, 221, 227, 901; (μ) 320, 649, 694, 931; (ν) 417; (ρ) 135, 340, 341. At 401, *ἕο μεταναιέτας* is Brugmann's conjecture for *ἑοῦ* or *ἑοὺς*. Against these thirteen or fourteen instances in *Th.*, there is only one in *Op.* (537).

(ii) with original initial ϝρ, δϝ, σϝ, but only in arsis. *Th.* 195, 819, 1007, *Op.* 515. At *Th.* 71 *πατέρα ὅν* is Brugmann's conjecture for *πατέρ' εἰς ὅν*, which should be retained; at 167 KV give *ἕλε δέος* for *ἕλεν δέος*, but this is a common accident. So at 769 *ἑστᾶσι, δεινὸς ak.*

(*f*) *Position in thesis*

Short final syllables are rarely made long by position. This was first recognized for the fourth foot of the epic hexameter by E. Gerhard, *Lectiones Apollonianae* (1816), p. 147, and F. A. Wernicke, *Tryphiodorus* (1819), p. 173. J. Hilberg (*Das Prinzip der Silbenwägung*, 1879) discovered that the Gerhard–Wernicke law is but a particular case of a principle which holds good for every foot except the first.

The instances in *Th.* of a final syllable long by position in thesis, after the first foot, are as follows (I omit monosyllables which cohere with what follows, e.g. 721 *ἐς τάρταρον ἠερόεντα*):

2nd thesis: 47, 150, 170, 529, 671, 703, 719, 758, 762 (v.l.), 896, 969.
3rd thesis: (711).
4th thesis: 135, 287, 325, 339, 340 (cj.), 703 (v.l.), 960.
5th thesis: nil. (*Op.* 354.)

None of these is accompanied by a sense-pause, though admittedly a sense-pause occurs very seldom after the second thesis in any case, and never after the third or fifth. After the fourth, however, it is common following a dactyl or natural spondee, and the avoidance of it both in Hesiod and Homer where the final syllable is long by position is remarkable (Sommer, *Glotta*, 1, 1909, pp. 155 f.). [Hes.] fr. 257. 4, *ἶξεν δ' Ὀρχομενὸν Μινυῆον· καί μιν ὅ γ' ἤρως*, is exceptional.

(*g*) *Mute + liquid*

Short final vowels in thesis generally remain short in epic before a word beginning with a mute and liquid combination (other than *βλ* or *γλ*). Occasionally they make a long syllable by position, e.g. *Th.* 254 *ῥεῖα πρηΰνει*. With mute and liquid combinations within a word, the case is somewhat different. The preceding syllable is regularly long. This applies equally to closely cohering word-groups like *τὸ πρίν*, *τὸ πρῶτον*, *τὰ πρῶτα*. But there are a few cases where the syllable is scanned short ('Attic correption'): *Th.* 16 *al.* *Ἀφροδίτη* (a name that would not otherwise go into a hexameter), 160 *ἐπεφράσσατο* (*ἐφράσσατο* Goettling on the strength of parallels), 317 *Ἀμφῐτρυωνιάδης*, 318 *Ἡρᾰκλέης*, 599 *ἀλλο᷆τριον*, 632 *Ὄθρυος*. The last instance could

also be taken as a spondee, *Ὄθ′ρυος*, cf. monosyllabic *δρυός* in *Op.* 436 (where Schaefer's conjecture involves two false quantities, an unusual rhythm, and a harsh asyndeton). *Ἡρακλέης* could certainly be scanned *Ἡρακ′λέης*: it would also be conceivable to scan *Ἀμφιτ′ρυωνιάδης*, comparing *Sc.* 3 *al.* *Ἠλεκτρύωνος* (if indeed that is how the latter is to be scanned). However, the assumption of 'Attic correption' is much easier. *Ἡρακλέης* is certain in Call. *H.* 5. 30, Nonn. *D.* 40. 577.

In this occasional usage, Hesiod's practice does not differ from Homer's, on which see J. La Roche, *Homerische Untersuchungen*, i. 1–41.

(*h*) *Mute + nasal*

In the Homeric poems mute and nasal combinations, whether initial or internal, always make position. (*Il.* 20. 220 *ὃς δὴ ἀφνειότατος* synizesis, as often with *δή*; *Od.* 7. 89 *ἀργύρεοι δὲ στᾶθμοί* is a monstrosity in which I cannot bring myself to believe; *Od.* 19. 331 *τεθ′νεῶτι*.)

There are two places in Hesiod where they do not:

Th. 319 *ἡ δὲ Χίμαιραν ἔτικτε πνέουσαν ἀμαιμάκετον πῦρ.*
Op. 567 *ἀκρῠκνέφαιος.*

In *Th.* 319 La Roche bids us scan *πνέουσαν* with synizesis; this leaves the verse without caesura, and is out of the question (cf. Ludwich, *Aristarchs hom. Textkr.* ii. 357). In a fragment (248) from the *Great Ehoiai*, *τέκνον* and *ἐτέκνωσε* are plausibly changed by Voss to *τέκος* and *τέκνωσε*. Other instances are *πῠκνὰ* in *h.* xix. 20 (*πύκα* Barnes) and *τέχνῃ* in Hom. *epigr.* 14. 10.

(*i*) *Initial σκ*

Th. 345 *θεῖόν τε Σκάμανδρον.*
Op. 589 *εἴη πετραίη τε σκιή.*

In Homer short final vowels remain unlengthened before *Σκάμανδρος* and *Σκαμάνδριος* (often), *σκέπαρνον* (*Od.* 5. 237, 9. 391), also *Ζάκυνθος* (*Il.* 2. 634, etc.), *Ζέλεια* (*Il.* 2. 824, etc.), and perhaps *στέᾱτος* (*Od.* 21. 178, 183); on *Od.* 7. 89 *σταθμοί* see above.

In the case of *Σκάμανδρος*, some MSS. in Homer, and S in Hesiod, give *Κάμανδρος*. That this is based on more than

grammatical theory is suggested by the form Kamon, which occurs as a variant of the name of Sappho's father Skamandronymos in the *Suda*; cf. the well-established alternation between σκεδάννυμι and κεδάννυμι. See note on 326 *Φῖκα*; R. Sjölund, *Metrische Kürzung*, pp. 20–26, 76; Strunk, *Indog. Forsch.* 1961, pp. 155–70.

(*j*) *Digamma*

The conditions under which digamma is observed are similar to those under which mute–liquid combinations make position. In particular, a short final syllable in thesis is seldom scanned long before initial ϝ, and only in the first foot (once in the second, *Od.* 8. 215 *εὖ μὲν τόξον οἶδα ἐΰξοον ἀμφαφάασθαι*: *τόξων . . . ἐυξόων* Hartel). The only case in Hesiod is *Th.* 892 *τὼς γάρ οἱ φρασάτην*.

The frequency with which the digamma is observed in Hesiod is lower than in Homer. The matter has been investigated a number of times, and no two researchers give exactly the same figures. I shall quote those arrived at by the two most methodical of them, namely F. Devantier (op. cit., Dritter Teil, Eutin, 1897) and A. V. Paues (*De Digammo Hesiodeo Quaestiones*, Stockholm, 1897).

	Th.		*Op.*		*Sc.*	
	D.	P.	D.	P.	D.	P.
ϝ observed	104	89	108	90	65	65
ϝ neglected	35	36	53	59	14	11
non liquet	47	51	28	53	16	27

The ratio of observances to neglects calculated from these figures is:

	Th.	*Op.*	*Sc.*
Devantier	3·0:1	2·0:1	4·6:1
Paues	2·5:1	1·5:1	5·9:1

The figures for Homer given by Hartel, *Sitz.-Ber. Wien. Ak.* 78, 1874, p. 74, are: observances, 3,354, neglects 617, ratio 5·4:1.

The difference between Homer and Hesiod is not reason for thinking that the latter is later (on that principle the *Scutum* would be earlier than either, on Paues's figures). The digamma-ratio is a function of the individual rhapsode's mastery of the traditional formulaic vocabulary, his adeptness in employing it, and its relationship to his vernacular (see above, p. 91).

The difference between the *Theogony* and *Works and Days* is largely the consequence of the fact that the *Theogony* has much

greater use for the word *οἱ*, a word in which the digamma is very seldom neglected (examples collected by Hermann, *Orphica*, pp. 775–80; cf. Keydell, *Bursian*, 230, 1931, p. 64; Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 2. 3; F. Vian, *Recherches sur les Posthomerica de Quintus de Smyrne*, 1959, pp. 154 f.), and which is seldom placed in an equivocal position (Maas, *Metre*, p. 82). In *Th.* *οἱ* occurs twenty-eight times, in *Op.* only five. It will be seen that when allowance is made for this, the figures for the two poems become much more even.

(*k*) *Crasis and synizesis*

Crasis. *οὔνεκα* *Th.* 88, etc., *τοὔνεκα* *Th.* 88 (but see n.), *Op.* 49; *χὠ* *Th.* 284, *κἀκ* 336 (v.l.), 447 (*καὶ ἐκ* codd.), *κεἰς* *Op.* 44, *τὤμισυ* 559.

At *Th.* 405 and 562 the combination of *δὴ* and *ἔπειτα* appears in most MSS. as *δ' ἤπειτα*, in Homer normally as *δἤπειτα*. Editors generally prefer *δὴ ἔπειτα* (∪∪–∪); cf. van Leeuwen, *Enchiridium*, 2nd ed., p. 70.

At *Op.* 295 *καὶ κεῖνος* should be read, not *κἀκεῖνος* (Monro, § 377; van Leeuwen, l.c.).

Hesiodic practice thus differs little from Homeric, on which see Monro and van Leeuwen, ll.cc.

Synizesis. This term is applied (i) to phenomena such as *Od.* 1. 226 *εἰλαπίνη ἠὲ γάμος*, 4. 352 *ἐπεὶ οὐ*, which perhaps differ only graphically from crasis: the only such case in Hesiod is *Th.* 974 (v.l.) *τὸν δὴ ἀφνειὸν ἔθηκε* (cf. above, p. 98); (ii) to cases where adjacent vowels in the same word, other than the normal diphthongs, form a single syllable. This is frequent with the endings *-εα*, *-εας*, and statutory with *-εω* and *-έων*. Outside this class, such synizesis is found in Hesiod as follows: *Th.* 12 *χρυσέοισι* (and elsewhere with cases of *χρύσεος*, *ἀργύρεος*, *χάλκεος*, *σιδήρεος*); 44 *θεῶν* (see n.); 281 *Χρυσάωρ*? (v.l.); 454 *Ἰστίην* (v.l.); 732 *Ποσειδέων* (v.l.); 748 *ἀστεμφέως*; 800 *ἄεθλος* (v.l., cf. *Op.* 656); 850 *τρέε* (v.l.); 870 *Βορέω* (v.l.); 983 *βοῶν* (*βῶν* Guyet); *Op.* 5 *ῥέα*; 202 *ἐρέω*; 263 *βασιλῆες* (v.l., cf. 248, *Il.* 11. 151, *h. Dem.* 137); 286 *νοέων*; 436 *δρυός*; 462 *ἔαρι* (v.l. *εἴαρι*), 492 *ἔαρ*; 477 *ἴξεαι*, 647 *βούλεαι* (v.l.); 583 *δενδρέῳ*; 607 *ἐπηετανόν* (cf. *h. Herm.* 113, Pi. *N.* 6. 10); 640 *ἀργαλέῃ*.

Particularly remarkable are those cases where the synizesis is combined with correption, as *Op.* 144 *οὐκ ἀργυρέῳ οὐδὲν ὁμοῖον*, 583, 640: cf. *Il.* 1. 15 = 374, 3. 152 (*aliter* Zenodotus), *h. Ap.* 185.

12. *Prosody, miscellaneous*

Under this heading I have gathered those examples of unusual prosody in Hesiod which have not been discussed above. On those from the *Theogony*, see Commentary.

Th. 15 γαῖήοχον; 49 κράτεῖ (v.l.); 60 κούρᾰς (*sim.* 184 v.l., 267, 401, 534, 653, 804 cj., *Op.* 564, 663, 674: see above, p. 85); 209 τῖταίνοντας; 250 ἐῦειδής?; 281 Χρῦσάωρ? (v.l., *sim.* 979); 287 τρικέφᾰλον (*sim.* 312); 304 ἔρῦτ(αι?); 327 Νεμειαῖον, i.e. Νεμεāῖον; 454 Ἰστῑ́ην (v.l.); 521 δήσᾰς (v.l., see above, p. 85); 585 κᾰλόν (*sim. Op.* 63, see above, p. 82); 770 νηλειής, i.e. νηλεής; 803 ἔτεᾱ (*sim. Op.* 130); 860 Ἄῖτνης (dub. cj.); 862 αὐτμῇ; 885 ἐῦ (s.v.l.).

Op. 131 ἀ̆τάλλων; 177 οἰ̯ζύος (f.l.); 213 ἄῖε (v.l., cf. *Il.* 2. 486, 15. 506, *Od.* 1. 352–3); 311 ἀεργίη (*sim.* 319); 392 ἀμάειν (see above, p. 85); 430 ἐλύματι; 490 πρᾱϊηρότῃ (cj., see on *Th.* 15); 516 ᾱ̆ησι? (see above, (*d*) (2) (iv); 530 μῡλιόωντες (v.l.); 752 ἴσον (see above, p. 82).

IX. SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

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SIGLA

PAPYRI

Π^1 to Π^{32}: see above, pp. 64 f.

LATER MANUSCRIPTS

Reconstructed MSS.		*Extant MSS.*	*Date of extant MSS.*
	B	Paris. suppl. gr. 663	11th c.
	P	Paris. suppl. gr. 679	12th c.
a — *n*		Marcianus IX 6 (1006)	14th c.
		Salmanticensis 243	15th c.
v	V	Laur. conv. soppr. 15	14th c.
	W	Panormitanus 2Qq-A-75	late 15th c.
	X	Paris. suppl. gr. 652	15th c.
	S	Laur. 32. 16	1280
	Q	Vat. gr. 915	*c.* 1300
b	L	Laur. conv. soppr. 158	14th c.
m		Paris. gr. 2763	15th c.
		Paris. gr. 2833	15th c.
		Vratislav. Rehd. 35	15th c.
		Mosqu. 469 (*olim* 404)	15th c.
	Tr	Marcianus 464 (762)	1316/19
k	K	Ravennas 120	14th c.
u	U	Matrit. 4607	15th c.
		Ambros. D 529 inf.	15th c.
		Vat. gr. 2185	15th c.
	Z	Mutinensis αT9. 14	15th c.

c (see p. 57)
r (see p. 58)

Note that the symbols *a*, *k*, etc., denote single manuscripts, not families; thus the attribution of a reading to *k*, for example, need not mean that no single extant representative of *k* has anything different.

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

Σ scholia (Σ^K = scholium preserved in K, etc.). To guard against confusion I use 'sch.' (Hom., etc.) in referring to testimonia from the scholia to other authors.

Δ	Diaconus' Exegesis.
ε	the anonymous Exegesis.
L^1, L^2	L as corrected by the original scribe/by a later hand.
m^1, m^2	first hand, second hand.
a.c.	ante correcturam.
p.c.	post correcturam.
i.r.	in rasura.
u.v.	ut videtur.
sscr.	suprascripsit, cum suprascripto.
agn.	agnoscit.
v.l.	varia lectio.
codd.	B*abk*(K)QS, or as many of these manuscripts as are available at the place in question.
fere codd.	the same with inessential variations in individual manuscripts.

BRACKETS

⟦ ⟧	enclose words or letters cancelled in the manuscript.
⌊ ⌋	enclose letters missing in a papyrus; e.g. '*εὐτρή⌊του* Π^{12} codd.' is a compendious expression of '*ευτρη*[Π^{12}, *εὐτρή-του* codd.'
⟨Π⟩	indicates that a papyrus is inferred to have had one rather than another of the known variants from the size of the space available; e.g. at 43, '*δώματά τ'* ⟨Π^1⟩K: *δώματ' a'*, the whole word is missing in Π^1, but there is room for seven letters before *αθα*]*νατων*.

Where the reading printed in the text does not appear with the variants recorded in the apparatus, it is to be understood that it is given by codd. (as defined above) and by citations (as specified below the text), in so far as they are not quoted for a different reading, but by no papyrus; where the evidence of a papyrus is available, it is reported.

ΘΕΟΓΟΝΙΑ

Μουσάων Ἑλικωνιάδων ἀρχώμεθ' ἀείδειν,
αἵ θ' Ἑλικῶνος ἔχουσιν ὄρος μέγα τε ζάθεόν τε,
καί τε περὶ κρήνην ἰοειδέα πόσσ' ἁπαλοῖσιν
ὀρχεῦνται καὶ βωμὸν ἐρισθενέος Κρονίωνος·
καί τε λοεσσάμεναι τέρενα χρόα Περμησσοῖο
ἠ' Ἵππου κρήνης ἠ' Ὀλμειοῦ ζαθέοιο
ἀκροτάτῳ Ἑλικῶνι χοροὺς ἐνεποιήσαντο,
καλοὺς ἱμερόεντας, ἐπερρώσαντο δὲ ποσσίν.
ἔνθεν ἀπορνύμεναι κεκαλυμμέναι ἠέρι πολλῷ
ἐννύχιαι στεῖχον περικαλλέα ὄσσαν ἰεῖσαι,
ὑμνεῦσαι Δία τ' αἰγίοχον καὶ πότνιαν Ἥρην
Ἀργείην, χρυσέοισι πεδίλοις ἐμβεβαυῖαν,
κούρην τ' αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς γλαυκῶπιν Ἀθήνην
Φοῖβόν τ' Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ἰοχέαιραν
ἠδὲ Ποσειδάωνα γαιήοχον ἐννοσίγαιον
καὶ Θέμιν αἰδοίην ἑλικοβλέφαρόν τ' Ἀφροδίτην
Ἥβην τε χρυσοστέφανον καλήν τε Διώνην
Λητώ τ' Ἰαπετόν τε ἰδὲ Κρόνον ἀγκυλομήτην
Ἠῶ τ' Ἠέλιόν τε μέγαν λαμπράν τε Σελήνην
Γαῖάν τ' Ὠκεανόν τε μέγαν καὶ Νύκτα μέλαιναν
ἄλλων τ' ἀθανάτων ἱερὸν γένος αἰὲν ἐόντων.
αἵ νύ ποθ' Ἡσίοδον καλὴν ἐδίδαξαν ἀοιδήν,
ἄρνας ποιμαίνονθ' Ἑλικῶνος ὕπο ζαθέοιο.
τόνδε δέ με πρώτιστα θεαὶ πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπον,

1 Lucillius *AP* 9. 572. 1 **3–4** (*–ὀρχεῦνται*) Liban. iv, p. 428 F., Et^{G} s.v. *ἰοειδέα*; (*–ἁπαλοῖσι*) Et^{GM} s.v. *νῆις*; (*–ἰοειδέα*) Prisc. *Inst.* xiv. 34; (*περὶ–ὀρχεῦνται*) Luc. *Salt.* 24, cf. Choric. xi. 4 (p. 152. 3 F.–R.); (*περὶ–ἰοειδέα*) Et^{M} s.v. *ἴον*; (*πόσ'–ὀρχεῦνται*) sch. *Il.* 18. 571 (T) **6** *ἵππου κρήνης* Hsch. **8** (*ἐπερρώσαντο–*) Et^{G} s.v. *ἐρωή* **11** *Δία*+**18**+**22** Aristid. 28. 20 (ii. 148. 1 K.) **16–17** Plut. *Mor.* 747^{F} **23** Diac. *Alleg.* p. 296. 12 Fl.

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3 *καί τ' ἐπὶ a*, Libanius v.l.: *ἀμφὶ περὶ* (ex *Il.* 2. 305) Prisc. **5** *Περμησσ*$_{ι}$*οῖο* $\Pi^{2}a$: *μησοῖο* (sic) K: *Τερμησ(σ)οῖο* VbQ Zenodotus: *Παρμήσοιο* ⟨Nico⟩crates: *Παρνησοῖο* S **6** *Ὀλμειοῦ* S **9** *πολλῷ* KV: *πολλῇ a* **17** *Ἥβην* Π^{18} codd.: *Ἥρην* Plut. **18** *ἀγκυλομῆτιν* S, *-όμητιν* Laur. 31. 32; cf. ad 137, 168, 473, 495, 546 **19** ante 18 habent Π^{2}S, ante 15 K, om. Π^{18}L **22** *νυ* $\Pi^{18}a$K Aristid.: *ῥα* Z *ἀοιδήν*: *αμοιβην* Π^{2} **24** *ἔειπο*$_{ι}$*ν* $\Pi^{2}a$K: *ἔειπαν* Q

Μοῦσαι Ὀλυμπιάδες, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο·
"ποιμένες ἄγραυλοι, κάκ' ἐλέγχεα, γαστέρες οἷον,
ἴδμεν ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγειν ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα,
ἴδμεν δ' εὖτ' ἐθέλωμεν ἀληθέα γηρύσασθαι."
ὣς ἔφασαν κοῦραι μεγάλου Διὸς ἀρτιέπειαι,
καί μοι σκῆπτρον ἔδον δάφνης ἐριθηλέος ὄζον
δρέψασαι, θηητόν· ἐνέπνευσαν δέ μοι αὐδὴν
θέσπιν, ἵνα κλείοιμι τά τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα,
καί μ' ἐκέλονθ' ὑμνεῖν μακάρων γένος αἰὲν ἐόντων,
σφᾶς δ' αὐτὰς πρῶτόν τε καὶ ὕστατον αἰὲν ἀείδειν.
ἀλλὰ τίη μοι ταῦτα περὶ δρῦν ἢ περὶ πέτρην;
τύνη, Μουσάων ἀρχώμεθα, ταὶ Διὶ πατρὶ
ὑμνεῦσαι τέρπουσι μέγαν νόον ἐντὸς Ὀλύμπου,
εἴρουσαι τά τ' ἐόντα τά τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα,
φωνῇ ὁμηρεῦσαι, τῶν δ' ἀκάματος ῥέει αὐδὴ
ἐκ στομάτων ἡδεῖα· γελᾷ δέ τε δώματα πατρὸς
Ζηνὸς ἐριγδούποιο θεᾶν ὀπὶ λειριοέσσῃ
σκιδναμένῃ, ἠχεῖ δὲ κάρη νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου
δώματά τ' ἀθανάτων· αἱ δ' ἄμβροτον ὄσσαν ἱεῖσαι
θεῶν γένος αἰδοῖον πρῶτον κλείουσιν ἀοιδῇ
ἐξ ἀρχῆς, οὓς Γαῖα καὶ Οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ἔτικτεν,
οἵ τ' ἐκ τῶν ἐγένοντο, θεοὶ δωτῆρες ἐάων·
δεύτερον αὖτε Ζῆνα θεῶν πατέρ' ἠδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν,
[ἀρχόμεναί θ' ὑμνεῦσι θεαὶ † λήγουσαί τ' ἀοιδῆς,]

26 γαστέρες οἷον Hsch. **27** Athenag. *pro Chr.* 24 **29** Et^{GM} s.v. ἀρτιέπειαι **31–32** Aristid. 28. 23 (ii. 149 K.) **35–37** Et^{G} s.v. ἀλλά **35** Porph. *vit. Plot.* 22 (p. 31 H.–Schw.) **38–39** Tz. *exeg. Il.* p. 19. 6 H.; (εἰρεῦσαι) Hsch.; (τά τ' ἐόντα–ἐόντα) sch. Tz. *exeg. Il.* p. 147. 5 H.; (φωνῇ ὁμηρεῦσαι) ibid., Et^{G} s.v. ὁμηρεῦσαι, Et^{M} s.v. *Ὁμηρος*; (ὁμηρεῦσαι) Hsch. (sine nom.) **43** (αἱ δ'–) Et^{GM} s.v. ὅσσα **45–46** (–ἐγένοντο) sch. *Il.* 1. 604 (T)

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27 om. Π^2 (homoearch.) **28** γηρύσασθαι $\Pi^1\Pi^2 n$, γρ. L^2 ex Σ: μυθήσασθαι Kv **29** μεγάλου $\Pi^1 a$ Etym.: μεγάλαι K **30** ἔδον Π^1K: ἔδων *a* **31** δρέψασαι ⟨Π^1⟩*a*: δρέψασθαι KV$\Sigma\Delta$ Aristid. θεητον Π^1 u.v. μοι αὐδὴν $\Pi^1\Pi^2 a$ Aristid.: μοι ἀοιδὴν K (sscr. αυ), Aristid. cod. unus: μ' ἀοιδὴν Rzach **32** θέσπιν Goettling: θείην *a*K: θεσπεσίην Aristid. κλείοιμι $\Pi^1 L^2 Q^1$: κλύοιμι *a*K: utrumque Aristidis codd. **34** ὕστατον $\Pi^1\Pi^2$, S p.c.: ὕστερον *a*K **37** μ$_L$έγα$_M$ν $\Pi^1 a$K Etym.: μέγα L ἐντὸς $\Pi^1\Pi^2$KV Etym.: αἰὲν *a* **38** εἰρουσαι S a.c.: εἰρεῦσαι *a*K Hsch. sch. Tz.: ὃς ἤδη (ex *Il.* 1. 70) Tz. p. 19 **40** στομάτω$_M$ν $\Pi^1 a$K: στόματος *r* **41** θεᾶν Π^1K*v*Σ: θεῶν *n* **42** κιδναμένῃ S **43** δώματά τ' ⟨Π^1⟩K: δώματ' *a* **44** αἰδοῖον $\Pi^1 a$K: αἰδοίων *c* **45** ἐξ ἀρχῆς: ἄειδον δ' (ex A.R. 1. 496) sch. Hom. ἔτικτε(ν) $\Pi^1\Pi^2 a$K sch. Hom.: ἔτικτον Henisch (ex cod.?): *genuerunt* interpres Birchmanni **48** damn. Guyet λήγουσί τ' Π^1S: ὑμνεῦσιν ἰδὲ λήγουσαι L. Dindorf

ὅσσον φέρτατός ἐστι θεῶν κάρτει τε μέγιστος·
αὖτις δ' ἀνθρώπων τε γένος κρατερῶν τε Γιγάντων
ὑμνεῦσαι τέρπουσι Διὸς νόον ἐντὸς Ὀλύμπου
Μοῦσαι Ὀλυμπιάδες, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο.
τὰς ἐν Πιερίῃ Κρονίδῃ τέκε πατρὶ μιγεῖσα
Μνημοσύνη, γουνοῖσιν Ἐλευθῆρος μεδέουσα,
λησμοσύνην τε κακῶν ἄμπαυμά τε μερμηράων.
ἐννέα γάρ οἱ νύκτας ἐμίσγετο μητίετα Ζεὺς
νόσφιν ἀπ' ἀθανάτων ἱερὸν λέχος εἰσαναβαίνων·
ἀλλ' ὅτε δή ῥ' ἐνιαυτὸς ἔην, περὶ δ' ἔτραπον ὧραι
μηνῶν φθινόντων, περὶ δ' ἤματα πόλλ' ἐτελέσθη,
ἡ δ' ἔτεκ' ἐννέα κούρας, ὁμόφρονας, ᾗσιν ἀοιδὴ
μέμβλεται ἐν στήθεσσιν, ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἐχούσας,
τυτθὸν ἀπ' ἀκροτάτης κορυφῆς νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου·
ἔνθά σφιν λιπαροί τε χοροὶ καὶ δώματα καλά,
πὰρ δ' αὐτῇς Χάριτές τε καὶ Ἵμερος οἰκί' ἔχουσιν
ἐν θαλίῃς· ἐρατὴν δὲ διὰ στόμα ὄσσαν ἱεῖσαι
μέλπονται, πάντων τε νόμους καὶ ἤθεα κεδνὰ
ἀθανάτων κλείουσιν, ἐπήρατον ὄσσαν ἱεῖσαι.
αἳ τότ' ἴσαν πρὸς Ὄλυμπον, ἀγαλλόμεναι ὀπὶ καλῇ,
ἀμβροσίῃ μολπῇ· περὶ δ' ἴαχε γαῖα μέλαινα
ὑμνεύσαις, ἐρατὸς δὲ ποδῶν ὕπο δοῦπος ὀρώρει
νισομένων πατέρ' εἰς ὅν· ὁ δ' οὐρανῷ ἐμβασιλεύει,
αὐτὸς ἔχων βροντὴν ἠδ' αἰθαλόεντα κεραυνόν,
κάρτει νικήσας πατέρα Κρόνον· εὖ δὲ ἕκαστα
ἀθανάτοις διέταξε νόμους καὶ ἐπέφραδε τιμάς.
ταῦτ' ἄρα Μοῦσαι ἄειδον Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι,
ἐννέα θυγατέρες μεγάλου Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖαι,

54 (Ἐλ. μεδ.) Et^{GM} s.v. Ἐλευθήρ(ος G) 55 Et^{G} s.v. ἄμπαυμα 56 Et^{G} s.v. ἐννέα γάρ οἱ 61 μέμβλεται Hsch. (sine nom.) 64 sch. Pi. *O.* 9. 39, Plut. *Mor.* 49E 73–74 Theophilus Antioch. *ad Autol.* 83C (*Apolog. saec. sec.* viii. 58)

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49 τόσσον KV φέρτατος $\Pi^{1}\Pi^{20}$aK : φέρτερος Q κάρτει $\Pi^{1}\Pi^{20}$K : κράτεῖ *a* 50 αὖθις K 51 Διὸς: θεων (ex 46–49) $\Pi^{1}\Pi^{20}$ 58 ἔτραπεν S 61 ἐχούσας Barocc. 60 64 αὐταῖς S sch. Pi. τε om. *a* ἔ⌊χουι⌋σιν Π^{13}aK sch. Pi.: ἔθεντο Plut. 66–67 om. *a* (homoeotel.), post 77 habet V 66 νομοὺς agn. Σ κεδνὰ VbQ^{I}S : καλὰ (ex 63) KQ 71 νισο- *b* : νισσο- aK ἐμβασίλευεν U^{2}Z : -ευσεν Barocc. 109 72 (βροντὴν) incipit B η]δεψολοεν[τα Π^{13} (sed δε ex δαι) 74 -ε νόμους van Lennep : -εν ὁ⌊μῶς Π^{13} codd., Theoph.

Κλειώ τ' Εὐτέρπη τε Θάλειά τε Μελπομένη τε
Τερψιχόρη τ' Ἐρατώ τε Πολύμνιά τ' Οὐρανίη τε
Καλλιόπη θ'· ἡ δὲ προφερεστάτη ἐστὶν ἁπασέων.
ἡ γὰρ καὶ βασιλεῦσιν ἅμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ.
ὅντινα τιμήσουσι Διὸς κοῦραι μεγάλοιο
γεινόμενόν τε ἴδωσι διοτρεφέων βασιλήων,
τῷ μὲν ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ γλυκερὴν χείουσιν ἐέρσην,
τοῦ δ' ἔπε' ἐκ στόματος ῥεῖ μείλιχα· οἱ δέ νυ λαοὶ
πάντες ἐς αὐτὸν ὁρῶσι διακρίνοντα θέμιστας
ἰθείῃσι δίκῃσιν· ὁ δ' ἀσφαλέως ἀγορεύων
αἶψά τι καὶ μέγα νεῖκος ἐπισταμένως κατέπαυσε·
τούνεκα γὰρ βασιλῆες ἐχέφρονες, οὕνεκα λαοῖς
βλαπτομένοις ἀγορῇφι μετάτροπα ἔργα τελεῦσι
ῥηιδίως, μαλακοῖσι παραιφάμενοι ἐπέεσσιν·
ἐρχόμενον δ' ἀν' ἀγῶνα θεὸν ὣς ἱλάσκονται
αἰδοῖ μειλιχίῃ, μετὰ δὲ πρέπει ἀγρομένοισι.
τοίη Μουσάων ἱερὴ δόσις ἀνθρώποισιν.

77–79 Diod. iv. 7. 2, Diac. *Alleg.* p. 303. 10 Fl.; **77** Epimer. Hom., Anecd. Ox. i. 278 Cr.; **78** (*Πολ.*–) ib. 164. 12 et 172. 2; **79** Macrob. *in Somn. Scip.* ii. 3. 2 (bis), sch. *Il.* 2. 484 (G), cf. sch. Hom., Anecd. Gr. ii. 478. 16 Matranga, Anecd. Par. iii. 155. 13 et 280. 27 Cr. **79–87** Stob. iv. 7. 12; **79–85** Themist. *orat.*, p. 122A; **79** ἥ δὴ+**80** (*βασ.*–) Plut. *Mor.* 801E **80–87** Aristid. ii. 131. 23 D.; **80–82** Dio Prus. 2. 24 **81** Themist. *orat.*, p. 355C **85–92** Stob. ii. 4. 1; **85** (–*ὁρῶσιν*)+**86** (*ὁ δ'*–)+**92** (*αἰδοῖ μειλιχίῃ*) Aristid. ii. 131. 7 D. **86** (–*δίκῃσιν*) Choric. xiii. 10 (p. 177. 21 F.–R.) **87** Epict. *Diss.* ii. 12. 16 **88–90** Aristid. ii. 132. 11 D., Stob. iv. 7. 9; **88** (–*ἐχέφρονες*) sch. Soph. *Phil.* 137 **91** (–*ἀγῶνα*) sch. *Il.* 24. 1 (BT) **92** (*αἰδοῖ μειλιχίῃ*) Iambl. ap. Stob. ii. 2. 5

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78 *τερπιχορη* Π^3 a.c. *στεσιχορε* et *πολυμνις* crater Françoisianus **79** *δὲ* Π^3BaK, sch. Hom. v.l.: *δὴ* S^2, sch. Hom. v.l., Macrob. bis: (*τ' εἴ*)*δει* Stob.: *σφέων* Diod.: *καὶ* Δ **81** *τιμήσουσι* Π^3 a.c., BaK, Aristid., Themist. bis: *-σωσι* Π^3 p.c., S a.c. (sic?), Dio: utrumque Stobaei libri **82** *γειν-* Π^3 codd., Themist. v.l.: *γι(γ)ν-* Aristid. Stob., Themist. v.l. *ἴδωσι* Σ Stob. Themist.: *ἐσίδωσι* Π^3? (*τε*[.]*ειδωσι*), B (*αἰσ-*), K*νε* Dio Aristid.: *ἐπίδωσι n* **83** *τοῦ* (ex 84) Themist. *χείουσιν* Π^3BaK Aristid. Stob. (v.l. *χέουσιν*): *χεύουσιν* S: utrumque Themistii libri *ἐέρσην* Π^3BKΣ Themist.: *ἀοιδήν a* Aristid. Stob. **84** *μείλιχα* BaK Aristid. Stob.: *μειλίχι'* S: *μειλίχια* Themist. v.l. *νυ* codd., Stob.: *τε* Π^3 Aristid. Themist. **86** *ἀτρεκέως ἀγορεύων* Aristid. poster. loco: *ἀσφαλέως ἀγορεύει* (ex *Od.* 8. 171) idem priore loco **87** *τι* Phillipps 11723: *τε* codd. (*α* sscr. K) testes: *τ*. Π^{13}: *κε* Π^3 **88** *γὰρ*: *και* (ex 87) Π^3 **91** *ἐρχόμενον* Π^3BvK testes: *-οι n* *ἀν' ἀιγ⌋ῶνα* Π^3, *γρ.* L^2 et Marc. IX 6 m^1, Σ sch. Hom.: *ἀνὰ ἄστυ* BaK Stob. *ειςορ[οω]cιν* Π^3 **92** *τρεπει* Π^3 **93** *τοιη* Π^3: *οἷα τε* fere codd. (*ὁἱά τε* B):]*ε* Π^{13}: *οἵη* Nilsson

ἐκ γάρ τοι Μουσέων καὶ ἑκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος
ἄνδρες ἀοιδοὶ ἔασιν ἐπὶ χθόνα καὶ κιθαρισταί,
ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες· ὁ δ' ὄλβιος, ὅντινα Μοῦσαι
φίλωνται· γλυκερή οἱ ἀπὸ στόματος ῥέει αὐδή.
εἰ γάρ τις καὶ πένθος ἔχων νεοκηδέι θυμῷ
ἄζηται κραδίην ἀκαχήμενος, αὐτὰρ ἀοιδὸς
Μουσάων θεράπων κλεῖα προτέρων ἀνθρώπων
ὑμνήσει μάκαράς τε θεοὺς οἳ Ὄλυμπον ἔχουσιν,
αἶψ' ὅ γε δυσφροσυνέων ἐπιλήθεται οὐδέ τι κηδέων
μέμνηται· ταχέως δὲ παρέτραπε δῶρα θεάων.
χαίρετε τέκνα Διός, δότε δ' ἱμερόεσσαν ἀοιδήν·
κλείετε δ' ἀθανάτων ἱερὸν γένος αἰὲν ἐόντων,
οἳ Γῆς ἐξεγένοντο καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος,
Νυκτός τε δνοφερῆς, οὓς θ' ἁλμυρὸς ἔτρεφε Πόντος.
εἴπατε δ' ὡς τὰ πρῶτα θεοὶ καὶ γαῖα γένοντο
καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ πόντος ἀπείριτος οἴδματι θυίων
ἄστρά τε λαμπετόωντα καὶ οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὕπερθεν·
[οἵ τ' ἐκ τῶν ἐγένοντο, θεοὶ δωτῆρες ἐάων·]
ὥς τ' ἄφενος δάσσαντο καὶ ὡς τιμὰς διέλοντο,
ἠδὲ καὶ ὡς τὰ πρῶτα πολύπτυχον ἔσχον Ὄλυμπον.
ταῦτά μοι ἔσπετε Μοῦσαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι
ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ εἴπαθ', ὅτι πρῶτον γένετ' αὐτῶν.

94–96 (–βασιλῆες) Cornut. 32, sch. *Il.* 1. 176 (AB), cf. Themist. *orat.*, p. 89c, 170b, Eust. in Hom. p. 76. 2; 94–95 sch. Pi. *P.* 4. 313; (–ἔασιν) sch. Pi. *N.* 3. 71, sch. Hes. *Th.* 30 96–97 Stob. iv. 6. 7, Apostolius 6. 99a; 96 (–βασιλῆες) sch. *Il.* 1. 175 (T) et 17. 251 (A) 98–99 (–ἀκαχημένος) +103 (ταχέως–) Et^{G} s.v. *νεοκηδέι θυμῷ* 104–15 Theophilus, l.c. (ad 73–74); 104 (ἱμερ. ἀοιδήν) Cyrillus *c. Iulian.* iii. 75 Aub. 108–39 Hippol. *Philos.* 26; 108–10 Cyrillus *c. Iulian.* ii. 53 Aub.

94–97 = *h. Hom.* 25. 2–5 94 om. *a*, ante 93 habet V *τοι Μουσέων* $\Pi^{3}\Pi^{13}$ sch. Pi. v.l. bis: *τοι Μουσάων* BKV sch. Hom. sch. Pi. v.l. bis Cornut. v.l.: *Μουσάων* Tr sch. Hes. Cornut. v.l. *h. Hom.* *ἑκ⌊η⌋βόλου Ἀπόλλων⌊ος* Π^{3}BaK testes plerique: *Ἀπόλλωνος ἑκάτοιο* Themist. bis 95 *χ⌊θόν⌋α* Π^{3} codd.: *χθονὶ* sch. Hom. sch. Pi. Cornut. (v.l. *καταχθόνιοι*) *h. Hom.* 97 *φίλωνται* vel *φιλῶνται* Π^{3}aK Stob. Apost.: *φίλοντ'αὶ* B: *φίλονται* W a.c.: *φιλεῦνται* S *ῥέει a* 101 *ὑμνήσει* $B^{1}W^{1}Q$: *ὑμνήσῃ a*: *ὑμνῇ* K: *υμνεαι* Π^{3} 102 *αἶψ' ὅ γε* Π^{3}BK: *αἶψα δ' ὅ γε v* (et *a*?): *αἶψα δ' ὅ* nX^{2} *δυσφροσυ⌊νέων* Π^{3}Ba: *δυσφρονέων* K, Marc. IX 6 103 *παρέτρεπε τὰ* K 105 *ἱερὸν*: *μακάρων* Theoph. 106 *Γῆς* ⟨Π^{3}⟩BaK Theoph.: *Γῆς τ'* S 107 *δὲ a* *θ'* om. Bv Theoph. 109 *οἴδματ⌊ι θύων* Π^{3} codd.: *οἰδμά τε πόντου* Hippol. 111 (= 46) om. Π^{1}B Theoph. Hippol. 112 *τ' ἄφενος* Π^{3}BaK Theoph.: *τ' ἄφενον* SV, Q a.c.?: *στέφανον* Hippol. 115 *εἴπαθ' ὅτι* Π^{3} codd. Theoph.: *ἔπειτα* (*ἔπειθ'* Diels) *ὅτι περ* Hippol.

ἤτοι μὲν πρώτιστα Χάος γένετ'· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Γαῖ' εὐρύστερνος, πάντων ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ
ἀθανάτων οἳ ἔχουσι κάρη νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου,
Τάρταρά τ' ἠερόεντα μυχῷ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης,
ἠδ' Ἔρος, ὃς κάλλιστος ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι,
λυσιμελής, πάντων τε θεῶν πάντων τ' ἀνθρώπων
δάμναται ἐν στήθεσσι νόον καὶ ἐπίφρονα βουλήν.
ἐκ Χάεος δ' Ἔρεβός τε μέλαινά τε Νὺξ ἐγένοντο
Νυκτὸς δ' αὖτ' Αἰθήρ τε καὶ Ἡμέρη ἐξεγένοντο,
οὓς τέκε κυσαμένη Ἐρέβει φιλότητι μιγεῖσα.
Γαῖα δέ τοι πρῶτον μὲν ἐγείνατο ἶσον ἑωυτῇ
Οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεν θ', ἵνα μιν περὶ πάντα καλύπτοι,
ὄφρ' εἴη μακάρεσσι θεοῖς ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεί,
γείνατο δ' οὔρεα μακρά, θεᾶν χαρίεντας ἐναύλους
Νυμφέων, αἳ ναίουσιν ἀν' οὔρεα βησσήεντα,

116–33 Theophilus *ad Autol.* 84A (viii. 60); 116–24 Cornut. 17 (interpolatio); 116–19 Stob. i. 10. 1; 116 (*αὐτὰρ–*) –17+120 (*ἠδ' Ἔρος*) Plato *Symp.* 178B; 116–17 (*–εὐρύστ.*)+120 Arist. *Metaph.* 984b26; 116–17+120 [Arist.] *de Melisso* 975a10, Sext. Emp. *adv. math.* ix. 8, Stob. i. 9. 5; 116–17 (*–εὐρύστ.*)+120 (*ἠδ' Ἔρος*) sch. Clem. *protr.* i. 310. 16 St.; 116–17 Sext. *adv. math.* x. 11, Philo *de aetern. mundi* 17 (vi. 78 C.–R.), Anon. *isag. in Arat.*, p. 90. 26 M., (Latine) Chalcidius in Plat. *Tim.* 123 (p. 167. 3 W.); (*–ἕδος*) Sext. *adv. math.* x. 18; (*–εὐρύστ.*) Arist. *Phys.* 208b30, Io. Philop. in *Phys.* p. 501. 1, Alex. Aphr. in *Metaph.* p. 690. 9; 116 Probus in Verg. *E.* 6. 31 (p. 21. 20 K.); (*–γένετο*) Plut. *Mor.* 678F, 955E, Sext. *Pyrrh. hypot.* iii. 121, *adv. math.* x. 19, Achilles *isag. in Arat.* p. 31. 30 M., Procl. in Plat. *Crat.* 115, Simplic. in Arist. *Cael.* pp. 556. 6 et 560. 16 et in *Phys.* pp. 523. 17 et 527. 17, Asclep. in *Metaph.* p. 29. 30, [Clem.] *Homil.* vi. 3 (107. 5 R.), sch. Dion. Thrac. p. 438. 2 H. 117 (*πάντων–ἀσφαλές*) Plut. *Mor.* 433E 119 (*–ἠερόεντα*) sch. *Il.* 1. 312 (A) 120 (*Ἔρος*, cf. 201, 910) Eust. in Hom. p. 136. 34 123 sch. Eur. *Or.* 176, sch. Arat. 408 124 sch. Pi. *O.* 2. 58, sch. Eur. *Tro.* 855, Ammon. et Et^{GM} s.v. *ἡμέρα*, Moschop. in Hes. *Op.* p. 39. 12 G.; (*–Ἡμέρη*) Eust. in Hom. p. 1527. 56 126–8 Stob. i. 10. 9; 126–7 sch. Pi. *N.* 6. 1, Cyrill. l.c. (ad 108–10), Et^{GM} s.v. *οὐρανός*, Meletius, Anecd. Ox. iii. 94. 2 Cr.; (*–ἀστερόεντα*) sch. Arat. 22; (*–Οὐρανόν*) sch. Soph. *El.* 86 127 (*ἵνα–*)–8 Cornut. 17; 127 (*ἵνα–*) sch. *Il.* 12. 5 (T)

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116 *ἤτοι* Π^3 codd., testes plerique: *πάντων* Arist. bis [Arist.] Asclep. *πρώτιστα* Π^3 codd., testes plerique: *γὰρ πρῶτα* Sext. *Pyrrh.* 119 *ἠερόεντα* Π^3 codd. sch. Hom. Stob. Theoph.: *ἠνεμόεντα* Hippol. *μυχῷ* Π^3 codd. (*–ῶν* Tr) Hippol.: *μυχὸν* Stob. Theoph. Cornut. 120 *κάλλιστος ἐν ἀθανάτοι|σι θεοῖσι* Π^3 codd. Theoph. Hippol. Sext. Stob.: *πάντεσσι μεταπρέπει ἀθανάτοισι* Arist. [Arist.] 121 *τε* Π^3BaK Theoph. Hippol.: *δὲ* Z 122 *στήθεσσι* Π^3 codd. Theoph.: *στήθεσφι* Hippol. 123 *δ'*: *τ* Π^3: om. sch. Eur. 124 om. BV (homoeotel.), 125 Hippol., ambo Theoph.; habet Π^3 124 *δ'* Π^3KX testes plerique: *τ' n*: om. W, sch. Pi. 126 *ἑωυτῇ* Π^3 Theoph.: *ἑαυτῇ* codd., testes ceteri 127 *πάντα καλύπτοι* BV, K (sscr. *ει*), Cornut. v.l., Et^{M}: *πάντα καλύπτῃ a* sch. Pi. Theoph. Cyr. Stob. Et^{G} Melet.: alterutrum Π^3: *πᾶσαν ἐέργοι* vel *-ῃ* sch. Hom., Cornut. v.l. 129 *θεᾶν* Π^3 Theoph.: *ὅσα* Hippol. (unde *θεὰ* Usener): *θεῶν* codd.

ἠδὲ καὶ ἀτρύγετον πέλαγος τέκεν οἴδματι θυῖον,
Πόντον, ἄτερ φιλότητος ἐφιμέρου· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Οὐρανῷ εὐνηθεῖσα τέκ' Ὠκεανὸν βαθυδίνην
Κοῖόν τε Κρεῖόν θ' Ὑπερίονά τ' Ἰαπετόν τε
Θείαν τε Ῥείαν τε Θέμιν τε Μνημοσύνην τε
Φοίβην τε χρυσοστέφανον Τηθύν τ' ἐρατεινήν.
τοὺς δὲ μέθ' ὁπλότατος γένετο Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης,
δεινότατος παίδων, θαλερὸν δ' ἤχθηρε τοκῆα.
γείνατο δ' αὖ Κύκλωπας ὑπέρβιον ἦτορ ἔχοντας,
Βρόντην τε Στερόπην τε καὶ Ἄργην ὀβριμόθυμον,
οἳ Ζηνὶ βροντήν τ' ἔδοσαν τεῦξάν τε κεραυνόν.
οἵ δ' ἦτοι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα θεοῖς ἐναλίγκιοι ἦσαν,
μοῦνος δ' ὀφθαλμὸς μέσσῳ ἐνέκειτο μετώπῳ·
Κύκλωπες δ' ὄνομ' ἦσαν ἐπώνυμον, οὕνεκ' ἄρά σφεων
κυκλοτερὴς ὀφθαλμὸς ἕεις ἐνέκειτο μετώπῳ·
ἰσχὺς δ' ἠδὲ βίη καὶ μηχαναὶ ἦσαν ἐπ' ἔργοις.
ἄλλοι δ' αὖ Γαίης τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἐξεγένοντο
τρεῖς παῖδες μεγάλοι ⟨τε⟩ καὶ ὄβριμοι, οὐκ ὀνομαστοί,
Κόττος τε Βριάρεώς τε Γύγης θ', ὑπερήφανα τέκνα.
τῶν ἑκατὸν μὲν χεῖρες ἀπ' ὤμων ἀίσσοντο,
ἄπλαστοι, κεφαλαὶ δὲ ἑκάστῳ πεντήκοντα
ἐξ ὤμων ἐπέφυκον ἐπὶ στιβαροῖσι μέλεσσιν·

132 (ἄτερ–ἐφιμ.) Cornut. 17 **134–6** (–χρυσ.) Cyrill. l.c. (ad 108–10); **134** Plut. *Mor.* 880c, Et^{GM} s.v. *Κοῖον* **140** Choerob. i. 160. 21 H. **141** sch. A. R. i. 730 **143** (cum **145** confusum) Hdn. ii. 924. 28 L. **144–5** Porph. *Qu. Hom.* in *Od.* 9. 106 (p. 85. 1 Schr. = sch. ad loc.), Epimer. Hom., Anecd. Ox. i. 254 Cr., Et^{GM} s.v. *Κύκλωπες* **145** Hermias in Pl. *Phaedr.* p. 149. 16 Couvr., Choerob. i. 204. 17 H., Et^{GM} s.v. *ἕεις*, Eust. in Hom. p. 1392. 36; (–*ἕεις*) sch. Call. *H.* 3. 53; (*ὀφθ.*–) Theognost. *Canon.*, Anecd. Ox. ii. 134. 13 Cr. (ex Hdn.); (*ἕεις*) Eust. in Hom. pp. 1055. 13, 1202. 8 **147–51** sch. *Il.* 1. 312 (Anecd. Par. iii. 6. 1 Cr.) **152** (*ἐπέφυκον*, cf. 673) Eust. in Hom. p. 1596. 11

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131 *υδματι* Π^3: *οἴδμασι* S *θυῖον* Π^3: *θῦον, θύον, θύων* codd. **134** *Κ⌊ρ⌋εῖον* Π^3 codd., testes plerique: *Κρῖον* Et^M s.v. *Κρῖος*: *Κριόν* Aristarchus **135** *Θε⌊ί⌋αν* Π^{21} codd. Hippol. Cyr.: *Θείην* Eust. in Hom. p. 978. 56 *Ῥεί⌊α⌋ν* Π^3Ba testes: *Ῥείην* K **137** *το⌊ὺ⌋ς* Π^{21}Ba Hippol.: *τὰς* K *ἀγκυλομήτης* Π^3BaK Hippol.: *-όμητις* Z, Laur. 91. 10 **140** *Ἀστερόπην r* Tr **141** *τ'* om. B *ἔδοσαν* codd. sch. A.R.: *πόρον* Orph. fr. 179 v.l. **143** *ὀφθαλμὸς δὲ ἕεις* Hdn. *ἐ⌊νέ⌋κειτο* Π^3 BaK Hdn.: *ἐπέκειτο r* **144–5** damn. Wolf **144** *ἐπώ⌊νυ⌋μον* Π^3 codd. Porph.: *-οι* Etym. Epimer. *σφεων* codd. Porph.: *αὐτοῖς* Etym. Epimer. **145** *δ' ὀφθαλμὸς* sch. Call. *ἕεις* KQ Hdn. *ἐνέκειτο* BaKΔ testes plerique: *ἐπέκειτο* Par. 2678, Theognostus **146** in verbo [[*ισχυσ*]] deficit B *δ'* S: *τ'* Π^{21} p.c., *a*K: *γ* Π^{21} a.c. **148** post **149** *b* (iusto loco Π^{21}) *τε* add. Gerhard *οὐδ'* ex *ἠκ* S u.v.; an *ἠδ* ex *οὐκ*? *ἠδὲ* U^2 **149** *Γύης* S **151** *ἄπλατοι m* Tr, agn. Σ

ἰσχὺς δ' ἄπλητος κρατερὴ μεγάλῳ ἐπὶ εἴδει.
ὅσσοι γὰρ Γαίης τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἐξεγένοντο,
δεινότατοι παίδων, σφετέρῳ δ' ἤχθοντο τοκῆι
ἐξ ἀρχῆς· καὶ τῶν μὲν ὅπως τις πρῶτα γένοιτο,
πάντας ἀποκρύπτασκε καὶ ἐς φάος οὐκ ἀνίεσκε
Γαίης ἐν κευθμῶνι, κακῷ δ' ἐπετέρπετο ἔργῳ,
Οὐρανός· ἡ δ' ἐντὸς στοναχίζετο Γαῖα πελώρη
στεινομένη, δολίην δὲ κακὴν ἐπεφράσσατο τέχνην.
αἶψα δὲ ποιήσασα γένος πολιοῦ ἀδάμαντος
τεῦξε μέγα δρέπανον καὶ ἐπέφραδε παισὶ φίλοισιν·
εἶπε δὲ θαρσύνουσα, φίλον τετιημένη ἦτορ·
"παῖδες ἐμοὶ καὶ πατρὸς ἀτασθάλου, αἴ κ' ἐθέλητε
πείθεσθαι· πατρός κε κακὴν τεισαίμεθα λώβην
ὑμετέρου· πρότερος γὰρ ἀεικέα μήσατο ἔργα."
ὣς φάτο· τοὺς δ' ἄρα πάντας ἔλεν δέος, οὐδέ τις αὐτῶν
φθέγξατο. θαρσήσας δὲ μέγας Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης
αἶψ' αὖτις μύθοισι προσηύδα μητέρα κεδνήν·
"μῆτερ, ἐγώ κεν τοῦτό γ' ὑποσχόμενος τελέσαιμι
ἔργον, ἐπεὶ πατρός γε δυσωνύμου οὐκ ἀλεγίζω
ἡμετέρου· πρότερος γὰρ ἀεικέα μήσατο ἔργα."
ὣς φάτο· γήθησεν δὲ μέγα φρεσὶ Γαῖα πελώρη·
εἷσε δέ μιν κρύψασα λόχῳ, ἐνέθηκε δὲ χερσὶν
ἅρπην καρχαρόδοντα, δόλον δ' ὑπεθήκατο πάντα.
ἦλθε δὲ νύκτ' ἐπάγων μέγας Οὐρανός, ἀμφὶ δὲ Γαίῃ
ἱμείρων φιλότητος ἐπέσχετο, καί ῥ' ἐτανύσθη
πάντῃ· ὁ δ' ἐκ λοχέοιο πάις ὠρέξατο χειρὶ
σκαιῇ, δεξιτερῇ δὲ πελώριον ἔλλαβεν ἅρπην,

158 Et^{G} s.v. *κευθμός* 164 (–*ἀτασθ.*) Planudes, Anecd. Gr. ii. 159. 20 Bachm.; (*ἀταθάλου*) Et. Gud. i. 224. 27 de Stef. 178 (*ὁ δ'–*)–81 Et^{G} s.v. *ἅρπη*; (*ὁ δ'–πάις*) sch. *Il.* 23. 160 (A) 179 (*δεξ.–*)–81 (–*ἤμησε*) Et^{M} s.v. *ἅρπη*

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153 δ' *r*: τ' K : om. *a* ἄπλητος K : ἄπλαστος *a* : ἅπλατος Tr 157 ἀποκρύπτασκε *υ* : -εσκε L : ἀπεκρύπτασκε *n* : ὑποκρύπτασκε K ἀνίεσκε K : ἀνίησκε *a* 158 δ' ἐν κευθμῶνι κακῷ ἐπετ- K ἐπιτέρπετο Q Etym. : ἐτέρπετο *a* 159 στεναχίζετο *υ* 160 ἐπιφράσατο WX : τ' ἐφράσσατο Goettling 165 πατρὸς U p.c. : πατέρος *a*K κε Goettling : κεν S i.r. : γε *a*K : τε W a.c. κακὴ τισ|||μεθα λώβη K τισαίμεθα cett. 167 ἔλε KQV 168 μέγα K ἀγκυλόμητις Z 169 αἶψ' *b* : ἄψ *a*K αὖθις V 171 πατρὸς U (sscr. *έ*) : πατέρος *a*K 173 μετὰ Tr 174 χερσὶν S : χειρὶ *a*K*Δ* 175 θ' KX ὑπ- Kυε: ἐπ- *n* παντί Q 178 λοχέοιο K Etym., Aristonico notum : λόχοιο *a* : λούχοιο X^{2} : λό(κ)χοιο Paley 179 πελώρην *b*

μακρὴν καρχαρόδοντα, φίλου δ' ἀπὸ μήδεα πατρὸς
ἐσσυμένως ἤμησε, πάλιν δ' ἔρριψε φέρεσθαι
ἐξοπίσω. τὰ μὲν οὔ τι ἐτώσια ἔκφυγε χειρός·
ὅσσαι γὰρ ῥαθάμιγγες ἀπέσσυθεν αἱματόεσσαι,
πάσας δέξατο Γαῖα· περιπλομένων δ' ἐνιαυτῶν
γείνατ' Ἐρινῦς τε κρατερὰς μεγάλους τε Γίγαντας,
τεύχεσι λαμπομένους, δολίχ' ἔγχεα χερσὶν ἔχοντας,
Νύμφας θ' ἃς Μελίας καλέουσ' ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν.
μήδεα δ' ὡς τὸ πρῶτον ἀποτμήξας ἀδάμαντι
κάββαλ' ἀπ' ἠπείροιο πολυκλύστῳ ἐνὶ πόντῳ,
ὥς φέρετ' ἄμ πέλαγος πουλὺν χρόνον, ἀμφὶ δὲ λευκὸς
ἀφρὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτου χροὸς ὤρνυτο· τῷ δ' ἔνι κούρη
ἐθρέφθη· πρῶτον δὲ Κυθήροισι ζαθέοισιν
ἔπλητ', ἔνθεν ἔπειτα περίρρυτον ἵκετο Κύπρον.
ἐκ δ' ἔβη αἰδοίη καλὴ θεός, ἀμφὶ δὲ ποίη
ποσσὶν ὕπο ῥαδινοῖσιν ἀέξετο· τὴν δ' Ἀφροδίτην
[ἀφρογενέα τε θεὰν καὶ ἐυστέφανον Κυθέρειαν]
κικλήσκουσι θεοί τε καὶ ἀνέρες, οὕνεκ' ἐν ἀφρῷ
θρέφθη· ἀτὰρ Κυθέρειαν, ὅτι προσέκυρσε Κυθήροις·
Κυπρογενέα δ', ὅτι γέντο περικλύστῳ ἐνὶ Κύπρῳ·
ἠδὲ φιλομμειδέα, ὅτι μηδέων ἐξεφαάνθη.
τῇ δ' Ἔρος ὡμάρτησε καὶ Ἵμερος ἕσπετο καλὸς
γεινομένῃ τὰ πρῶτα θεῶν τ' ἐς φῦλον ἰούσῃ·
ταύτην δ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς τιμὴν ἔχει ἠδὲ λέλογχε
μοῖραν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι,

180 (*μήδεα*, cf. 188) Eust. in Hom. p. 234. 32 183–5 Et. Gud. s.v. *Ἐρινύες* 196 (*ἀφρ.*)+199 (*ὅτι–*) (confuse) [Choric.] *in Rhod.* 129 Boiss.; 196–200 Et^{GM} s.v. *Κυθέρεια* 198 (*ὅτι–*) sch. *Il.* 5. 422 (B), Hsch. Phot. Suda Et. Gud. s.v. *Κυθέρεια*, Et^{M} s.v. *Κύπρις* 199 (*περικλ.–*)+200 (*ὅτι–*) sch. *Il.* et Et^{M} ib. 200 sch. Hephaest. p. 321. 14 C.; (*φιλομ.–*) Clem. *protr.* 2. 14; (*ὅτι–*) sch. *Il.* 3. 424 (Anecd. Par. iii. 9. 2 Cr.), Anon. *de deorum epith.*, Anecd. var. Gr. 269 Stud. 201 Et^{G} s.v. *ἵμερος*

184 *ἐδέξατο* Vat. 1332 *περιπλομένῳ δ' ἐνιαυτῷ* Etym.: *-ου -οῦ ε* u.v. 185 *Ἐριννῦς* fere codd. (*Ἐρριννῦς v*) Etym. 188 δ' *b*QS: θ' *a*K 190 *πουλὺν* S^{1}: *πολὺν* cett. (*πολλὺν* X^{2}): *πολλὸν* Fick 193 *ἔπλετο* K 195 *ὑπαὶ c* Tr *μαραίνετο ε* 196 damn. Heyne *ἀφρογένειαν* codd. Etym: corr. Werfer 199 om. Et^{M} s.v. *Κυθέρεια* *Κυπρογένεια* V Et^{G}: *Κυπρογένειαν* Kn: *Κυπριγενέα b*: *Κυπριγένεια* WX (*-αν ὅτι* X^{2}); corr. Werfer δ' K Et^{G}: θ' *a* *περικλύστῳ* sch. Hom. Et^{M}: *πολυκλύστῳ* codd. [Choric.] Et^{U} 200 *φιλομμειδέα* Bergk: *φιλο(μ)-μηδέα* vel *-μήδεα* codd. (*μει* sscr. Mosqu. 469) testes. *μειδέων r* sch. Hom. 202 *γειναμένῃ b*S: *γινομένῃ* W 203 *ἔχεν* S 204 damn. Paley

παρθενίους τ' ὀάρους μειδήματά τ' ἐξαπάτας τε
τέρψίν τε γλυκερὴν φιλότητά τε μειλιχίην τε.
τοὺς δὲ πατὴρ Τιτῆνας ἐπίκλησιν καλέεσκε
παῖδας νεικείων μέγας Οὐρανός, οὓς τέκεν αὐτός·
φάσκε δὲ τιταίνοντας ἀτασθαλίῃ μέγα ῥέξαι
ἔργον, τοῖο δ' ἔπειτα τίσιν μετόπισθεν ἔσεσθαι.
Νὺξ δ' ἔτεκε στυγερόν τε Μόρον καὶ Κῆρα μέλαιναν
καὶ Θάνατον, τέκε δ' Ὕπνον, ἔτικτε δὲ φῦλον Ὀνείρων.
δεύτερον αὖ Μῶμον καὶ Ὀιζὺν ἀλγινόεσσαν
οὔ τινι κοιμηθεῖσα θεῶν τέκε Νὺξ ἐρεβεννή,
Ἑσπερίδας θ', αἳς μῆλα πέρην κλυτοῦ Ὠκεανοῖο
χρύσεα καλὰ μέλουσι φέροντά τε δένδρεα καρπόν·
καὶ Μοίρας καὶ Κῆρας ἐγείνατο νηλεοποίνους,
[Κλωθώ τε Λάχεσίν τε καὶ Ἄτροπον, αἵ τε βροτοῖσι
γεινομένοισι διδοῦσιν ἔχειν ἀγαθόν τε κακόν τε,]
αἵ τ' ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε παραιβασίας ἐφέπουσιν,
οὐδέ ποτε λήγουσι θεαὶ δεινοῖο χόλοιο,
πρίν γ' ἀπὸ τῷ δώωσι κακὴν ὄπιν, ὅστις ἁμάρτῃ.
τίκτε δὲ καὶ Νέμεσιν πῆμα θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσι
Νὺξ ὀλοή· μετὰ τὴν δ' Ἀπάτην τέκε καὶ Φιλότητα
Γῆράς τ' οὐλόμενον, καὶ Ἔριν τέκε καρτερόθυμον.
αὐτὰρ Ἔρις στυγερὴ τέκε μὲν Πόνον ἀλγινόεντα
Λήθην τε Λιμόν τε καὶ Ἄλγεα δακρυόεντα
Ὑσμίνας τε Μάχας τε Φόνους τ' Ἀνδροκτασίας τε
Νείκεά τε Ψεύδεά τε Λόγους τ' Ἀμφιλλογίας τε
Δυσνομίην τ' Ἄτην τε, συνήθεας ἀλλήλῃσιν,
Ὅρκόν θ', ὃς δὴ πλεῖστον ἐπιχθονίους ἀνθρώπους

205 (μειδ.–) Cornut. 24 **212** (ἔτικτε–) sch. Eur. *Hec.* 71 **213** (–κοιμ.) Hdn. i. 552. 21 L. **217–22** Stob. i. 3. 38; **217–19** Stob. i. 5. 5 **231–2** sch. Pi. *N.* 11. 30, Stob. iii. 28. 8

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205 ἀόρους Casan. 356, *γρ.* L¹ μελεδήματα *b* **210** τοῖσ *a* δ' ἤπειτα *n* με[͡θ]οπισθεγε[*Π*⁴: κατόπισθεν K post h.v. legitur in Q ἐκ παιδός περ ἐοῦ· ὣς γὰρ πεπρωμένον ἐστί **213–14** transp. Hermann **214** Μῶλον ΔL²X² **213** θε]ῳν *Π*⁴: θεὰ K*v*: om. *n* **215** ℌs Rzach post **216** lacunam statuit Muetzell **217** -ποίνους *a*KΔ Stob. bis: -ποίνας *b*W **218–19** (cf. 905–6) om. Stob. i. 3. 38: habent *Π*⁴ codd. Δε Stob. i. 5. 5 **220** ἐφέπουσιν S, sscr. Q: ἐφέπουσαι *a*K: ἐφέπουσ' ἀεὶ Stob. **225** -θυμ[ον *Π*⁴*a*K: -μυθον *c* **227** Λοιμόν *c* **228** Μάχας τε Φόν[ους τ' *Π*⁴*r*: Φόνους τε Μάχας τ' K: Φόβους τε Μάχας τ' *a* (τ' om. *v*) **229** Ψεύδεα *a*: ψευδέας K*e* τ' *Π*⁴ a.c. U¹: om. *a*K **230** τ' S: om. *a*K ἀλλήλῃσιν LQS, sscr. *m*: -οισιν *a*K **231** πλεῖστοῦ K

πημαίνει, ὅτε κέν τις ἑκὼν ἐπίορκον ὀμόσσῃ·
Νηρέα δ' ἀψευδέα καὶ ἀληθέα γείνατο Πόντος
πρεσβύτατον παίδων· αὐτὰρ καλέουσι γέροντα,
οὕνεκα νημερτής τε καὶ ἤπιος, οὐδὲ θεμίστων
λήθεται, ἀλλὰ δίκαια καὶ ἤπια δήνεα οἶδεν·
αὖτις δ' αὖ Θαύμαντα μέγαν καὶ ἀγήνορα Φόρκυν
Γαίῃ μισγόμενος καὶ Κητὼ καλλιπάρηον
Εὐρυβίην τ' ἀδάμαντος ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θυμὸν ἔχουσαν.
Νηρῆος δ' ἐγένοντο μεγήρατα τέκνα θεάων
πόντῳ ἐν ἀτρυγέτῳ καὶ Δωρίδος ἠυκόμοιο,
κούρης Ὠκεανοῖο τελήεντος ποταμοῖο,
Πρωθώ τ' Εὐκράντη τε Σαώ τ' Ἀμφιτρίτη τε
Εὐδώρη τε Θέτις τε Γαλήνη τε Γλαύκη τε,
Κυμοθόη Σπειώ τε θοὴ Θαλίη τ' ἐρόεσσα
Πασιθέη τ' Ἐρατώ τε καὶ Εὐνίκη ῥοδόπηχυς
καὶ Μελίτη χαρίεσσα καὶ Εὐλιμένη καὶ Ἀγαυὴ
Δωτώ τε Πρωτώ τε Φέρουσά τε Δυναμένη τε
Νησαίη τε καὶ Ἀκταίη καὶ Πρωτομέδεια,
Δωρὶς καὶ Πανόπη καὶ εὐειδὴς Γαλάτεια
Ἱπποθόη τ' ἐρόεσσα καὶ Ἱππονόη ῥοδόπηχυς
Κυμοδόκη θ', ἣ κύματ' ἐν ἠεροειδέι πόντῳ
πνοιάς τε ζαέων ἀνέμων σὺν Κυματολήγῃ
ῥεῖα πρηΰνει καὶ ἐυσφύρῳ Ἀμφιτρίτῃ,
Κυμώ τ' Ἠιόνη τε ἐυστέφανός θ' Ἁλιμήδη
Γλαυκονόμη τε φιλομμειδὴς καὶ Ποντοπόρεια
Λειαγόρη τε καὶ Εὐαγόρη καὶ Λαομέδεια
Πουλυνόη τε καὶ Αὐτονόη καὶ Λυσιάνασσα
Εὐάρνη τε φυὴν ἐρατὴ καὶ εἶδος ἄμωμος

240–1 (–*ἀτρ.*) Et^{G} s.v. *μεγήρατα*; **240** (*μεγ.–*) Et^{M} s.v. ead. et s.v. *εἰκοσινήριτα* (= sch. *Il.* 22. 349 (T)) **246** (*Εὐν.–*) Et^{GM} s.h.v.

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234 *αὐτὰρ* K : *ἀτὰρ a* **235** *θεμίστων* S p.c. : *θεμιστέων a*K **240** *μεγήριτα a*K sch. Hom. Hsch. : *μεγήρατα r*, sscr. L^{1}, Etym. s.v. (*μεγαλ-* Et^{G}) : utrumque agn. *Σ* **243** *Πρωθώ Δ* : *Πρωτώ* codd. *Εὐκράντη bQ* : *Εὐκράτη a*K*ΣΔe* **245** *Κυμοθόη* K*υΣ* : *Κυμοθέη nΔ θοὴ Θαλίη aΔ* : *Θόη Θαλίη* K*Σe* : *θόη*[[*τ*]]*'αλ*[(sscr. *θ*) *Π*^{22} **246** om. *e*, post 247 legit *Δ* *εὐνικη Π*^{22} : *Εὐνείκη* codd. Etym. **249** *τε* om. *a* **250** *παν*]*όπ*[*η*] *τε Π*^{22} : *Πανόπεια* Hermann *εὐειδὴς* Paulson **253** *ζαέων* Bergk ex *Σ* : *ζ*⌊*αθέων Π*^{22} codd. (*παντοίων* X) **257** *Λαομέ*⌊*δεια Π*^{22} codd. : *Ἀλλομέδεια Σ* **258** *Πουλυνόη* Peppmüller (noluerat Muetzell) : *-νόμη* codd. **259** *φυὴ*⌊*ν Π*^{22}*k* : *φυήν τ' a*

καὶ Ψαμάθη χαρίεσσα δέμας δίη τε Μενίππη
Νησώ τ' Εὐπόμπη τε Θεμιστώ τε Προνόη τε
Νημερτής θ', ἣ πατρὸς ἔχει νόον ἀθανάτοιο.
αὗται μὲν Νηρῆος ἀμύμονος ἐξεγένοντο
κοῦραι πεντήκοντα, ἀμύμονα ἔργ' εἰδυῖαι·
Θαύμας δ' Ὠκεανοῖο βαθυρρείταο θύγατρα
ἠγάγετ' Ἠλέκτρην· ἡ δ' ὠκείαν τέκεν Ἶριν
ἠυκόμους θ' Ἅρπυίας, Ἄελλώ τ' Ὠκυπέτην τε,
αἵ ῥ' ἀνέμων πνοιῇσι καὶ οἰωνοῖς ἅμ' ἔπονται
ὠκείῃς πτερύγεσσι· μεταχρόνιαι γὰρ ἴαλλον.
Φόρκυι δ' αὖ Κητὼ γραίας τέκε καλλιπαρήους
ἐκ γενετῆς πολιάς, τὰς δὴ Γραίας καλέουσιν
ἀθάνατοί τε θεοὶ χαμαὶ ἐρχόμενοί τ' ἄνθρωποι,
Πεμφρηδώ τ' εὔπεπλον Ἐνυώ τε κροκόπεπλον,
Γοργούς θ', αἳ ναίουσι πέρην κλυτοῦ Ὠκεανοῖο
ἐσχατιῇ πρὸς νυκτός, ἵν' Ἑσπερίδες λιγύφωνοι,
Σθεννώ τ' Εὐρυάλη τε Μέδουσά τε λυγρὰ παθοῦσα·
ἡ μὲν ἔην θνητή, αἱ δ' ἀθάνατοι καὶ ἀγήρῳ,
αἱ δύο· τῇ δὲ μιῇ παρελέξατο Κυανοχαίτης
ἐν μαλακῷ λειμῶνι καὶ ἄνθεσιν εἰαρινοῖσι.
τῆς ὅτε δὴ Περσεὺς κεφαλὴν ἀπεδειροτόμησεν,
ἐξέθορε Χρυσάωρ τε μέγας καὶ Πήγασος ἵππος.
τῷ μὲν ἐπώνυμον ἦν, ὅτ' ἄρ' Ὠκεανοῦ παρὰ πηγὰς
γένθ', ὁ δ' ἄορ χρύσειον ἔχων μετὰ χερσὶ φίλῃσι.
χὠ μὲν ἀποπτάμενος, προλιπὼν χθόνα μητέρα μήλων,
ἵκετ' ἐς ἀθανάτους· Ζηνὸς δ' ἐν δώμασι ναίει
βροντήν τε στεροπήν τε φέρων Διὶ μητιόεντι·

266 (ἡ δ'–)–7 Et^{GM} s.v. ἅρπυιαι 270 [Draco] p. 94. 11 H. 273 Et^{G} s.v. πημαίνειν 274 (–ναίουσι) sch. *Il.* 8. 349 (T) 276 Hdn. ii. 919. 27 L. 280–1 sch. Pi. *O.* 13. 89 286 sch. Arat. 205

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267 ωκυροη[ν Π^4 268 π]ν[ο]ι̣α[ι]σι και ὁι̣ νων α̣[Π^{22} 270 *Φόρκυι v*, U p.c. [Draco]: *Φόρκυνι kn* γραίας: κούρας Koechly 271 γενεῆς *b* (corr. L^2) 273 *Πεμφρηδώ bΣ*, agn. Etym.: *Πεφρηδώ k* Etym. Tz. *Th.* 142 v.l.: *Πεφριδώ aΔ*, Tz. v.l.: *Πευφρηδώ e* ἐύπεπλον Q: ἰόπεπλον Lolling 276 *Σθεννώ* S: *Σθενώ ak*, Tz. *Th.* 139: *Σθένω* Hdn. cod. 277 αἱ codd.: ται Π^{22} ἀγή̣ρῳ $\Pi^{23}n$: ἀγήρως *kv* 280 τῆς Π^{16} sch. Pi.: τῆς δ' *ake* Περσεὺς̣ κ̣ι̣ε̣φαλὴν Π^{22} codd.: κεφαλὴν Περσεὺς sch. Pi. v.l. 281 ἐξέθορε $\Pi^{16}ak$ sch. Pi.: ἔκθορε Par. 2678 Χρυσάορ *kn*X^1 sch. Pi. v.l. 282 παρ̣ὰ $\Pi^{23}ak$: περὶ S? πηγὰς $\Pi^{23}ak$: πηγὴν *b* 283 γένθ' Tr: γεντ Π^{16}: γένεθ' *ak* ἔχεν Z 286 φέρει Π^{22}

Χρυσάωρ δ' ἔτεκε τρικέφαλον Γηρυονῆα
μιχθεὶς Καλλιρόῃ κούρῃ κλυτοῦ Ὠκεανοῖο·
τὸν μὲν ἄρ' ἐξενάριξε βίη Ἡρακληείη
βουσὶ πάρ' εἰλιπόδεσσι περιρρύτῳ ἐν Ἐρυθείῃ
ἤματι τῷ, ὅτε περ βοῦς ἤλασεν εὐρυμετώπους
Τίρυνθ' εἰς ἱερήν, διαβὰς πόρον Ὠκεανοῖο,
Ὄρθόν τε κτείνας καὶ βουκόλον Εὐρυτίωνα
σταθμῷ ἐν ἠερόεντι πέρην κλυτοῦ Ὠκεανοῖο.
ἡ δ' ἔτεκ' ἄλλο πέλωρον ἀμήχανον, οὐδὲν ἐοικὸς
θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις οὐδ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι,
σπῆι ἔνι γλαφυρῷ, θείην κρατερόφρον' Ἔχιδναν,
ἥμισυ μὲν νύμφην ἑλικώπιδα καλλιπάρηον,
ἥμισυ δ' αὖτε πέλωρον ὄφιν δεινόν τε μέγαν τε
αἰόλον ὠμηστήν, ζαθέης ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης.
ἔνθα δέ οἱ σπέος ἐστὶ κάτω κοίλῃ ὑπὸ πέτρῃ
τηλοῦ ἀπ' ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν θνητῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων,
ἔνθ' ἄρα οἱ δάσσαντο θεοὶ κλυτὰ δώματα ναίειν.
ἡ δ' ἔρυτ' εἰν Ἀρίμοισιν ὑπὸ χθόνα λυγρὴ Ἔχιδνα,
ἀθάνατος νύμφη καὶ ἀγήραος ἤματα πάντα.
τῇ δὲ Τυφάονά φασι μιγήμεναι ἐν φιλότητι
δεινόν θ' ὑβριστήν τ' ἄνομόν θ' ἑλικώπιδι κούρῃ·
ἡ δ' ὑποκυσαμένη τέκετο κρατερόφρονα τέκνα.
Ὄρθον μὲν πρῶτον κύνα γείνατο Γηρυονῆι·
δεύτερον αὖτις ἔτικτεν ἀμήχανον, οὔ τι φατειόν,
Κέρβερον ὠμηστήν, Ἀΐδεω κύνα χαλκεόφωνον,
πεντηκοντακέφαλον, ἀναιδέα τε κρατερόν τε·
τὸ τρίτον Ὕδρην αὖτις ἐγείνατο λύγρ' εἰδυῖαν
Λερναίην, ἣν θρέψε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη

287 sch. Ar. *Eq.* 416, Suda s.v. *κυνοκέφαλος*; (*τρικ.–*) sch. Aristid. iii. 547. 10 D. 292 (*διαβὰς–*)–4 Tz. in Lyc. 651; 293 sch. Pi. *I.* 1. 15 309 (*–πρῶτον*) sch. Pi. ib.

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287 *Χρυσάωρ* Π^{16}VX sch. Ar.: *Χρυσάορ nWk* Suda v.l. *ἔτεκ*]*εν* $\Pi^{16}\Pi^{22}$ 288 habent *bQS*[1], legit Tz. *Th.* 155: om. $\Pi^{16}\Pi^{22}ak$ 290 *παρ'* $\Pi^{16}ake$: *-ν ἐπ'* Q 293 *Ὄρθον* $\Pi^{16}ak$ sch.Pi. Tz. : *Ὄρθρον* Vrat. Rchd. 35 a.c., *Δ* 295 *οὐδὲν κυε* (p. 393. 15) : *οὐδὲ n* 297 *σπῆι ἐνὶ* $\Pi^{4}\Pi^{16}$ codd. (*ἐν a*) : *ἐν σπῆι* Gerhard 300 *αἰόλον* Scheer : *ποικίλον ak ζαθέοις kX*; cf. ad 334, 483, 622, 731 *κευθμῶσι k*, cf. ad 334 307 *τ'* S : om. *ak ἄνεμον k*, agn. *Σ θ'* om. Q *κούρῃ a* : *νύμφῃ* (ex 305) *k* 309 *Ὄρθρον v*, U a.c. Tz. *Th.* 162 v.l. 312 *πεντηκοντα- k: πεντηκοντο- a*

ἄπλητον κοτέουσα βίῃ Ἡρακληείῃ.
καὶ τὴν μὲν Διὸς υἱὸς ἐνήρατο νηλέι χαλκῷ
Ἀμφιτρυωνιάδης σὺν ἀρηιφίλῳ Ἰολάῳ
Ἡρακλέης βουλῇσιν Ἀθηναίης ἀγελείης·
ἡ δὲ Χίμαιραν ἔτικτε πνέουσαν ἀμαιμάκετον πῦρ,
δεινήν τε μεγάλην τε ποδώκεά τε κρατερήν τε.
τῆς ἦν τρεῖς κεφαλαί· μία μὲν χαροποῖο λέοντος,
ἡ δὲ χιμαίρης, ἡ δ' ὄφιος κρατεροῖο δράκοντος.
[πρόσθε λέων, ὄπιθεν δὲ δράκων, μέσση δὲ χίμαιρα,
δεινὸν ἀποπνείουσα πυρὸς μένος αἰθομένοιο.]
τὴν μὲν Πήγασος εἶλε καὶ ἐσθλὸς Βελλεροφόντης·
ἡ δ' ἄρα Φῖκ' ὀλοὴν τέκε Καδμείοισιν ὄλεθρον,
Ὄρθῳ ὑποδμηθεῖσα, Νεμειαῖόν τε λέοντα,
τόν ῥ' Ἥρη θρέψασα Διὸς κυδρὴ παράκοιτις
γουνοῖσιν κατένασσε Νεμείης, πῆμ' ἀνθρώποις.
ἔνθ' ἄρ' ὅ γ' οἰκείων ἐλεφαίρετο φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων,
κοιρανέων Τρητοῖο Νεμείης ἠδ' Ἀπέσαντος·
ἀλλά ἑ ἶς ἐδάμασσε βίης Ἡρακληείης.
Κητὼ δ' ὁπλότατον Φόρκυι φιλότητι μιγεῖσα
γείνατο δεινὸν ὄφιν, ὃς ἐρεμνῆς κεύθεσι γαίης
πείρασιν ἐν μεγάλοις παγχρύσεα μῆλα φυλάσσει.
τοῦτο μὲν ἐκ Κητοῦς καὶ Φόρκυνος γένος ἐστί.
Τηθὺς δ' Ὠκεανῷ ποταμοὺς τέκε δινήεντας,
Νεῖλόν τ' Ἀλφειόν τε καὶ Ἠριδανὸν βαθυδίνην,
Στρυμόνα Μαίανδρόν τε καὶ Ἴστρον καλλιρέεθρον
Φᾶσίν τε Ῥῆσόν τ' Ἀχελῷόν τ' ἀργυροδίνην
Νέσσόν τε Ῥοδίον θ' Ἁλιάκμονά θ' Ἑπτάπορόν τε

319 (*πνέουσαν–*) Et^{GM} s.v. *ἀμαιμάκετος* 321 (*–κεφ.*) Hdn. ii. 950. 14 et 21 L., sch. *Il.* 4. 222 (A), Choerob. ii. 63. 33 et 64. 14 H., sch. Soph. *Tr.* 520, [Hdn.] *π. σχημ.* iii. 100. 28 Sp., sch. A. R. 2. 65, Anon. *de barb. et sol.* 198 (p. 182 Valck.), Eust. in Hom. pp. 634. 37, 1110. 56, 1759. 32, 1892. 47 327 (*Νεμ.–*) Et^{G} s.v. *Νεμειαῖον* 330 Et^{G} s.v. *ἐλεφαίρετο*; (*ἐλεφ.–*) Et^{M} s.v. ead. 331 Et^{GM} s.v. *Ἀπέσας*

321 *τῆς ἦν* scripsi, et legit fort. *ϵ*; *illi erant* interpres Birchmanni: *τῆς δ' ἦν a* testes: *τῆς δ' αὖ k* 323–4 (= *Il.* 6. 181–2) damn. Wolf; 324 om. *a* 323 *ὄπιθεν δὲ* Tr: *ὄπισθϵ(ν) ak* 326 *ἄρ k* *Φῖκ' Σ* Tr: *Φίκ' v*: *Φίγγ' n*: *Σφίγγ' k* 327 *Ὄρθρῳ* U a.c. *Δ* 328 *ῥ' kv*: *δ' n* 329 *Νεμείοις k* *πῆμα βροτοῖσιν* Scheer 330 *ἐλεφαίρατο b* Etym. 334 *ἐρεμνοῖς knΔ* *κευθμῶσι k* *πείρασι γαίης | κεύθεσιν* Merkelbach 336 *καὶ* SWX^{2}: *καὶ ἐκ u*: *κἀκ b*: *τϵ καὶ ἐκ* Kn: *τϵ καὶ* QVX *Φόρκυος* K 340 *Ἀχελῶϊόν τ'* Tr: *Ἀχελώϊον ak* 341 *Ῥόδιον* codd.

Γρήνικόν τε καὶ Αἴσηπον θεῖόν τε Σιμοῦντα
Πηνειόν τε καὶ Ἕρμον ἐυρρείτην τε Κάικον
Σαγγάριόν τε μέγαν Λάδωνά τε Παρθένιόν τε
Εὔηνόν τε καὶ Ἀλδῆσκον θεῖόν τε Σκάμανδρον· 345
τίκτε δὲ Κουράων ἱερὸν γένος, αἳ κατὰ γαῖαν
ἄνδρας κουρίζουσι σὺν Ἀπόλλωνι ἄνακτι
καὶ ποταμοῖς, ταύτην δὲ Διὸς πάρα μοῖραν ἔχουσι,
Πειθώ τ' Ἀδμήτη τε Ἰάνθη τ' Ἠλέκτρη τε
Δωρίς τε Πρυμνώ τε καὶ Οὐρανίη θεοειδὴς 350
Ἱππώ τε Κλυμένη τε Ῥόδειά τε Καλλιρόη τε
Ζευξώ τε Κλυτίη τε Ἰδυῖά τε Πασιθόη τε
Πληξαύρη τε Γαλαξαύρη τ' ἐρατή τε Διώνη
Μηλόβοσίς τε Θόη τε καὶ εὐειδὴς Πολυδώρη
Κερκηίς τε φυὴν ἐρατὴ Πλουτώ τε βοῶπις 355
Περσηίς τ' Ἰάνειρά τ' Ἀκάστη τε Ξάνθη τε
Πετραίη τ' ἐρόεσσα Μενεσθώ τ' Εὐρώπη τε
Μῆτίς τ' Εὐρυνόμη τε Τελεστώ τε κροκόπεπλος
Χρυσηίς τ' Ἀσίη τε καὶ ἱμερόεσσα Καλυψὼ
Εὐδώρη τε Τύχη τε καὶ Ἀμφιρὼ Ὠκυρόη τε 360
καὶ Στύξ, ἣ δή σφεων προφερεστάτη ἐστὶν ἁπασέων.
αὗται ἄρ' Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ Τηθύος ἐξεγένοντο
πρεσβύταται κοῦραι· πολλαί γε μέν εἰσι καὶ ἄλλαι·
τρὶς γὰρ χίλιαί εἰσι τανίσφυροι Ὠκεανῖναι,
αἳ ῥα πολυσπερέες γαῖαν καὶ βένθεα λίμνης 365
πάντῃ ὁμῶς ἐφέπουσι, θεάων ἀγλαὰ τέκνα.
τόσσοι δ' αὖθ' ἕτεροι ποταμοὶ καναχηδὰ ῥέοντες,
υἱέες Ὠκεανοῦ, τοὺς γείνατο πότνια Τηθύς·
τῶν ὄνομ' ἀργαλέον πάντων βροτὸν ἄνδρα ἐνισπεῖν,
οἱ δὲ ἕκαστοι ἴσασιν, ὅσοι περιναιετάουσι. 370

342 (*θεῖον–*) sch. *Il.* 12. 22 (A) 346 (*κουράων*) Hsch. (sine nom.) 364 sch. Pi. *O.* 5. 1 367 (*κανν.–*) Ap. Dysc. *adv.* 562. 14 370 Eust. in Dion. Per. 636

345 *Ἀλδῆσκον* L²*m*: *Ἀρδησκον a*L: *Ἀρδισκον k* *θεῖόν*: fort. *δῖόν* *Κάμανδρον* S 346 *Κουράων* scripsi: *θυγατέρων* codd. 349 *Ἀτμήτη a* 352 *Πασιθόη ke*: *Πεισιθόη a*: *Πασιθέα Σ* 353 *Πλαξαύρη k* *Ἐρατώ nΣe* 354 *θοή* Tr U, inde *θοὴ καὶ* Z² 358 *Τελευτώ υ1*: *Τελεσθώ n* 359 *Χρυσηίς* Hermann: *Χρυσήις* Paris. 2834: *Κρυσηίς kΣe*: *Κρυσίη a* 362 *ἄρ'* scripsi: *δ'* codd. 363 *grandiores natu* interpres Birchmanni 364 *τρεῖς a* *μυρίαι* sch. Pi. *τανίσφυροι Π*²⁴(?) *k* sch. Pi. v.l.: *τανύσφυροι* V sch. Pi. v.l.: *τανύσφυραι a* 365 *πολυσπερέα ἐς k* 367 *τοσσόν n, τόσσόν υ* 370 *ἕκαστα* Eust. *ὅσοι* Q: *οἳ* ⌋ *ἂν Π*²⁴*ak* Eust.: (*ἴσασ'*) *οἷς ἂν* S *περιναιετάουσι(ν) ak*: *-ωσι(ν)* S Eust.

Θεία δ' Ἠέλιόν τε μέγαν λαμπράν τε Σελήνην
Ἠῶ θ', ἣ πάντεσσιν ἐπιχθονίοισι φαείνει
ἀθανάτοις τε θεοῖσι τοὶ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσι,
γείναθ' ὑποδμηθεῖσ' Ὑπερίονος ἐν φιλότητι.
Κρείῳ δ' Εὐρυβίη τέκεν ἐν φιλότητι μιγεῖσα
Ἀστραῖόν τε μέγαν Πάλλαντά τε δῖα θεάων
Πέρσην θ', ὃς καὶ πᾶσι μετέπρεπεν ἰδμοσύνῃσιν.
Ἀστραίῳ δ' Ἠὼς ἀνέμους τέκε καρτεροθύμους,
ἀργεστὴν Ζέφυρον Βορέην τ' αἰψηροκέλευθον
καὶ Νότον, ἐν φιλότητι θεὰ θεῷ εὐνηθεῖσα.
τοὺς δὲ μέτ' ἀστέρα τίκτεν Ἑωσφόρον Ἠριγένεια
ἄστρά τε λαμπετόωντα, τά τ' οὐρανὸς ἐστεφάνωται.
Στὺξ δ' ἔτεκ' Ὠκεανοῦ θυγάτηρ Πάλλαντι μιγεῖσα
Ζῆλον καὶ Νίκην καλλίσφυρον ἐν μεγάροισι
καὶ Κράτος ἠδὲ Βίην ἀριδείκετα γείνατο τέκνα.
τῶν οὐκ ἔστ' ἀπάνευθε Διὸς δόμος, οὐδέ τις ἕδρη,
οὐδ' ὁδός, ὅππῃ μὴ κείνοις θεὸς ἡγεμονεύει,
ἀλλ' αἰεὶ πὰρ Ζηνὶ βαρυκτύπῳ ἑδριόωνται.
ὣς γὰρ ἐβούλευσε Στὺξ ἄφθιτος Ὠκεανίνη
ἤματι τῷ, ὅτε πάντας Ὀλύμπιος ἀστεροπητὴς
ἀθανάτους ἐκάλεσσε θεοὺς ἐς μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον,
εἶπε δ', ὃς ἂν μετὰ εἷο θεῶν Τιτῆσι μάχοιτο,
μή τιν' ἀπορραίσειν γεράων, τιμὴν δὲ ἕκαστον
ἐξέμεν ἣν τὸ πάρος γε μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι.
τὸν δ' ἔφαθ', ὅστις ἄτιμος ὑπὸ Κρόνου ἠδ' ἀγέραστος,
τιμῆς καὶ γεράων ἐπιβησέμεν, ἣ θέμις ἐστίν.
ἦλθε δ' ἄρα πρώτη Στὺξ ἄφθιτος Οὐλυμπόνδε
σὺν σφοῖσιν παίδεσσι φίλου διὰ μήδεα πατρός·
τὴν δὲ Ζεὺς τίμησε, περισσὰ δὲ δῶρα ἔδωκεν.

371–2+374 sch. Pi. *O.* 7. 72; (*–γείνατο*) Ammon. s.v. *ἡμέρα*, Eust. in Hom. p. 1527. 57; 371–2 (*–Ἠῶ θ'*) sch. Eur. *Tro.* 855; 371+374 sch. Pi. *I.* 5. 1; (*–γείνατο*) sch. Eur. *Ph.* 175; 371 sch. A.R. 4. 54 378 (*–τέκε*) sch. Call. *Aet.* fr. 110. 52 379–80 (*–Νότον*) sch. *Il.* 11. 306 (T)

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373 om. sch. Pi. Ammon. Eust. *θεοῖσι τοὶ* S: *θεοῖς τοὶ ak*: *θεοισι]ν οἱ Π*[24] 374 *ὑπευνηθεῖσ'* Aldina, *γρ.* Mosqu. 469 375 *Κρείῳ aΣDε*: *Κρειώ k* (*Κριώ* K a.c.): *Κρίῳ* Q: *Κριῶ* S 377 *μετέτρεπεν k* 378 *κρατερόθυμος a* 379 *ἀργεστὴν* Jacoby: *ἀργέστην* codd. 380 *θεῷ θεὰ* S 381 *Ἑωσφόρος* S[1] 382 om. *Π*[24]*k*: legit Arat. 99 383 *ἔτεκεν a* 387 *κεῖνος a* *ἡγεμονεύῃ* V 391 *ἐς* codd.: *προ[ς Π*[24] 394 *γε μετ'* codd.: *περ εν Π*[24] 398 *συν[Π*[17]: *γρ. οἷσιν σὺν παίδεσσι* Z[2] 399 *ἔδωκεν* Aldina: *δέδωκεν* codd. (*δ' ἔδωκεν* Q)

αὐτὴν μὲν γὰρ ἔθηκε θεῶν μέγαν ἔμμεναι ὅρκον,
παῖδας δ' ἤματα πάντα ἑοῦ μεταναιέτας εἶναι.
ὣς δ' αὔτως πάντεσσι διαμπερές, ὥς περ ὑπέστη,
ἐξετέλεσσ'· αὐτὸς δὲ μέγα κρατεῖ ἠδὲ ἀνάσσει.
Φοίβη δ' αὖ Κοίου πολυήρατον ἦλθεν ἐς εὐνήν·
κυσαμένη δ' ἤπειτα θεὰ θεοῦ ἐν φιλότητι
Λητὼ κυανόπεπλον ἐγείνατο, μείλιχον αἰεί,
ἤπιον ἀνθρώποισι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι,
μείλιχον ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἀγανώτατον ἐντὸς Ὀλύμπου.
γείνατο δ' Ἀστερίην εὐώνυμον, ἣν ποτε Πέρσης
ἠγάγετ' ἐς μέγα δῶμα φίλην κεκλῆσθαι ἄκοιτιν.
ἡ δ' ὑποκυσαμένη Ἑκάτην τέκε, τὴν περὶ πάντων
Ζεὺς Κρονίδης τίμησε· πόρεν δέ οἱ ἀγλαὰ δῶρα,
μοῖραν ἔχειν γαίης τε καὶ ἀτρυγέτοιο θαλάσσης.
ἡ δὲ καὶ ἀστερόεντος ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἔμμορε τιμῆς,
ἀθανάτοις τε θεοῖσι τετιμένη ἐστὶ μάλιστα.
καὶ γὰρ νῦν, ὅτε πού τις ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων
ἔρδων ἱερὰ καλὰ κατὰ νόμον ἱλάσκηται,
κικλήσκει Ἑκάτην· πολλή τέ οἱ ἔσπετο τιμὴ
ῥεῖα μάλ', ᾧ πρόφρων γε θεὰ ὑποδέξεται εὐχάς,
καί τέ οἱ ὄλβον ὀπάζει, ἐπεὶ δύναμίς γε πάρεστιν.
ὅσσοι γὰρ Γαίης τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἐξεγένοντο
καὶ τιμὴν ἔλαχον, τούτων ἔχει αἶσαν ἁπάντων·
οὐδέ τί μιν Κρονίδης ἐβιήσατο οὐδέ τ' ἀπηύρα,
ὅσσ' ἔλαχεν Τιτῆσι μέτα προτέροισι θεοῖσιν,
ἀλλ' ἔχει, ὡς τὸ πρῶτον ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἔπλετο δασμός.
οὐδ', ὅτι μουνογενής, ἧσσον θεὰ ἔμμορε τιμῆς
καὶ γεράων γαίῃ τε καὶ οὐρανῷ ἠδὲ θαλάσσῃ,
ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον, ἐπεὶ Ζεὺς τίεται αὐτήν.

413 sch. Eur. *Hipp.* 146 et 228 426 sch. A.R. 3. 1035

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401 ἑοῦ *ak*: ἑοὺς *b*: γρ. ἕοι Z^2 i.r.: ἕο Brugmann 402 ὡσαύτως *a* 404 ἐς S: εἰς *ak* 405 δ' ἤπειτα fere codd. (δ' ἔπειτα *v*U) θεῶ *b*Q: θεῶν *k* 407–8 transp. Rzach 415 δὲ *b* τετιμημένη *k*VX 416 νῦν: sscr. δὴ L 418 δέ Koechly (*vero* interpres Birchmanni) ἔσπετο Tr: ἔσπεται *ak* 419 ᾧ *kv*Σ: οὗ *n*, W a.c. ὑπεδέξατο L (et γρ. ὑπόξεται, sic),Tr 422 ἔχει Π^{25} codd.: ἔχει γ' K^1: ἔχεν Koechly 423 οὐδέ τ' codd.: ουδ'ἐν Π^{25} ἀπηύδα *k* 424 προτέροισι $\Pi^{25}a$: πρώτοισι *k* 425 ἀπ' $\Pi^{25}k$: ἐξ *a* 427 γεράων van Lennep: γέρμας ἐν $\Pi^{25}ak$

429 ᾧ δ' ἐθέλῃ, μεγάλως παραγίνεται ἠδ' ὀνίνησιν
434 ἔν τε δίκῃ βασιλεῦσι παρ' αἰδοίοισι καθίζει,
430 ἔν τ' ἀγορῇ λαοῖσι μεταπρέπει, ὅν κ' ἐθέλῃσιν·
ἠδ' ὁπότ' ἐς πόλεμον φθισήνορα θωρήσσωνται
ἀνέρες, ἔνθα θεὰ παραγίνεται, οἷς κ' ἐθέλῃσι
433 νίκην προφρονέως ὀπάσαι καὶ κῦδος ὀρέξαι.
439 ἐσθλὴ δ' ἱππήεσσι παρεστάμεν, οἷς κ' ἐθέλῃσιν·
435 ἐσθλὴ δ' αὖθ' ὁπότ' ἄνδρες ἀεθλεύωσ' ἐν ἀγῶνι·
ἔνθα θεὰ καὶ τοῖς παραγίνεται ἠδ' ὀνίνησι·
νικήσας δὲ βίῃ καὶ κάρτει, καλὸν ἄεθλον
438 ῥεῖα φέρει χαίρων τε, τοκεῦσι δὲ κῦδος ὀπάζει.
440 καὶ τοῖς, οἳ γλαυκὴν δυσπέμφελον ἐργάζονται,
εὔχονται δ' Ἑκάτῃ καὶ ἐρικτύπῳ Ἐννοσιγαίῳ,
ῥηιδίως ἄγρην κυδρὴ θεὸς ὤπασε πολλήν,
ῥεῖα δ' ἀφείλετο φαινομένην, ἐθέλουσά γε θυμῷ.
ἐσθλὴ δ' ἐν σταθμοῖσι σὺν Ἑρμῇ ληίδ' ἀέξειν·
445 βουκολίας δὲ βοῶν τε καὶ αἰπόλια πλατέ' αἰγῶν
ποίμνας τ' εἰροπόκων ὀίων, θυμῷ γ' ἐθέλουσα,
ἐξ ὀλίγων βριάει κἀκ πολλῶν μείονα θῆκεν.
οὕτω τοι καὶ μουνογενὴς ἐκ μητρὸς ἐοῦσα
πᾶσι μετ' ἀθανάτοισι τετίμηται γεράεσσι.
450 θῆκε δέ μιν Κρονίδης κουροτρόφον, οἳ μετ' ἐκείνην
ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἴδοντο φάος πολυδερκέος Ἠοῦς.
οὕτως ἐξ ἀρχῆς κουροτρόφος, αἳ δέ τε τιμαί.
Ῥείη δὲ δμηθεῖσα Κρόνῳ τέκε φαίδιμα τέκνα,

429 Et^{G} s.v. μεγάλως 440 sch. *Il.* 16. 34 et 748 (A); (–γλαυκὴν) ib. (BT)

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429 εθ̣ε̣λ̣η̣ Π^{25}: -ει *ak* Etym. παραγεινετα[ι Π^{25} (item 432), παραγίγνεται S (item 432, 436) 434 ante 433 habet Π^{25}, ante 430 posuit Schoemann 430 μετατρέπει *k* (corr. U^{1}) ᾧ κ' *a*, qui 431–2 om., ut haec lectio et ad v. 432 possit pertinere 431 ἠδ' ὁπότ' S: ἠδ' ὁπότ' Q: ἠδέποτ' *k*: ἢν δέ ποτ' *b*: οἱ δ' ὁπότ' Scheer θωρήσσωνται S: -ονται Q: -οντο *u*: -οιντο K*b* 432 οἷς Π^{25}*k*, cf. ad 430 439 huc transp. Aly 435 αὖθ' ⟨Π^{25}⟩ *r*U^{1}: αὖ *ak* ἀεθλεύωσ' ἐν ἀγῶνι scripsi (-ωσιν ἀγῶνι iam Koechly): ἀγῶνι ἀ⌊εθλεύωσιν Π^{25}, fere codd. (ἐν ἀγῶνι *b*; ἀθλεύωσιν *a*) 436 τοις Π^{25}, τοῖσ Q: τοῖσι *ak* (τοῖσι) παρίσταται Stephanus 437 τε *a* κρᾱτει Π^{25} 438 δὲ Π^{25} u.v., *ak*: τε *b*Q 442 ῥηιδ⌊ίω⌋ς Π^{25} u.v., *b*: ῥηιδίως δ' *ak* 443 ἀφείλατο *a* γρ. (φαινο)μένη L^{1} 445 γρ. βουκόλια L^{2}: βουκόλιάσ L(corr. L^{2}) Q δὲ βοῶν scripsi: τ' ἀγέλας codd. 447 κἀκ cod. Neap. (ap. van Lennep): καὶ ἐκ cett. (ἐκ del. X^{2}) 450 denuo incipit B 451 πολυκέρδεον *a*: πολλυκέρδιον B 453 δμηθήσα B: ὑποδμηθεῖσα *ak*: αὖ δμηθεῖσα Aldina, Mosqu. 469 (αὖ i.r.)

Ἰστίην Δήμητρα καὶ Ἥρην χρυσοπέδιλον,
ἴφθιμόν τ' Ἀίδην, ὃς ὑπὸ χθονὶ δώματα ναίει
νηλεὲς ἦτορ ἔχων, καὶ ἐρίκτυπον Ἐννοσίγαιον,
Ζῆνά τε μητιόεντα, θεῶν πατέρ' ἠδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν,
τοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ βροντῆς πελεμίζεται εὐρεῖα χθών.
καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατέπινε μέγας Κρόνος, ὥς τις ἕκαστος
νηδύος ἐξ ἱερῆς μητρὸς πρὸς γούναθ' ἵκοιτο,
τὰ φρονέων, ἵνα μή τις ἀγαυῶν Οὐρανιώνων
ἄλλος ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἔχοι βασιληίδα τιμήν.
πεύθετο γὰρ Γαίης τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος
οὕνεκά οἱ πέπρωτο ἑῷ ὑπὸ παιδὶ δαμῆναι,
καὶ κρατερῷ περ ἐόντι, Διὸς μεγάλου διὰ βουλάς.
τῷ ὅ γ' ἄρ' οὐκ ἀλαοσκοπιὴν ἔχεν, ἀλλὰ δοκεύων
παῖδας ἑοὺς κατέπινε· Ῥέην δ' ἔχε πένθος ἄλαστον.
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ Δί' ἔμελλε θεῶν πατέρ' ἠδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν
τέξεσθαι, τότ' ἔπειτα φίλους λιτάνευε τοκῆας
τοὺς αὐτῆς, Γαῖάν τε καὶ Οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα,
μῆτιν συμφράσσασθαι, ὅπως λελάθοιτο τεκοῦσα
παῖδα φίλον, τείσαιτο δ' ἐρινῦς πατρὸς ἑοῖο
παίδων ⟨θ'⟩ οὓς κατέπινε μέγας Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης.
οἱ δὲ θυγατρὶ φίλῃ μάλα μὲν κλύον ἠδ' ἐπίθοντο,
καί οἱ πεφραδέτην, ὅσα περ πέπρωτο γενέσθαι
ἀμφὶ Κρόνῳ βασιλῆι καὶ υἱέι καρτεροθύμῳ·
πέμψαν δ' ἐς Λύκτον, Κρήτης ἐς πίονα δῆμον,
ὁππότ' ἄρ' ὁπλότατον παίδων ἤμελλε τεκέσθαι,
Ζῆνα μέγαν· τὸν μέν οἱ ἐδέξατο Γαῖα πελώρη
Κρήτῃ ἐν εὐρείῃ τρεφέμεν ἀτιταλλέμεναί τε.
ἔνθά μιν ἶκτο φέρουσα θοὴν διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν,

454 Et^{M} s.v. *Ἑστία*, cf. Ammon. s.v. *βωμός*; Eust. in Hom. p. 1564. 33

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454 *Ἑστίην* WX : *ἐστὶν ἣν καὶ* Ammon. *Δήμητραν k* Ammon. Eust. *χρυσοστέφανον* B 458 *ὑπὸ* Π^{25}Bak : *ἀπὸ* VΔ *πελεμ-* Π^{25}S^{2}*b* : *πολεμ-* Bak 459 *μέγας Κρόνος* Π^{25}B : *Κρόνος μέγας ak* *ὡστισ* B : *ὅστις ak* 462 *ἔχει* BU : *ἔχῃ* SU^{1} 465 *Διὸς* Π^{25}Bak : *πατρὸς* agn. Σ, inde QL^{2} 466 *γ' ap'* Π^{25} : *γ'* codd. *ἀλαοσκοπιὴν* Π^{25}*ak* : *αλλὰσκοπιὴν* B, *ἀλασκοπιὴν* V, scil. *ἀλα⸌* pro *ἀλαὸν* 469 *λιτάνευε* Π^{25}*ak* : *-ευσε* B 471 *μῆτ⟨ι⟩ιν συμ-* Π^{25}Bak : *μήτιν οἱ m, μήτιν*^{α} L 472 *τίσαιτο* Π^{25} codd. (*τήσετο* B) *ερινυς* Π^{25}, *ερινὺσ* B : *ἐρινν̀ὺς* vel *-ῦς* cett. 473 *θ'* add. Cäsar, van Lennep, Schoemann (deerat in Π^{25} u.v.) *ἀγκυλ⟨ο⟩μήτ⟨η⟩ς* Π^{25} Bak : *-ομῆτις* X : *-όμητις m* 477 *πέμψαντες δ' ἐς k* (fuerat *πέμψαν τ' ἐς*, sscr. *δ' ἐς*) *Λύκτρον* B : *γρ. Δί(κτον)* L 480 *τραφέμεν* S a.c. 481 *μιν k* : *μὲν* Ba (*ἔνθά μεν* V, *ἐνθά μεν* Marc. IX 6)

πρώτην ἐς Λύκτον· κρύψεν δέ ἑ χερσὶ λαβοῦσα
ἄντρῳ ἐν ἠλιβάτῳ, ζαθέης ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης,
Αἰγαίῳ ἐν ὄρει πεπυκασμένῳ ὑλήεντι.
τῷ δὲ σπαργανίσασα μέγαν λίθον ἐγγυάλιξεν
Οὐρανίδῃ μέγ' ἄνακτι, θεῶν προτέρων βασιλῆι.
τὸν τόθ' ἑλὼν χείρεσσιν ἑὴν ἐσκάτθετο νηδύν,
σχέτλιος, οὐδ' ἐνόησε μετὰ φρεσίν, ὥς οἱ ὀπίσσω
ἀντὶ λίθου ἑὸς υἱὸς ἀνίκητος καὶ ἀκηδὴς
λείπεθ', ὅ μιν τάχ' ἔμελλε βίῃ καὶ χερσὶ δαμάσσας
τιμῆς ἐξελάαν, ὁ δ' ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἀνάξειν.
καρπαλίμως δ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα μένος καὶ φαίδιμα γυῖα
ηὔξετο τοῖο ἄνακτος· ἐπιπλομένου δ' ἐνιαυτοῦ,
Γαίης ἐννεσίῃσι πολυφραδέεσσι δολωθείς,
ὃν γόνον ἂψ ἀνέηκε μέγας Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης,
νικηθεὶς τέχνῃσι βίηφί τε παιδὸς ἑοῖο.
πρῶτον δ' ἐξήμησε λίθον, πύματον καταπίνων·
τὸν μὲν Ζεὺς στήριξε κατὰ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης
Πυθοῖ ἐν ἠγαθέῃ, γυάλοις ὕπο Παρνησσοῖο,
σῆμ' ἔμεν ἐξοπίσω, θαῦμα θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσι.
λῦσε δὲ πατροκασιγνήτους ὀλοῶν ὑπὸ δεσμῶν,
Οὐρανίδας, οὓς δῆσε πατὴρ ἀεσιφροσύνῃσιν·
οἳ οἱ ἀπεμνήσαντο χάριν εὐεργεσιάων,
δῶκαν δὲ βροντὴν ἠδ' αἰθαλόεντα κεραυνὸν
καὶ στεροπήν· τὸ πρὶν δὲ πελώρη Γαῖα κεκεύθει·
τοῖς πίσυνος θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἀνάσσει.
κούρην δ' Ἰαπετὸς καλλίσφυρον Ὠκεανίνην
ἠγάγετο Κλυμένην καὶ ὁμὸν λέχος εἰσανέβαινεν.
ἡ δέ οἱ Ἄτλαντα κρατερόφρονα γείνατο παῖδα,
τίκτε δ' ὑπερκύδαντα Μενοίτιον ἠδὲ Προμηθέα,

484 sch. Arat. 33 499 (γυάλοις–) Apoll. Soph. s.v. γύαλον

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482 Λύκτρον B χειρὶ *a*, sscr. K 483 ζαθέοις *k* 484 Ἀργαίῳ Frobenius 486 προτέρων scripsi (noluit Sittl) : προτέρῳ codd. 487 ἐσκάτθετο Bak (-θεο *n*) : ἐγκάτ(έ)θετο bQ 491 ἐξελάειν S ἀνάξειν BK : ἀνάσσειν U : ἀνάξει Vat. 2185 : ἀέξειν *a* 493 δ' ἄνακτος Ba ἐπιπλομένου δ' ἐνιαυτοῦ BkΣ : ἐπιπλομένων δ' ἐνιαυτῶν *a* 494 χολωθεὶς *a* 495 ἀγκυλόμητις *m* 496 κινηθεὶς Laur. 91. 10 497 ἐξήμεσε *k* : ἐξήμεσσε Passow 499 Παρνησσοῖο VX Apoll. : Παρνησοῖο BnK : Παρνασσοῖο U : Παρνασοῖο W Vat. 2185 500 σῆμ' S a.c. 501 ὑπὸ *k* : ἀπὸ Ba 503 τίσιν S a.c. (u.v.) 504 deficit B 505 τὴν πρὶν (om. δὲ) *k*

ποικίλον αἰολόμητιν, ἁμαρτίνοόν τ' Ἐπιμηθέα·
ὃς κακὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γένετ' ἀνδράσιν ἀλφηστῇσι·
πρῶτος γάρ ῥα Διὸς πλαστὴν ὑπέδεκτο γυναῖκα
παρθένον. ὑβριστὴν δὲ Μενοίτιον εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς
εἰς ἔρεβος κατέπεμψε βαλὼν ψολόεντι κεραυνῷ
εἵνεκ' ἀτασθαλίης τε καὶ ἠνορέης ὑπερόπλου.
Ἄτλας δ' οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχει κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης,
πείρασιν ἐν γαίης πρόπαρ' Ἑσπερίδων λιγυφώνων
ἑστηώς, κεφαλῇ τε καὶ ἀκαμάτῃσι χέρεσσι·
ταύτην γάρ οἱ μοῖραν ἐδάσσατο μητίετα Ζεύς.
δῆσε δ' ἀλυκτοπέδῃσι Προμηθέα ποικιλόβουλον,
δεσμοῖς ἀργαλέοισι, μέσον διὰ κίον' ἐλάσσας·
καί οἱ ἐπ' αἰετὸν ὦρσε τανύπτερον· αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' ἧπαρ
ἤσθιεν ἀθάνατον, τὸ δ' ἀέξετο ἶσον ἁπάντῃ
νυκτός, ὅσον πρόπαν ἦμαρ ἔδοι τανυσίπτερος ὄρνις.
τὸν μὲν ἄρ' Ἀλκμήνης καλλισφύρου ἄλκιμος υἱὸς
Ἡρακλέης ἔκτεινε, κακὴν δ' ἀπὸ νοῦσον ἄλαλκεν
Ἰαπετιονίδῃ καὶ ἐλύσατο δυσφροσυνάων,
οὐκ ἀέκητι Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου ὕψι μέδοντος,
ὄφρ' Ἡρακλῆος Θηβαγενέος κλέος εἴη
πλεῖον ἔτ' ἢ τὸ πάροιθεν ἐπὶ χθόνα πουλυβότειραν.
ταῦτ' ἄρα ἁζόμενος τίμα ἀριδείκετον υἱόν·
καί περ χωόμενος παύθη χόλου, ὃν πρὶν ἔχεσκεν,
οὕνεκ' ἐρίζετο βουλὰς ὑπερμενέι Κρονίωνι.
καὶ γὰρ ὅτ' ἐκρίνοντο θεοὶ θνητοί τ' ἄνθρωποι
Μηκώνῃ, τότ' ἔπειτα μέγαν βοῦν πρόφρονι θυμῷ
δασσάμενος προύθηκε, Διὸς νόον ἐξαπαφίσκων.

517 Philod. *de piet.* 37 (*Hermes*, lv. 245) (frustula), Alex. Aphr. in *Metaph.* p. 421. 10, Simplic. in Arist. *Cael.* p. 374. 27; (–ἔχει) sch. Dion. Per. 66, Et^{GM} s.v. Ἄτλας 518 (πρόπαρ–) Diac. *Alleg.* p. 344 Fl. 519 Philod. *de piet.* 38 (tab. 87 b 1 G.) (frustula) 520–7 Et^{G} s.v. ἀλυκτοπέδῃσι 521 Et^{M} s.v. ἀλυκτοπέδη, [Draco] p. 12. 1 H.; (–Προμ.) Choerob. i. 123. 11 H.; (–ἀλ.) Hdn. ii. 7. 24 et 27 L. 530 sch. Soph. *Tr.* 116 535–6 (–Μηκώνῃ) sch. Pi. *N.* 9. 123

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511 ἀγκυλομήτην Laur. 91. 10, ἀγκυλόμητιν Taurin. (112?) ap. Goettling 519 (= 747) susp. Guyet ἑστειώς *a*K^{I} χείρεσσι V*k*: ἀκαμάτοισ χείρεσσι U a.c. 521 δῆσε δ' codd. Etym.: δήσας Hdn. Choerob. [Draco] 522 μέγαν X 524 ἀέξατο Etym. 525 ἔδυ Etym.: ἔδει *a* 530 Θηβαιγενέος Paris. 2678 532 ἄρ' plerique ταῦτα φραζόμενος J. H. Voss. ταῦτ' ἄρα φραζόμενος Graevius, deinde τιμᾶν Sitzler 533 παύσθη *n*X χόλ⌋ου Π^{17}*a*: χόλος *u*: χὸ́ K (et *k*?) 537 Διὸς Tr: Ζηνὸς *ak*

τῷ μὲν γὰρ σάρκάς τε καὶ ἔγκατα πίονα δημῷ
ἐν ῥινῷ κατέθηκε, καλύψας γαστρὶ βοείῃ,
τοῖς δ' αὖτ' ὀστέα λευκὰ βοὸς δολίῃ ἐπὶ τέχνῃ
εὐθετίσας κατέθηκε, καλύψας ἀργέτι δημῷ.
δὴ τότε μιν προσέειπε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε·
" Ἰαπετιονίδη, πάντων ἀριδείκετ' ἀνάκτων,
ὦ πέπον, ὡς ἑτεροζήλως διεδάσσαο μοίρας."
ὣς φάτο κερτομέων Ζεὺς ἄφθιτα μήδεα εἰδώς·
τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε Προμηθεὺς ἀγκυλομήτης,
ἦκ' ἐπιμειδήσας, δολίης δ' οὐ λήθετο τέχνης·
"Ζεῦ κύδιστε μέγιστε θεῶν αἰειγενετάων,
τῶν δ' ἕλευ ὁπποτέρην σε ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θυμὸς ἀνώγει."
φῆ ῥα δολοφρονέων· Ζεὺς δ' ἄφθιτα μήδεα εἰδὼς
γνῶ ῥ' οὐδ' ἠγνοίησε δόλον· κακὰ δ' ὄσσετο θυμῷ
θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισι, τὰ καὶ τελέεσθαι ἔμελλε.
χερσὶ δ' ὅ γ' ἀμφοτέρῃσιν ἀνείλετο λευκὸν ἄλειφαρ,
χώσατο δὲ φρένας ἀμφί, χόλος δέ μιν ἵκετο θυμόν,
ὡς ἴδεν ὀστέα λευκὰ βοὸς δολίῃ ἐπὶ τέχνῃ.
ἐκ τοῦ δ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἐπὶ χθονὶ φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων
καίουσ' ὀστέα λευκὰ θυηέντων ἐπὶ βωμῶν.
τὸν δὲ μέγ' ὀχθήσας προσέφη νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς·
" Ἰαπετιονίδη, πάντων πέρι μήδεα εἰδώς,
ὦ πέπον, οὐκ ἄρα πω δολίης ἐπελήθεο τέχνης."
ὣς φάτο χωόμενος Ζεὺς ἄφθιτα μήδεα εἰδώς.
ἐκ τούτου δῆπειτα χόλου μεμνημένος αἰεὶ
οὐκ ἐδίδου μελίῃσι πυρὸς μένος ἀκαμάτοιο
θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις οἳ ἐπὶ χθονὶ ναιετάουσιν·
ἀλλά μιν ἐξαπάτησεν ἐὺς πάις Ἰαπετοῖο

540 (ὀστέα–)+541 (καλύψας–)+556–7 Clem. *Strom.* vii. 6. 31; 541 (καλύψας–) Luc. *Prom.* 3 553 Et^{G} s.v. ἄλειφα

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538 τῷ: sscr. οἷς U πίονα Tr a.c.: πίονι *ak* 540 τοῖς scripsi: τῷ codd. 541 ἀργέτα *k* 543 περιδείκετ' (ex 559) *a* ἀνάκτων *akΣ*: ἀνδρῶν W, *γρ.* Z^{2} 544 ἑτερόζηλος *u* μοῖραν *k* 546 ἀγκυλόμητις *m* 549 δ' om. *a* ἕλε' Nauck σε *ak*: γε S: σέ γ' Paley 552 ἔμελλον in Hom. Aristarchus 553 *γρ.* ἀργέτα δημόν L^{1} ἄλειφα *c* Tr Etym. 554 θυμόν K^{1}Q: θυμοῦ K Vat. 2185: θυμῷ cett. 555 θυηέντων ἐπὶ βωμῶν (ex 557) Q, S a.c. 557 ὑπὸ *k* 560–1 om. *n*V (homoeotel.) 560 ἐπελήθεο *b*: ἐπιλήθεο WX*k* 562 δ' ἤπειτα codd. (δ' ἔπειτα Q) χόλου S a.c.: δόλου cett. 563 μελίῃσι *kΣ*: μελίοισι *a*: (μελ)έοισι sscr. Z^{1} 564 susp. Paley

κλέψας ἀκαμάτοιο πυρὸς τηλέσκοπον αὐγὴν
ἐν κοίλῳ νάρθηκι· δάκεν δ' ἄρα νειόθι θυμὸν
Ζῆν' ὑψιβρεμέτην, ἐχόλωσε δέ μιν φίλον ἦτορ,
ὡς ἴδ' ἐν ἀνθρώποισι πυρὸς τηλέσκοπον αὐγήν.
αὐτίκα δ' ἀντὶ πυρὸς τεῦξεν κακὸν ἀνθρώποισι·
γαίης γὰρ σύμπλασσε περικλυτὸς Ἀμφιγυήεις
παρθένῳ αἰδοίῃ ἴκελον Κρονίδεω διὰ βουλάς·
ζῶσε δὲ καὶ κόσμησε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη
ἀργυφέῃ ἐσθῆτι· κατὰ κρῆθεν δὲ καλύπτρην
δαιδαλέην χείρεσσι κατέσχεθε, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι·
[ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ στεφάνους νεοθηλέας, ἄνθεα ποίης,
ἱμερτοὺς περίθηκε καρήατι Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη·]
ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ στεφάνην χρυσέην κεφαλῆφιν ἔθηκε,
τὴν αὐτὸς ποίησε περικλυτὸς Ἀμφιγυήεις
ἀσκήσας παλάμῃσι, χαριζόμενος Διὶ πατρί.
τῇ δ' ἔνι δαίδαλα πολλὰ τετεύχατο, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι,
κνώδαλ' ὅσ' ἤπειρος δεινὰ τρέφει ἠδὲ θάλασσα·
τῶν ὅ γε πόλλ' ἐνέθηκε, χάρις δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄητο,
θαυμάσια, ζωοῖσιν ἐοικότα φωνήεσσιν.
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ τεῦξε καλὸν κακὸν ἀντ' ἀγαθοῖο,
ἐξάγαγ' ἔνθά περ ἄλλοι ἔσαν θεοὶ ἠδ' ἄνθρωποι,
κόσμῳ ἀγαλλομένην γλαυκώπιδος Ὀβριμοπάτρης·
θαῦμα δ' ἔχ' ἀθανάτους τε θεοὺς θνητούς τ' ἀνθρώπους,
ὡς εἶδον δόλον αἰπύν, ἀμήχανον ἀνθρώποισιν.
ἐκ τῆς γὰρ γένος ἐστὶ γυναικῶν θηλυτεράων,
[τῆς γὰρ ὀλοίιόν ἐστι γένος καὶ φῦλα γυναικῶν,]
πῆμα μέγα θνητοῖσι, σὺν ἀνδράσι ναιετάουσαι,
οὐλομένης Πενίης οὐ σύμφοροι, ἀλλὰ Κόροιο.

573–4 Et^{G} s.v. ἄργυφον; 574 (–ἐσθῆτι) Hdn. ii. 847. 16 L. 582 Et^{G} s.v. κνώδαλα 585 (καλὸν κακόν) sch. Pi. *P.* 2. 72, Cyrill. *c. Iulian.* iii. 75 Aub. 591–3 Stob. iv. 22. 165

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567 δ' ἄρα $\Pi^{13}ak$: δέ οι Q, S a.c.: δέ έ S^{1} 568 μιν Π^{13} 574 κατ' ἄκρηθεν Z p.c. 576–7 om. Par. 2834 (casu), damn. Wolf 576 νεοθηλέας $\Pi^{13}ak$: -έος S ἄνθεα Π^{13}: ἄνθεσι *ak* 577 περίθηκε Hermann: παρέθηκε codd. 582 δεινα Π^{13}: πολλὰ (ex 581 ?) *ak* Etym. 583 επι πασιν αητο Π^{13}: ἀπελάμπετο πολλή *ak* 584 ζωοῖσιν *b*QS: ζωοῖσι *u*: ζωοισιν K: ζώοισιν *a* 587 ἀγαλλόμενοι *a* 588 fort. ἔλ' 590 damn. Heyne ἐκ γὰρ τῆς Hermann 591 om. Par. 2833 (sed rest. m^{1}), damn. Schoemann ὀλοίιον Nauck: ὀλώιον codd. Stob. 592 σὺν Stob.: μετ' codd. ναιετάουσαι S a.c.: -ουσιν *ak* Stob. 593 ἀλλὰ Κόροιο *akΣ* Stob.: ἀλλ' ἀκόρεστοι *b*

ὡς δ' ὁπότ' ἐν σμήνεσσι κατηρεφέεσσι μέλισσαι
κηφῆνας βόσκωσι, κακῶν ξυνήονας ἔργων·
αἱ μέν τε πρόπαν ἦμαρ ἐς ἠέλιον καταδύντα
†ἠμάτιαι σπεύδουσι τιθεῖσί τε κηρία λευκά,
οἱ δ' ἔντοσθε μένοντες ἐπηρεφέας κατὰ σίμβλους
ἀλλότριον κάματον σφετέρην ἐς γαστέρ' ἀμῶνται·
ὣς δ' αὔτως ἄνδρεσσι κακὸν θνητοῖσι γυναῖκας
Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης θῆκε, ξυνήονας ἔργων
ἀργαλέων. ἕτερον δὲ πόρεν κακὸν ἀντ' ἀγαθοῖο,
ὅς κε γάμον φεύγων καὶ μέρμερα ἔργα γυναικῶν
μὴ γῆμαι ἐθέλῃ, ὀλοὸν δ' ἐπὶ γῆρας ἵκηται
χήτει γηροκόμοιο· ὁ δ' οὐ βιότου γ' ἐπιδευὴς
ζώει, ἀποφθιμένου δὲ διὰ ζωὴν δατέονται
χηρωσταί. ᾧ δ' αὖτε γάμου μετὰ μοῖρα γένηται,
κεδνὴν δ' ἔσχεν ἄκοιτιν, ἀρηρυῖαν πραπίδεσσι,
τῷ δέ τ' ἀπ' αἰῶνος κακὸν ἐσθλῷ ἀντιφερίζει
ἐμμενές· ὃς δέ κε τέτμῃ ἀταρτηροῖο γενέθλης,
ζώει ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔχων ἀλίαστον ἀνίην
θυμῷ καὶ κραδίῃ, καὶ ἀνήκεστον κακόν ἐστιν.
ὣς οὐκ ἔστι Διὸς κλέψαι νόον οὐδὲ παρελθεῖν.
οὐδὲ γὰρ Ἰαπετιονίδης ἀκάκητα Προμηθεὺς
τοῖό γ' ὑπεξήλυξε βαρὺν χόλον, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀνάγκης
καὶ πολύιδριν ἐόντα μέγας κατὰ δεσμὸς ἐρύκει.
Ὀβριάρεῳ δ' ὡς πρῶτα πατὴρ ὠδύσσατο θυμῷ
Κόττῳ τ' ἠδὲ Γύγῃ, δῆσε κρατερῷ ἐνὶ δεσμῷ,
ἠνορέην ὑπέροπλον ἀγώμενος ἠδὲ καὶ εἶδος
καὶ μέγεθος· κατένασσε δ' ὑπὸ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης.
ἔνθ' οἵ γ' ἄλγε' ἔχοντες ὑπὸ χθονὶ ναιετάοντες

594 sch. Theocr. 1. 107 598 (ἐπηρ.–) Et^{M} s.v. *σίμβλα* 600–9 Stob. iv. 22. 82 617 (–πρῶτα) sch. *Il.* 1. 403 (T) 619 (–ἀγώμενος) Et^{M} s.v. *ἀγώμενος*

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594 *ὅταν* sch. Theocr. *ἐν* om. *k* (*ἂν* U a.c.) 595 *βόσκωσι k*: *βόσκουσι a* *κακοὺς* S^{2}Tr 596 *μέν τοι k* 597 *ἠμάτιον b*: *ἀκάμαται* Goettling 600 *ὡσαύτως k* 602 *λευγαλέων* Stob. 604 *εἰς γῆρας ἵκοιτο* Stob. 605 *δ' k*: *γ' a* Stob. *γ'* Z: *τ' k*: *δ' a*: om. Stob. 606 *ζωὴν Π*^{14}*k* Stob.: *κτῆσιν a* 608 *ἔσχετ'* Stob. 609 *δέ τ' ἀπ' k* Stob.: *δ' ἀπ' a* (*δ' ἀπαὶ n*): *δὲ δι'* Schoemann *κακὸν ἐσθλὸν v*: *ἐσθλὸν κακῷ* Merkelbach *ἀντιφερίζει Π*^{14}*n*V*k* Stob.: *ἀντιφαρίζει* WX: *ἰσοφαρίζει* Capelle 610 *ἐμμενές* Wopkens: *ἔμμεναι* codd. *Σ τεύξῃ n*: *τέκῃ v* 615 *γρ. ἀλλά μιν ἔμπης* Z^{2} 617 *Βριάρεω k*, *-εων* WX *πρῶτα bQS*: *τὰ πρῶτα ak* sch. Hom. 618 *Γύῃ a* *δῆσε kv*: *-εν n* 621 *ἐπὶ a*

εἵατ' ἐπ' ἐσχατιῇ μεγάλης ἐν πείρασι γαίης
δηθὰ μάλ' ἀχνύμενοι, κραδίῃ μέγα πένθος ἔχοντες.
ἀλλά σφεας Κρονίδης τε καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι
οὓς τέκεν ἠύκομος Ῥείη Κρόνου ἐν φιλότητι
Γαίης φραδμοσύνῃσιν ἀνήγαγον ἐς φάος αὖτις·
αὐτὴ γάρ σφιν ἅπαντα διηνεκέως κατέλεξε,
σὺν κείνοις νίκην τε καὶ ἀγλαὸν εὖχος ἀρέσθαι
δηρὸν γὰρ μάρναντο πόνον θυμαλγέ' ἔχοντες
ἀντίον ἀλλήλοισι διὰ κρατερὰς ὑσμίνας
Τιτῆνές τε θεοὶ καὶ ὅσοι Κρόνου ἐξεγένοντο,
οἳ μὲν ἀφ' ὑψηλῆς Ὄθρυος Τιτῆνες ἀγαυοί,
οἳ δ' ἄρ' ἀπ' Οὐλύμποιο θεοὶ δωτῆρες ἐάων
οὓς τέκεν ἠύκομος Ῥείη Κρόνῳ εὐνηθεῖσα.
οἵ ῥα τότ' ἀλλήλοισι †μάχην θυμαλγέ' ἔχοντες
συνεχέως ἐμάχοντο δέκα πλείους ἐνιαυτούς·
οὐδέ τις ἦν ἔριδος χαλεπῆς λύσις οὐδὲ τελευτὴ
οὐδετέροις, ἶσον δὲ τέλος τέτατο πτολέμοιο.
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ κείνοισι παρέσχεθεν ἅρμενα πάντα,
νέκταρ τ' ἀμβροσίην τε, τά περ θεοὶ αὐτοὶ ἔδουσι,
πάντων ⟨τ'⟩ ἐν στήθεσσιν ἀέξετο θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ,
[ὡς νέκταρ τ' ἐπάσαντο καὶ ἀμβροσίην ἐρατεινήν,]
δὴ τότε τοῖς μετέειπε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε·
"κέκλυτέ μευ Γαίης τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
ὄφρ' εἴπω τά με θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι κελεύει.
ἤδη γὰρ μάλα δηρὸν ἐναντίοι ἀλλήλοισι
νίκης καὶ κάρτευς πέρι μαρνάμεθ' ἤματα πάντα,
Τιτῆνές τε θεοὶ καὶ ὅσοι Κρόνου ἐκγενόμεσθα.
ὑμεῖς δὲ μεγάλην τε βίην καὶ χεῖρας ἀάπτους
φαίνετε Τιτήνεσσιν ἐναντίον ἐν δαῒ λυγρῇ,
μνησάμενοι φιλότητος ἐνήεος, ὅσσα παθόντες
ἐς φάος ἂψ ἀφίκεσθε δυσηλεγέος ὑπὸ δεσμοῦ

641 Chrysipp. *Stoic.* ii. 254. 18

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622 ἐπ' om. *a* (ἐν suppl. V) μεγάλοις K¹*u*: μεγάλῃ *n* 623 κραδίης (=-ῃς?) S
627 σφιν *aΣ*: μιν *k* 630 om. *Π*¹³, post 631 habet *Π*⁵ 632 Ὄθρυος S p.c.: Ὀθρύος *ak*
635 μάχην *Π*⁵*au*: μάχη||| K: χόλον *r*: πόνον Schoemann: -ν, ἄχη Wieseler
636 συνεχ- *kv*: συννεχ- *Π*⁵*n* 639 ἅρματα LQS*Σ* 641 τ' add. Heyne
642 ante 641 habet *k*, damn. Guyet τ' om. *a*: δ' Tr i.r. 647 κα[*Π*⁶: κράτεος codd.
648 ἐξεγένοντο (ex 630) *a* 650 ἐναντίοι *r* 652 αψικεσθ[ε *Π*⁶, αψίκ . . , *Π*²⁷ ἀπὸ Tr

ἡμετέρας διὰ βουλὰς ὑπὸ ζόφου ἠερόεντος."
ὣς φάτο· τὸν δ' αἶψ' αὖτις ἀμείβετο Κόττος ἀμύμων·
"δαιμόνι', οὐκ ἀδάητα πιφαύσκεαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ
ἴδμεν ὅ τοι περὶ μὲν πραπίδες, περὶ δ' ἐστὶ νόημα,
ἀλκτὴρ δ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἀρῆς γένεο κρυεροῖο,
σῇσι δ' ἐπιφροσύνῃσιν ὑπὸ ζόφου ἠερόεντος
ἄψορρον ἐξαῦτις ἀμειλίκτων ὑπὸ δεσμῶν
ἠλύθομεν, Κρόνου υἱὲ ἄναξ, ἀνάελπτα παθόντες.
τῷ καὶ νῦν ἀτενεῖ τε νόῳ καὶ πρόφρονι θυμῷ
ῥυσόμεθα κράτος ὑμὸν ἐν αἰνῇ δηιοτῆτι,
μαρνάμενοι Τιτῆσιν ἀνὰ κρατερὰς ὑσμίνας."
ὣς φάτ'· ἐπῄνησαν δὲ θεοὶ δωτῆρες ἐάων
μῦθον ἀκούσαντες· πολέμου δ' ἐλιλαίετο θυμὸς
μᾶλλον ἔτ' ἢ τὸ πάροιθε· μάχην δ' ἀμέγαρτον ἔγειραν
πάντες, θήλειαί τε καὶ ἄρσενες, ἤματι κείνῳ,
Τιτῆνές τε θεοὶ καὶ ὅσοι Κρόνου ἐξεγένοντο,
οὕς τε Ζεὺς ἐρέβεσφιν ὑπὸ χθονὸς ἧκε φόωσδε,
δεινοί τε κρατεροί τε, βίην ὑπέροπλον ἔχοντες.
τῶν ἑκατὸν μὲν χεῖρες ἀπ' ὤμων αἴσσοντο
πᾶσιν ὁμῶς, κεφαλαὶ δὲ ἑκάστῳ πεντήκοντα
ἐξ ὤμων ἐπέφυκον ἐπὶ στιβαροῖσι μέλεσσιν.
οἳ τότε Τιτήνεσσι κατέσταθεν ἐν δαῒ λυγρῇ
πέτρας ἠλιβάτους στιβαρῇς ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες·
Τιτῆνες δ' ἑτέρωθεν ἐκαρτύναντο φάλαγγας
προφρονέως· χειρῶν τε βίης θ' ἅμα ἔργον ἔφαινον
ἀμφότεροι, δεινὸν δὲ περίαχε πόντος ἀπείρων,
γῆ δὲ μέγ' ἐσμαράγησεν, ἐπέστενε δ' οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς
σειόμενος, πεδόθεν δὲ τινάσσετο μακρὸς Ὄλυμπος

678 (*περίαχε–*) Et^{GM} s.v. *Ἀμφίων*

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653 *ἀπὸ* Tr 654 *αιψ[Π*^{6}*, α[Π*^{13}*, αψ'αυ[Π*^{27}: *ἐξαῦτις* (ex 659?) codd. 655 *πιφάσκεαι* W a.c., *k* 656 *ὅ τοι Π*^{6}*Π*^{27}X^{2}: *οἵ τ[ο]ϊ* Phillipps 11723: *ὅτι ak* *περὶ μὲν σοὶ* Ambr. D 15 sup. 658 *σῇσι δ' Π*^{27}*a*: *σῇσιν k* *ἀπὸ* Tr *ζόφον ἠερόεντα a* 659 *αψορρο]ν Π*^{13}, *ἄψορον a*: *ἄψορρον δ' Π*^{5}*Π*^{27}*k*: *ἄψορρόνδ'* L Tr *ἀπὸ a* 660 *ἄελπτα r*: fort. *ἀνάεπτα* 661 *]φρονι θυμω[Π*^{13} (*πρόφρονι* supplevi) : *ἐπίφρονι βουλῇ* codd. 663 *ανα κρα[τε]ρην ὑσμεινην Π*^{13}: *α[Π*^{5}: *ἐνὶ κρατερῇ ὑσμίνῃ a* 664 *ἐ⌊πήνη⌋σαν Π*^{13} SWX Salm. 243: *ἐπ⌊ή⌋ν⌊εσ⌋σαν Π*^{5}, Q p.c.: *ἐπήνεσαν* cett. 669 *ἐρέβεσφιν* Q: *-εσφι* sscr. *ευ* et *ν k* (*-εσφι* U Vat. 2185, *-ευφιν* K Ambr. D 529 inf.) : *-ευσφιν a*: *-ευσφι Π*^{5} *φόωσδε Π*^{5}*a*: *φάοσδε k* 671 *ἀΐσσονται* K^{1}, Vat. 2185 m^{1} 673 *στιβαροῖς μελέεσσιν* Tr, *μελέεσσι* etiam U 675 *στιβαρῇς* Mosqu. 462 a.c.: *-αῖς b*: *-ὰς ak*

ῥιπῇ ὕπ᾽ ἀθανάτων, ἔνοσις δ᾽ ἵκανε βαρεῖα
τάρταρον ἠερόεντα ποδῶν, αἰπεῖά τ᾽ ἰωὴ
ἀσπέτου ἰωχμοῖο βολάων τε κρατεράων.
ὣς ἄρ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλοις ἴεσαν βέλεα στονόεντα·
φωνὴ δ᾽ ἀμφοτέρων ἵκετ᾽ οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα
κεκλομένων· οἱ δὲ ξύνισαν μεγάλῳ ἀλαλητῷ.
οὐδ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἔτι Ζεὺς ἴσχεν ἑὸν μένος, ἀλλά νυ τοῦ γε
εἴθαρ μὲν μένεος πλῆντο φρένες, ἐκ δέ τε πᾶσαν
φαῖνε βίην· ἄμυδις δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἀπ᾽ οὐρανοῦ ἠδ᾽ ἀπ᾽ Ὀλύμπου
ἀστράπτων ἔστειχε συνωχαδόν, οἱ δὲ κεραυνοὶ
ἵκταρ ἅμα βροντῇ τε καὶ ἀστεροπῇ ποτέοντο
χειρὸς ἄπο στιβαρῆς, ἱερὴν φλόγα εἰλυφόωντες,
ταρφέες· ἀμφὶ δὲ γαῖα φερέσβιος ἐσμαράγιζε
καιομένη, λάκε δ᾽ ἀμφὶ περὶ μεγάλ᾽ ἄσπετος ὕλη·
ἔζεε δὲ χθὼν πᾶσα καὶ Ὠκεανοῖο ῥέεθρα
πόντός τ᾽ ἀτρύγετος· τοὺς δ᾽ ἄμφεπε θερμὸς ἀυτμὴ
Τιτῆνας χθονίους, φλὸξ δ᾽ αἰθέρα δῖαν ἵκανεν
ἄσπετος, ὄσσε δ᾽ ἄμερδε καὶ ἰφθίμων περ ἐόντων
αὐγὴ μαρμαίρουσα κεραυνοῦ τε στεροπῆς τε.
καῦμα δὲ θεσπέσιον κάτεχεν χάος· εἴσατο δ᾽ ἄντα
ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδεῖν ἠδ᾽ οὔασιν ὄσσαν ἀκοῦσαι
αὖτως, ὡς ὅτε γαῖα καὶ οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὕπερθε
πίλνατο· τοῖος γάρ κε μέγας ὑπὸ δοῦπος ὀρώρει,
τῆς μὲν ἐρειπομένης, τοῦ δ᾽ ὑψόθεν ἐξεριπόντος·
τόσσος δοῦπος ἔγεντο θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνιόντων.
σὺν δ᾽ ἄνεμοι ἔνοσίν τε κονίην τ᾽ ἐσφαράγιζον

681 (ἔνοσις–)–2 Et^{G} s.v. ἔνοσις; 682 (–ἠερόεντα) Plut. *Mor.* 948F 683 Et^{G} s.v. ἰωχμός 689 (ἄμυδις–)–92 Et^{G} s.v. ἵκταρ; 690 (οἱ–)–1 Et^{M} s.v. ead.; 692 (ἱερὴν–), cf. Et^{GM} s.v. εἰλυφάζω (= Hes. fr. 406) 696 (θερμὸς ἀυτμή) sch. *Il.* 22. 480 (T) et *Od.* 4. 442 (sine nom., cf. *h. Merc.* 110) 700 (–θεσπέσιον) sch. *Il.* 21. 337 (T) (sine nom.) 706 (ἐσφαράγιζον) Hsch. (sine nom.)

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682 *ποδων τ᾽ αιπεια ϊ*[*Π*^{29} 683 gloss. ἀπαύστου (sc. ἀσχέτου?) Par. 2708 684 ὡσᾶν *a* ἀλλήλοις K: *-οισιν au*]φεσανστονόεντ[*Π*^{29} 691 ἀστεροπῇ *Π*^{29}, Par. 2708 m^{2}, Et^{M}: ἀστραπῇ *ak* Et^{G} 693 ἐσμαράγησε L a.c., S a.c. 694 περὶ scripsi: πυρὶ *Π*^{29} codd. ἄσχετος S 695 ἔζεσε Tr U^{1} 697 αἰθέρα Naber: ἠέρα codd. *Σ* (sscr. τὸν μέγαν αἰθέρα Z) δῖον *m*, *γρ.* δῖον L^{2} 698 ἄσχετος Rzach (dubitanter) 700 φάος *k* 702 ὡς εἰ Hermann 703 πίλνατο *a* μέγας ὑπὸ *a*, *γρ.* *Σ*: μέγιστος *k* 705 ξυνιέντων *k* 706 ἔνοσίς τε Laur. 91. 10 κόνιν τ᾽ *a* *γρ.* ἀράβιζον L^{2c}

βροντήν τε στεροπήν τε καὶ αἰθαλόεντα κεραυνόν,
κῆλα Διὸς μεγάλοιο, φέρον δ' ἰαχήν τ' ἐνοπήν τε
ἐς μέσον ἀμφοτέρων· ὄτοβος δ' ἄπλητος ὀρώρει
σμερδαλέης ἔριδος, κάρτευς δ' ἀνεφαίνετο ἔργον.
ἐκλίνθη δὲ μάχη· πρὶν δ' ἀλλήλοις ἐπέχοντες
ἐμμενέως ἐμάχοντο διὰ κρατερὰς ὑσμίνας.
οἳ δ' ἄρ' ἐνὶ πρώτοισι μάχην δριμεῖαν ἔγειραν,
Κόττος τε Βριάρεώς τε Γύγης τ' ἄατος πολέμοιο·
οἵ ῥα τριηκοσίας πέτρας στιβαρέων ἀπὸ χειρῶν
πέμπον ἐπασσυτέρας, κατὰ δ' ἐσκίασαν βελέεσσι
Τιτῆνας· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης
πέμψαν καὶ δεσμοῖσιν ἐν ἀργαλέοισιν ἔδησαν,
νικήσαντες χερσὶν ὑπερθύμους περ ἐόντας,
τόσσον ἔνερθ' ὑπὸ γῆς ὅσον οὐρανός ἐστ' ἀπὸ γαίης·
τόσσον γάρ τ' ἀπὸ γῆς ἐς τάρταρον ἠερόεντα.
ἐννέα γὰρ νύκτας τε καὶ ἤματα χάλκεος ἄκμων
οὐρανόθεν κατιών, δεκάτῃ κ' ἐς γαῖαν ἵκοιτο·
[ἶσον δ' αὖτ' ἀπὸ γῆς ἐς τάρταρον ἠερόεντα·]
ἐννέα δ' αὖ νύκτας τε καὶ ἤματα χάλκεος ἄκμων
ἐκ γαίης κατιών, δεκάτῃ κ' ἐς τάρταρον ἵκοι.
τὸν πέρι χάλκεον ἕρκος ἐλήλαται· ἀμφὶ δέ μιν νὺξ
τριστοιχὶ κέχυται περὶ δειρήν· αὐτὰρ ὕπερθε
γῆς ῥίζαι πεφύασι καὶ ἀτρυγέτοιο θαλάσσης.
ἔνθα θεοὶ Τιτῆνες ὑπὸ ζόφῳ ἠερόεντι
κεκρύφαται βουλῇσι Διὸς νεφεληγερέταο,
χώρῳ ἐν εὐρώεντι, πελώρης ἔσχατα γαίης.

709 (ὄτοβος–) Et^{GM} s.v. ὄτοβος 711 (–μάχη) Choerob. ii. 70. 13 H. 722–3+724–5 *isag. in Arat.* pp. 319. 17 et 333. 2 M.

707–8 om. *k* (rest. K^{1}U^2), damn. Schoemann 709 κόναβος agn. *Σ*, inde κότοβος *υ* ἄτλητος Et^M 710 κάρτευς . . . ἔργον scripsi: κάρτος . . . ἔργ⌊ων *Π*^{19} codd. 713 αρα εν *Π*^{19} 714 βριαρης *Π*^{19} (corr. m^2) ἅτος *Π*^{19} 715 στιβαρεων *Π*^{19}: στιβαρῶν codd. 718 ἐν *Π*^{19}*ak*: ὑπ' S 719 *ν*[ικη]σαντας χε[*Π*^{19}: χερσὶν νικήσαντες Rzach 720 ὑπὸ γ⌊ῆς *Π*^{19}*b*S^1: ὑπὸ γαίης *a*: ἀίδης (ex *Il.* 8.16) *k* 721–3 om. Q: 722–5 om. *k* (722–3a rest. K^1, 722–3 et 724–5 U^1): 723–4 om. *a*: omnes habet *Π*^{19} 721 εἰς οὐ]ρανο[ν *Π*^{19} 723 et 725 κ *Π*^{19}: δ' codd. *isag. Arat.* 723a om. (sed ver bissuis reddit) *isag. Arat.* 724 δ' αὖ eadem: γὰρ *Π*^{19} u.v., codd. 725 ἐκ γαί⌊ης *Π*^{19} codd.: ἐς γαῖαν *isag. Arat.* 726 τῆς *k* εγχος *Π*^{19} 727 τριστιχὶ *υ*: τριστοιχεὶ *nk* 730 βουλ]αι⌊ι *Π*^{19} Διὸς μεγάλο⌊ιο ἔκητι *Π*^{19}*k* 731 π⌊ελώρης *Π*^{19}*a*K: -οις *u* ἔσχατα *Π*^{19}*Π*^{30}*a*: κεύθεσι *k* (τεύχεσι U a.c.)

τοῖς οὐκ ἐξιτόν ἐστι, θύρας δ' ἐπέθηκε Ποσειδέων
χαλκείας, τεῖχος δ' ἐπελήλαται ἀμφοτέρωθεν.
[ἔνθα Γύγης Κόττος τε καὶ Ὀβριάρεως μεγάθυμος
ναίουσιν, φύλακες πιστοὶ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο.
ἔνθα δὲ γῆς δνοφερῆς καὶ ταρτάρου ἠερόεντος
πόντου τ' ἀτρυγέτοιο καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος
ἑξείης πάντων πηγαὶ καὶ πείρατ' ἔασιν,
ἀργαλέ' εὐρώεντα, τά τε στυγέουσι θεοί περ·
χάσμα μέγ', οὐδέ κε πάντα τελεσφόρον εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν
οὐδας ἵκοιτ', εἰ πρῶτα πυλέων ἔντοσθε γένοιτο,
ἀλλά κεν ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα φέροι πρὸ θύελλα θυέλλης
ἀργαλέη· δεινὸν δὲ καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι.]
[τοῦτο τέρας· καὶ Νυκτὸς ἐρεμνῆς οἰκία δεινὰ
ἕστηκεν νεφέλῃς κεκαλυμμένα κυανέῃσι.]
τῶν πρόσθ' Ἰαπετοῖο πάις ἔχει οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν
ἑστηὼς κεφαλῇ τε καὶ ἀκαμάτῃσι χέρεσσιν
ἀστεμφέως, ὅθι Νύξ τε καὶ Ἡμέρη ἆσσον ἰοῦσαι
ἀλλήλας προσέειπον ἀμειβόμεναι μέγαν οὐδὸν
χάλκεον· ἡ μὲν ἔσω καταβήσεται, ἡ δὲ θύραζε
ἔρχεται, οὐδέ ποτ' ἀμφοτέρας δόμος ἐντὸς ἐέργει,
ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ἑτέρη γε δόμων ἔκτοσθεν ἐοῦσα
γαῖαν ἐπιστρέφεται, ἡ δ' αὖ δόμου ἐντὸς ἐοῦσα
μίμνει τὴν αὐτῆς ὥρην ὁδοῦ, ἔστ' ἂν ἵκηται·
ἡ μὲν ἐπιχθονίοισι φάος πολυδερκὲς ἔχουσα,
ἡ δ' Ὕπνον μετὰ χερσί, κασίγνητον Θανάτοιο,
Νὺξ ὀλοή, νεφέλῃ κεκαλυμμένη ἠεροειδεῖ.
ἔνθα δὲ Νυκτὸς παῖδες ἐρεμνῆς οἰκί' ἔχουσιν,
Ὕπνος καὶ Θάνατος, δεινοὶ θεοί· οὐδέ ποτ' αὐτοὺς

739 (= 810) Philod. *de piet.* 27 (tab. 55. 14–18 G.) 740–1 Io. Philop. in *Meteor.* p. 68. 10

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732 τοῖς *a*: τοὶ δ' *k*: των Π^{30} (et Σ?) θύρας $\Pi^{30}b$QS Salm. 243 $\Sigma\Delta\epsilon$ Tz. *Th.* 276: πύλας *k*: χεῖρας *a* Ποσειδέων Tr, -[[ε]]ων Π^{30}: -άων *a*: -ῶν *k* 733 τεῖχος $\Pi^{30}ak$: τοῖχος Q ἐπελήλαται Π^{30}: περίκειται *a*: περοίχεται *k* 734–43 seclusi 736–9 (= 807–10) om. Π^{28} u.v., habebant $\Pi^{19}\Pi^{30}$ 736 δνοφέης Π^{30}, δνοφεη[Π^{19} 739 ζμερ[δαλέ' (ex *Il.* 20. 65) Philod. 741 ἔκτοσθε S 742 φέροι Crispinus: φέρει codd. θυέλλης Wakefield, cf. Σ^{L} πρὸ θυέλλης ἑτέρα θύελλα: θυέλλῃ Π^{28} codd. 743 δὲ $\Pi^{19}a$K: τε *u* 744–5 seclusi: habent $\Pi^{19}\Pi^{28}$ 746 ἔχει S^{1}: ἔχετ' cett. 747 ἑστειώς *a* ἀκαμάτοισι Salm. 243 a.c. χέρεσσιν WX: χείρεσσι(ν) *n*Vk 748 ἆσσον ἰοῦσαι *a*: ἀμφὶς ἐοῦσαι *b*Σ, -σα *k*: ἀμφὶς ἰοῦσαι Q, U a.c. 754 ἔστ' *k*: ἐὼτ' *a* 758 ἐρεμνοὶ S

760 Ἠέλιος φαέθων ἐπιδέρκεται ἀκτίνεσσιν
οὐρανὸν εἰσανιὼν οὐδ' οὐρανόθεν καταβαίνων.
τῶν ἕτερος μὲν γῆν τε καὶ εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης
ἦσυχος ἀνστρέφεται καὶ μείλιχος ἀνθρώποισι,
τοῦ δὲ σιδηρέη μὲν κραδίη, χάλκεον δέ οἱ ἦτορ
765 νηλεὲς ἐν στήθεσσιν· ἔχει δ' ὃν πρῶτα λάβῃσιν
ἀνθρώπων· ἐχθρὸς δὲ καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν.
ἔνθα θεοῦ χθονίου πρόσθεν δόμοι ἠχήεντες
[ἰφθίμου τ' Ἄϊδεω καὶ ἐπαινῆς Περσεφονείης]
ἑστᾶσιν, δεινὸς δὲ κύων προπάροιθε φυλάσσει,
770 νηλειής, τέχνην δὲ κακὴν ἔχει· ἐς μὲν ἰόντας
σαίνει ὁμῶς οὐρῇ τε καὶ οὔασιν ἀμφοτέροισιν,
ἐξελθεῖν δ' οὐκ αὖτις ἐᾷ πάλιν, ἀλλὰ δοκεύων
ἐσθίει, ὅν κε λάβῃσι πυλέων ἔκτοσθεν ἰόντα.
[ἰφθίμου τ' Ἄϊδεω καὶ ἐπαινῆς Περσεφονείης.]
775 ἔνθα δὲ ναιετάει στυγερὴ θεὸς ἀθανάτοισι,
δεινὴ Στύξ, θυγάτηρ ἀψορρόου Ὠκεανοῖο
πρεσβυτάτη· νόσφιν δὲ θεῶν κλυτὰ δώματα ναίει
μακρῇσιν πέτρῃσι κατηρεφέ'· ἀμφὶ δὲ πάντῃ
κίονσιν ἀργυρέοισι πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται.
780 παῦρα δὲ Θαύμαντος θυγάτηρ πόδας ὠκέα Ἶρις
†ἀγγελίη πωλεῖται ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης.
ὁππότ' ἔρις καὶ νεῖκος ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ὄρηται,
καί ῥ' ὅστις ψεύδηται Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἐχόντων,
Ζεὺς δέ τε Ἶριν ἔπεμψε θεῶν μέγαν ὅρκον ἐνεῖκαι
785 τηλόθεν ἐν χρυσέῃ προχόῳ πολυώνυμον ὕδωρ,
ψυχρόν, ὅ τ' ἐκ πέτρης καταλείβεται ἠλιβάτοιο
ὑψηλῆς· πολλὸν δὲ ὑπὸ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης
ἐξ ἱεροῦ ποταμοῖο ῥέει διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν·
Ὠκεανοῖο κέρας, δεκάτῃ δ' ἐπὶ μοῖρα δέδασται·
790 ἐννέα μὲν περὶ γῆν τε καὶ εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης

762 τῶν δ' *a* (et Π^{29}?) μ|ὲν γῆν $\Pi^{29}k$: μὲν γαίην *a*: γαίην S 763 ἀνστρ|έφεται Π^{29}QS: ἀντρ- *k*: ἀναστρ- *a*U 768 om. Π^{29}, Par. 2772; susp. Wolf 769 ἑστ|ᾶσιν Π^{29}S: -σι *ak* 772 αὖθις *a* 774 habet *r*, om. *ak* 778 πάντα S a.c., X (a.c.?), Σ^{K} lemm.: γρ. πέτρῃ L^{2} 779 ἀργυρέοισι *ke*: -έῃσι Σ^{K}: ἀργαλέοισι *aΔ* (-έῃσι VW^{1}) 781 ἀγγελίη ⟨Π^{5}⟩(?) *aΔ*: ἀγγέ' *k*: ἀγγελίην Scorial. Φ III 16: -ίης U^{2} Vat. 2185 m^{2}: -ίῃς Stephanus: -ίῃ Guyet 783 ψεύδηται *b*S: ψεύδεται *ak*: ψεύσηται Tr: ψεύσεται Q ἔχοντες *k* (sscr. ων KU) 785 πολυ-όμβριμον S: fuerat fort. v.l. Στυγὸς ὄβριμον 787 δὲ Pa: δέ θ' *k*

δίνῃς ἀργυρέῃς εἰλιγμένος εἰς ἅλα πίπτει,
ἡ δὲ μί' ἐκ πέτρης προρέει, μέγα πῆμα θεοῖσιν.
ὅς κεν τὴν ἐπίορκον ἀπολλείψας ἐπομόσσῃ
ἀθανάτων οἳ ἔχουσι κάρη νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου,
κεῖται νήυτμος τετελεσμένον εἰς ἐνιαυτόν·
οὐδέ ποτ' ἀμβροσίης καὶ νέκταρος ἔρχεται ἆσσον
βρώσιος, ἀλλά τε κεῖται ἀνάπνευστος καὶ ἄναυδος
στρωτοῖς ἐν λεχέεσσι, κακὸν δ' ἐπὶ κῶμα καλύπτει.
αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν νοῦσον τελέσει μέγαν εἰς ἐνιαυτόν,
ἄλλος δ' ἐξ ἄλλου δέχεται χαλεπώτερος ἆθλος·
εἰνάετες δὲ θεῶν ἀπαμείρεται αἰὲν ἐόντων,
οὐδέ ποτ' ἐς βουλὴν ἐπιμίσγεται οὐδ' ἐπὶ δαῖτας
ἐννέα πάντ' ἔτεα· δεκάτῳ δ' ἐπιμίσγεται αὖτις
†εἰρέας ἀθανάτων οἳ Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσι.
τοῖον ἄρ' ὅρκον ἔθεντο θεοὶ Στυγὸς ἄφθιτον ὕδωρ,
ὠγύγιον· τὸ δ' ἵησι καταστυφέλου διὰ χώρου.
ἔνθα δὲ γῆς δνοφερῆς καὶ ταρτάρου ἠερόεντος
πόντου τ' ἀτρυγέτοιο καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος
ἑξείης πάντων πηγαὶ καὶ πείρατ' ἔασιν,
ἀργαλέ' εὐρώεντα, τά τε στυγέουσι θεοί περ.
ἔνθα δὲ μαρμάρεαί τε πύλαι καὶ χάλκεος οὐδός,
ἀστεμφὲς ῥίζῃσι διηνεκέεσσιν ἀρηρώς,
αὐτοφυής· πρόσθεν δὲ θεῶν ἔκτοσθεν ἁπάντων
Τιτῆνες ναίουσι, πέρην χάεος ζοφεροῖο.
αὐτὰρ ἐρισμαράγοιο Διὸς κλειτοὶ ἐπίκουροι
δώματα ναιετάουσιν ἐπ' Ὠκεανοῖο θεμέθλοις,
Κόττος τ' ἠδὲ Γύγης· Βριάρεών γε μὲν ἠὺν ἐόντα
γαμβρὸν ἑὸν ποίησε βαρύκτυπος Ἐννοσίγαιος,

795 Et^{G} s.v. *νήυγμος*; (*–νήυγμος*) Et^{M} s.v. ead. 798 (*κακὸν–*) Et^{G} s.v. *κῴδιον* 800–1 Et^{G} s.v. *ἀπαμείρεται*; 801 (*ἀπαμ.*) Et^{M} s.v. ead. (sine nom.), Eust. in Hom. p. 1243. 25 806 (*τό θ'–*) Et^{G} s.v. *στυφελός*; (*στυφελοῦ–*) Et^{M} s.v. ead.; (*καταστ.*) Hsch. (sine nom.) 810 v. ad 739

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791 *ἀργαλέης* S 792 *πῆμα θνατοῖσιν aΔ* 796 *οὐδέ ποτ'*: *οὐδέ τι* (sc. *οὐδ' ἔτι*?) Z: *οὐδέτ'* Σ^{Z} lemm. 797 *τε a*: om. *k*: *γε bQ* 798 *δ' ἐπὶ ak* Etym.: *δέ é* S *κῶμα a* 799 *ἐπεὶ a τελέσει τελεσφόρον a*: *τελέσῃ μέγαν k* 800 *δ' kV*: om. *a* Etym.: *γ'* S *χαλεπώτατος k ἄεθλος b* 801 *ἀπαμείρεται a* Etym. Eust.: *ἀπομείρεται kΣ* 802 *περιμίσγεται a* 803 *πάντα ἔτεᾳ* Paley *δὲ μίσγεται* P: *δέ τε μίσγεται* Sittl 804 *εἰρέας* Pak: *εἴρας ἐς* Hermann: *εἴραις* Ruhnken: *εἴρας* Heyne 806 *τό θ'* Q Etym. *τίθησι καταστυφελῶ διὰ χριστῶ k* 811 *χάλ*$_{i}$*κεος* $\Pi^{5}ae$: *λάινος k* 812 *ἀστεμφὲς k*: *ἀστεμφὴς* Pa 815 *κλειτοὶ* ⟨Π^{5}⟩*ak*: *κλητοὶ c*

δῶκε δὲ Κυμοπόλειαν ὀπυίειν, θυγατέρα ἣν.
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ Τιτῆνας ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἐξέλασε Ζεύς,
ὁπλότατον τέκε παῖδα Τυφωέα Γαῖα πελώρη
Ταρτάρου ἐν φιλότητι διὰ χρυσῆν Ἀφροδίτην·
οὗ χεῖρες †μὲν ἔασιν ἐπ' ἰσχύι ἔργματ' ἔχουσαι,†
καὶ πόδες ἀκάματοι κρατεροῦ θεοῦ· ἐκ δέ οἱ ὤμων
ἦν ἑκατὸν κεφαλαὶ ὄφιος δεινοῖο δράκοντος,
γλώσσῃσι δνοφερῇσι λελιχμότες· ἐν δέ οἱ ὄσσε
θεσπεσίῃς κεφαλῇσιν ὑπ' ὀφρύσι πῦρ ἀμάρυσσεν·
[πασέων δ' ἐκ κεφαλέων πῦρ καίετο δερκομένοιο·]
φωναὶ δ' ἐν πάσῃσιν ἔσαν δεινῆς κεφαλῇσι,
παντοίην ὄπ' ἰεῖσαι ἀθέσφατον· ἄλλοτε μὲν γὰρ
φθέγγονθ' ὥς τε θεοῖσι συνιέμεν, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε
ταύρου ἐριβρύχεω μένος ἀσχέτου ὄσσαν ἀγαύρου,
ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε λέοντος ἀναιδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντος,
ἄλλοτε δ' αὖ σκυλάκεσσιν ἐοικότα, θαύματ' ἀκοῦσαι,
ἄλλοτε δ' αὖ ῥοίζεσχ', ὑπὸ δ' ἤχεεν οὔρεα μακρά.
καί νύ κεν ἔπλετο ἔργον ἀμήχανον ἤματι κείνῳ,
καί κεν ὅ γε θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἄναξεν,
εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὀξὺ νόησε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε·
σκληρὸν δ' ἐβρόντησε καὶ ὄβριμον, ἀμφὶ δὲ γαῖα
σμερδαλέον κονάβησε καὶ οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὕπερθε
πόντός τ' Ὠκεανοῦ τε ῥοαὶ καὶ τάρταρα γαίης.
ποσσὶ δ' ὕπ' ἀθανάτοισι μέγας πελεμίζετ' Ὄλυμπος
ὀρνυμένοιο ἄνακτος· ἐπεστονάχιζε δὲ γαῖα.
καῦμα δ' ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων κάτεχεν ἰοειδέα πόντον
βροντῆς τε στεροπῆς τε πυρός τ' ἀπὸ τοῖο πελώρου
πρηστήρων ἀνέμων τε κεραυνοῦ τε φλεγέθοντος·

826 (–λελ.) Hdn. ii. 265. 14 L. 827 (ὑπ'–) Et^{GM} s.v. ἀμαρύσσω

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819 ὀπύειν codd. 820 ἀπ' *b*S : ἐξ *ak* 822 susp. Stokes 823 χεῖρας (sscr. ες) K ἔργα τ' S 825 δεινοῖο *b* : κρατεροῖο (ex 824) *ak* 826–9 damn. Fick (habet Π^{15}) 826 λελιχμότες Tr (cum gloss. λείχοντος), -τος U^{1} ἐν δέ οἱ ὄσσε scripsi : ἐκ δέ οἱ ὄσσων fere codd. (ἐν U, ἐ S a.c. ; ὄσσε sscr. Glasgu. Hunt. U. 6. 11) 827 fort. ἀμάρυσσον 828 damn. Ruhnken 829 post 831 habet, 830 om. et marg. sup. rest. Π^{15} 830 ὅπ' Π^{15}*kv* : ὀφ' *n* 832 ἀσχέτου Winterton, *robore incoercibilis* interpres Birchmanni : ἄσχετον codd. ἄγαυρον Schoemann 834 ἰδέσθαι *n* 835 ῥοίζος ἔσχ' *a* 836 ἤματ' ἐκείνῳ *a* 837 ὅδε *k* ἄνασσεν SX, sscr. ξ S^{1}X^{2} 839 τ' *k* 840 σμαρ]αχησε Π^{12} εὐρὺς *a* : ἐγγὺς *k* 842 πελ- LQS^{1} : πολ- *ak* 843 ἐπεστον- *a* : ἐπεστεν- *b*Q : υπεστε[ν- Π^{12} : ὑπεστον- *k*L^{3} : ὑποστον- L^{2} 844 ἐπ' Π^{15} : ἀπ' (cf. 845, 859) La Roche 846 φλογόεντος S

ἔζεε δὲ χθὼν πᾶσα καὶ οὐρανὸς ἠδὲ θάλασσα·
θυΐε δ' ἄρ' ἀμφ' ἀκτὰς περί τ' ἀμφί τε κύματα μακρὰ
ῥιπῇ ὕπ' ἀθανάτων, ἔνοσις δ' ἄσβεστος ὀρώρει·
τρέε δ' Ἀΐδης ἐνέροισι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσων
Τιτῆνές θ' ὑποταρτάριοι Κρόνον ἀμφὶς ἑόντες
ἀσβέστου κελάδοιο καὶ αἰνῆς δηιοτῆτος.
Ζεὺς δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν κόρθυνεν ἑὸν μένος, εἵλετο δ' ὅπλα,
βροντήν τε στεροπήν τε καὶ αἰθαλόεντα κεραυνόν,
πλῆξεν ἀπ' Οὐλύμποιο ἐπάλμενος· ἀμφὶ δὲ πάσας
ἔπρεσε θεσπεσίας κεφαλὰς δεινοῖο πελώρου.
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δή μιν δάμασε πληγῇσιν ἱμάσσας,
ἤριπε γυιωθείς, στονάχιζε δὲ γαῖα πελώρη·
φλὸξ δὲ κεραυνωθέντος ἀπέσσυτο τοῖο ἄνακτος
οὔρεος ἐν βήσσῃσιν †ἀιδνῆς παιπαλοέσσης
πληγέντος, πολλὴ δὲ πελώρη καίετο γαῖα
αὐτμῇ θεσπεσίῃ, καὶ ἐτήκετο κασσίτερος ὡς
τέχνῃ ὑπ' αἰζηῶν ἐν ἐυτρήτοις χοάνοισι
θαλφθείς, ἠὲ σίδηρος, ὅ περ κρατερώτατός ἐστιν,
οὔρεος ἐν βήσσῃσι δαμαζόμενος πυρὶ κηλέῳ
τήκεται ἐν χθονὶ δίῃ ὑφ' Ἡφαίστου παλάμῃσιν·
ὣς ἄρα τήκετο γαῖα σέλαι πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο.
ῥῖψε δέ μιν θυμῷ ἀκαχὼν ἐς τάρταρον εὐρύν.
ἐκ δὲ Τυφωέος ἔστ' ἀνέμων μένος ὑγρὸν ἀέντων,

850 (–*ἐνέροισι*) sch. Hephaest. p. 320. 3 C. 855 (*ἀμφὶ–*)–6 (–*κεφαλάς*) Et^{G} s.v. *πρήθω*; (*πάσας–κεφαλάς*) Et^{M} s.v. ead. 857–8 (–*γυιωθείς*) Et^{GM} s.v. *ἱμάσσω* 859–61 (–*πληγ.*) Tz. in Lyc. 688; 859–60 Et^{M} s.v. *ἀιδνές* 869 sch. Soph. *Ant.* 418, sch. Hes. *Th.* 304

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847 *ἔζεε* $\Pi^{15}\Pi^{31}ak$: *ἔζεσε* QS δὲ $\Pi^{15}\Pi^{31}$S: *πυρὶ ak* 848 *θυΐε* $\Pi^{5}\Pi^{15}\Pi^{31}$: *θῦε* P*ak* *ἀκτὰς* PakΣ: fort. *ἄκρας* 850 *τρέε* Π^{31} sch. Hephaest., *τρέ*[[*ε*]] Π^{15}: *τρέσε* VX*k*: *τρέσσε* *n*W: *τρεῖ* Aly 852 damn. Hermann; habent $\Pi^{12}\Pi^{15}\Pi^{31}$ 853 *ὅπλον k* 854 *τ' ηδ'* Π^{12} 856 *ἔπρεσε* PTrU^{1} Etym.: *ἔπρ*$_{\text{l}}$*εε* $\Pi^{12}ak$, *επρ*[*ε*]*ε* ? Π^{31} 857 *δάμασ*(*σ*)*ε ak* Etym.: *-σεν* $\Pi^{12}b$ 858 *γυ*(*ι*)*ωθείς* P (*γυοθῆς*), *akΣ* Etym.: *γυρωθεὶς* QS: *δ' ιδνωθειϲ* Π^{12} *στον-* Tr: *στεν-* $\Pi^{12}ak$ 859 *ἀπέσ*$_{\text{l}}$*συτο* $\Pi^{12}ak$ Tz.: *ἐπέσσυτο* Etym. 860 *ἀϊδνῆς* vel *-ῆς* $\Pi^{12}akΣ$ Etym.: *Ἀϊδνῆς* Wilamowitz: *ἀΐτνῆς* anon. in ed. Iunt. exempl. Bodl. (Byw. o. 2. 10): *Αἴτνης* Tz. v.l., qui Aetnam utique intellexit 861 *πολλῇ*? Aly 862 *αὐτμῇ* Mosqu. 469, Vrat. Rehd. 35, Senens. i. ix. 3: *ἀϋτμῇ bQS*: *αυ*]*τμη* ⟨Π^{12}⟩: *ἀτμῇ k*: *ἀυτὴ a* *ἐκαίετο k* 863 *ἐν ἐυτρήτοις χοάνοισι* Peppmüller: *ὑπό τ' εὐτρή*$_{\text{l}}$*του χοάνοιο* $\Pi^{12}ak$ (*ἐϋτρ-* VW) 865 fort. *δ' ἐν* (cf. v.l. in 866) 866 *τήκεται δ' ἐν vQ*: *τήκετο δ' ἐν* S 867 *σέλαι πυρὸς* fere codd. (*σέλαϊ* QS, *σέλᾳ* L, *σέλα am, σέλας k*): *πυρος μενε*[*ι* Π^{12} 868 *θυμὸν a* *ἀκ*$_{\text{ι}}$*αχὼν* Π^{15}S: *ακαχῶν* Π^{12}: *ἀκάχων ak*

νόσφι Νότου Βορέω τε καὶ ἀργεστέω Ζεφύροιο·
οἵ γε μὲν ἐκ θεόφιν γενεήν, θνητοῖς μέγ' ὄνειαρ.
αἱ δ' ἄλλαι μάψ αὖραι ἐπιπνείουσι θάλασσαν·
αἵ δή τοι πίπτουσαι ἐς ἠεροειδέα πόντον,
πῆμα μέγα θνητοῖσι, κακῇ θυίουσιν ἀέλλῃ·
ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλαι ἄεισι διασκιδνᾶσί τε νῆας
ναύτας τε φθείρουσι· κακοῦ δ' οὐ γίνεται ἀλκὴ
ἀνδράσιν, οἳ κείνῃσι συνάντωνται κατὰ πόντον.
αἱ δ' αὖ καὶ κατὰ γαῖαν ἀπείριτον ἀνθεμόεσσαν
ἔργ' ἐρατὰ φθείρουσι χαμαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων,
πιμπλεῖσαι κόνιός τε καὶ ἀργαλέου κολοσυρτοῦ.
αὐτὰρ ἐπεί ῥα πόνον μάκαρες θεοὶ ἐξετέλεσσαν,
Τιτήνεσσι δὲ τιμάων κρίναντο βίηφι,
δή ῥα τότ' ὦτρυνον βασιλευέμεν ἠδὲ ἀνάσσειν
Γαίης φραδμοσύνῃσιν Ὀλύμπιον εὐρύοπα Ζῆν
ἀθανάτων· ὁ δὲ τοῖσιν ἐὺ διεδάσσατο τιμάς.
Ζεὺς δὲ θεῶν βασιλεὺς πρώτην ἄλοχον θέτο Μῆτιν,
πλεῖστα θεῶν εἰδυῖαν ἰδὲ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ἄρ' ἔμελλε θεὰν γλαυκῶπιν Ἀθήνην
τέξεσθαι, τότ' ἔπειτα δόλῳ φρένας ἐξαπατήσας
αἱμυλίοισι λόγοισιν ἑὴν ἐσκάθετο νηδύν,
Γαίης φραδμοσύνῃσι καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος·
τὼς γάρ οἱ φρασάτην, ἵνα μὴ βασιληίδα τιμὴν
ἄλλος ἔχοι Διὸς ἀντὶ θεῶν αἰειγενετάων.
ἐκ γὰρ τῆς εἵμαρτο περίφρονα τέκνα γενέσθαι·

872 (–μαψαῦραι, confuse) Hsch. s.v. μαψαῦραι (sine nom.) 875 (–ἄεισι) sch. *Il.* 5. 526 (T), Et^{M} s.v. ἄεισιν; (ἄεισι) Epimer. Hom., Anecd. Ox. i. 46. 33 Cr. 880 (κόνιος–) Et^{G} s.v. κολοσυρτός 886–90+900 Chrysipp. *Stoic.* ii. 256–7; 886 (πρώτην–)+901 (–ἠγάγετο) sch. *Il.* 3. 191 (T); 890 (–λόγοισιν) Et. Gud. s.v. αἱμύλος

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870 Νότου τε *a* Βορέου *a* ἀργέσ⌊τεω $\Pi^{13}k$: ἀργέστου *a*: αρκεστ⌊υ Π^{15} Ζεφύροιο Salm. 243 (οιο i.r. ?): -ου⌊τε Q: -ου⌊τε $\Pi^{13}ak$ 871 γενεήν *a*: γενεῇ *k* (-ή U a.c.) 873 πίπτουσιν *a* 874 θύουσι(ν) *ak*: πνείουσ[ι (ex 872) Π^{15} ἀέλ⌊λῃ $\Pi^{13}aK^{1}$: θυέλλῃ *k* 875 ἄλλαι *ak*: ἄλλοι sch. Hom.: ἄλλῃ $L^{3}m$ Etym. ἄεισι *r* sch. Hom. Etym.: ἀεῖσι *kn* Epimer.: ἄησι *v* 877 κείνοισι W a.c., *k* συνάντωνται L. Dindorf: συνάντονται K: συναντόνται *u*: συναντῶνται *a* 880 πιμπλεῖσαι *k*: πιμπλῆσαι *a* 882 κρινοντο Π^{15} 884 Ζῆν K: Ζῆν' *u*: Ζῆνα aU^{1} 885 ἐὺ Heinsius:]εῦ Π^{15}: εὖ *ak* 888 ἄρ' ἔμελλε Fick: ῥα ἔμελλε *k* Chrys.: ῥ' ἤμελλε *a* γ⌊λαυκῶπιν $\Pi^{15}ak$: γλαυκώπιδ' Chrys. 889 τέξεσθαι Wk Chrys.: τέξασθαι *a* 890 ἐσκάθετο *ak*: ἐγκάτ(έ)θε(τ)ο *b*QU^{1} Chrys.:]⌊κάθετο Π^{15} 893 ἔχη *b*: ἔχει *k*W

πρώτην μὲν κούρην γλαυκώπιδα Τριτογένειαν,
ἶσον ἔχουσαν πατρὶ μένος καὶ ἐπίφρονα βουλήν,
αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' ἄρα παῖδα θεῶν βασιλῆα καὶ ἀνδρῶν
ἤμελλεν τέξεσθαι, ὑπέρβιον ἦτορ ἔχοντα·
ἀλλ' ἄρα μιν Ζεὺς πρόσθεν ἐὴν ἐσκάτθετο νηδύν,
ὥς οἱ συμφράσσαιτο θεὰ ἀγαθόν τε κακόν τε.

δεύτερον ἠγάγετο λιπαρὴν Θέμιν, ἣ τέκεν Ὥρας,
Εὐνομίην τε Δίκην τε καὶ Εἰρήνην τεθαλυῖαν,
αἵ τ' ἔργ' ὠρεύουσι καταθνητοῖσι βροτοῖσι,
Μοίρας θ', ἧς πλείστην τιμὴν πόρε μητίετα Ζεύς,
Κλωθώ τε Λάχεσίν τε καὶ Ἄτροπον, αἵ τε διδοῦσι
θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισιν ἔχειν ἀγαθόν τε κακόν τε.
τρεῖς δέ οἱ Εὐρυνόμη Χάριτας τέκε καλλιπαρήους,
Ὠκεανοῦ κούρη πολυήρατον εἶδος ἔχουσα,
Ἀγλαΐην τε καὶ Εὐφροσύνην Θαλίην τ' ἐρατεινήν·
τῶν καὶ ἀπὸ βλεφάρων ἔρος εἵβετο δερκομενάων
λυσιμελής· καλὸν δέ θ' ὑπ' ὀφρύσι δερκιόωνται.
αὐτὰρ ὁ Δήμητρος πολυφόρβης ἐς λέχος ἦλθεν·
ἣ τέκε Περσεφόνην λευκώλενον, ἣν Ἀιδωνεὺς
ἥρπασεν ἧς παρὰ μητρός, ἔδωκε δὲ μητίετα Ζεύς.
Μνημοσύνης δ' ἐξαῦτις ἐράσσατο καλλικόμοιο,
ἐξ ἧς οἱ Μοῦσαι χρυσάμπυκες ἐξεγένοντο
ἐννέα, τῇσιν ἄδον θαλίαι καὶ τέρψις ἀοιδῆς.
Λητὼ δ' Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ἰοχέαιραν
ἱμερόεντα γόνον περὶ πάντων Οὐρανιώνων
γείνατ' ἄρ' αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς φιλότητι μιγεῖσα.
λοισθοτάτην δ' Ἥρην θαλερὴν ποιήσατ' ἄκοιτιν·
ἡ δ' Ἥβην καὶ Ἄρηα καὶ Εἰλείθυιαν ἔτικτε

901–2 sch. Pi. *O.* 9. 24 et 13. 6 907+909 sch. Pi. *O.* 14. 19 910 (–εἴβεται) Et^{GM} s.v. εἴβω 912–14 (–μητρός) Et^{M} s.v. ἀιδνός 922 sch. Pi. *N.* 7. 1

898 γρ. ἔχουσα L^1 899 πρῶτον *k* ἐσκάτθετο *ak*: ἐγκάτθε(τ)ο *m*QU^1 900 οἱ συμ- Chrys.: δή οἱ codd. 901–1020 ab Hesiodo abiudico 901 τὸ τρίτον sch. Hom. τέκε κούρας sch. Pi. *O.* 13. 6 v.l. 903 ὠρεύουσι *v*: ὡρεύουσι *n*: ὀρέουσι *k* 904 αἷς S 908 damn. Paley ἦτορ ἔχουσα *a* ἐχούσας Peppmüller 909 τε om. *k* (scil. Εὐφρ.) 910 εἴβετο S: εἴβεται *ak* Etym. 911 susp. Paley θ' om. *u* δερκιόωντο Schoemann 916 οἱ *a*: αἱ *k* 920 γείνα⌋τ' ἄρ *Π*^{13}*k*: γείνατο δ' ἄρ *a* αἰγιόχοιο Δι⌊ὸς⌋ φι⌊λότη⌋τι *Π*^{13}*a*: ἐν φιλότητι Διὸς μεγάλοιο *k* 922 Ἄρηα *Π*^{13}*k* sch. Pi.: Ἄρην *a*

μιχθεῖσ' ἐν φιλότητι θεῶν βασιλῆι καὶ ἀνδρῶν.
αὐτὸς δ' ἐκ κεφαλῆς γλαυκώπιδα γείνατ' Ἀθήνην,
δεινὴν ἐγρεκύδοιμον ἀγέστρατον ἀτρυτώνην,
πότνιαν, ᾗ κέλαδοί τε ἄδον πόλεμοί τε μάχαι τε·
Ἥρη δ' Ἥφαιστον κλυτὸν οὐ φιλότητι μιγεῖσα
γείνατο, καὶ ζαμένησε καὶ ἤρισεν ᾧ παρακοίτῃ,
ἐκ πάντων τέχνῃσι κεκασμένον Οὐρανιώνων.
ἐκ δ' Ἀμφιτρίτης καὶ ἐρικτύπου Ἐννοσιγαίου
Τρίτων εὐρυβίης γένετο μέγας, ὅς τε θαλάσσης
πυθμέν' ἔχων παρὰ μητρὶ φίλῃ καὶ πατρὶ ἄνακτι
ναίει χρύσεα δῶ, δεινὸς θεός. αὐτὰρ Ἄρηι
ῥινοτόρῳ Κυθέρεια Φόβον καὶ Δεῖμον ἔτικτε,
δεινούς, οἵ τ' ἀνδρῶν πυκινὰς κλονέουσι φάλαγγας
ἐν πολέμῳ κρυόεντι σὺν Ἄρηι πτολιπόρθῳ,
Ἁρμονίην θ', ἣν Κάδμος ὑπέρθυμος θέτ' ἄκοιτιν.
Ζηνὶ δ' ἄρ' Ἀτλαντὶς Μαίη τέκε κύδιμον Ἑρμῆν,
κήρυκ' ἀθανάτων, ἱερὸν λέχος εἰσαναβᾶσα.
Καδμηὶς δ' ἄρα οἱ Σεμέλη τέκε φαίδιμον υἱὸν
μιχθεῖσ' ἐν φιλότητι, Διώνυσον πολυγηθέα,
ἀθάνατον θνητή· νῦν δ' ἀμφότεροι θεοί εἰσιν.
Ἀλκμήνη δ' ἄρ' ἔτικτε βίην Ἡρακληείην
μιχθεῖσ' ἐν φιλότητι Διὸς νεφεληγερέταο.
Ἀγλαΐην δ' Ἥφαιστος ἀγακλυτὸς ἀμφιγυήεις
ὁπλοτάτην Χαρίτων θαλερὴν ποιήσατ' ἄκοιτιν.
χρυσοκόμης δὲ Διώνυσος ξανθὴν Ἀριάδνην,
κούρην Μίνωος, θαλερὴν ποιήσατ' ἄκοιτιν·
τὴν δέ οἱ ἀθάνατον καὶ ἀγήρων θῆκε Κρονίων.
Ἥβην δ' Ἀλκμήνης καλλισφύρου ἄλκιμος υἱός,
ἣν Ἡρακλῆος, τελέσας στονόεντας ἀέθλους,

924–6 Chrysipp. *Stoic.* ii. 257; 924 (–κεφ.) sch. *Il.* 5. 880 (T) 927–8 (–γεινατο) sch. A.R. 1. 859, Moschop. in Hes. *Op.* p. 85. 9 G. 933 (–δῶ) Hdn. ii. 646. 25 L. 934 Et^{GM} s.v. *ῥινοτόρος* 938–41 Clem. *Strom.* i. 21 (unde Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* x. 12. 20), Apostolius 8. 34 l

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924 *γείνατ' Ἀθήνην* Q Chrys.: *Τριτογένειαν* (ex 895) *ak* 927 *οὐ a*K sch. A.R. Moschop.: *ἐν* Q*u* 929 *τέχνῃσι Π*^{13} codd. *Δ*: *παλάμῃσι* Ruhnken 934 *ῥινοτόρῳ Π*^{7}*(ρειν-)*, *n*WX*k* Etym.: *-τόμῳ* V*Δ* 938 *ἄρ'* om. *a* *φαίδιμον* (ex 940) *a* 940 *Καδμὶς a*, ubi *-ηὶς* latere ci. Peppmüller: *-είη k* Clem. Apostol. 942 *θνητόν k* 949 *ἀγήρων* Peppmüller: *-ω* codd.

παῖδα Διὸς μεγάλοιο καὶ Ἥρης χρυσοπεδίλου,
αἰδοίην θέτ' ἄκοιτιν ἐὴν Οὐλύμπῳ νιφόεντι·
ὄλβιος, ὃς μέγα ἔργον ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἀνύσσας
ναίει ἀπήμαντος καὶ ἀγήραος ἤματα πάντα.
Ἠελίῳ δ' ἀκάμαντι τέκε κλυτὸς Ὠκεανίνη
Περσηὶς Κίρκην τε καὶ Αἰήτην βασιλῆα.
Αἰήτης δ' υἱὸς φαεσιμβρότου Ἠελίοιο
κούρην Ὠκεανοῖο τελήεντος ποταμοῖο
γῆμε θεῶν βουλῇσιν, Ἰδυῖαν καλλιπάρηον·
ἣ δή οἱ Μήδειαν ἐύσφυρον ἐν φιλότητι
γείνατ' ὑποδμηθεῖσα διὰ χρυσῆν Ἀφροδίτην.
ὑμεῖς μὲν νῦν χαίρετ', Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες,
νῆσοί τ' ἤπειροί τε καὶ ἁλμυρὸς ἔνδοθι πόντος·
νῦν δὲ θεάων φῦλον ἀείσατε, ἡδυέπειαι
Μοῦσαι Ὀλυμπιάδες, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο,
ὅσσαι δὴ θνητοῖσι παρ' ἀνδράσιν εὐνηθεῖσαι
ἀθάναται γείναντο θεοῖς ἐπιείκελα τέκνα.
Δημήτηρ μὲν Πλοῦτον ἐγείνατο δῖα θεάων,
Ἰασίῳ ἥρωι μιγεῖσ' ἐρατῇ φιλότητι
νειῷ ἔνι τριπόλῳ, Κρήτης ἐν πίονι δήμῳ,
ἐσθλόν, ὃς εἶσ' ἐπὶ γῆν τε καὶ εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης
πᾶσαν· τῷ δὲ τυχόντι καὶ οὗ κ' ἐς χεῖρας ἵκηται,
τὸν δὴ ἀφνειὸν ἔθηκε, πολὺν δέ οἱ ὤπασεν ὄλβον.
Κάδμῳ δ' Ἁρμονίη, θυγάτηρ χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης,
Ἰνὼ καὶ Σεμέλην καὶ Ἀγαυὴν καλλιπάρηον
Αὐτονόην θ', ἣν γῆμεν Ἀρισταῖος βαθυχαίτης,
γείνατο καὶ Πολύδωρον ἐυστεφάνῳ ἐνὶ Θήβῃ.
κούρη δ' Ὠκεανοῦ Χρυσάορι καρτεροθύμῳ
μιχθεῖσ' ἐν φιλότητι πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης
Καλλιρόη τέκε παῖδα βροτῶν κάρτιστον ἁπάντων,
Γηρυονέα, τὸν κτεῖνε βίη Ἡρακληείη

958+960 sch. A.R. 3. 240 969 (–ἐγείνατο) Et^{M} s.v. πλοῦτος 977 (Αὐτονόην) Eust. in Hom. p. 1566. 55

953 ἀν' *a* 958 δ' αὖ υἱὸς *k* 961 δή Guyet : δέ codd. (δέ νύ Tr) 968 γείνοντο S 970 Ἰασίῳ *kΔ* : ἀσσίω *a* : Ἰασίων' S 971 ἐν $\Pi^{32}a$: ἐνὶ *k* δημῶ *k* 974 δὴ *b* : δ' *ak* ἔθ˛ηκε $\Pi^{32}k$: τέθεικε *a* δέ Π^{32}Wk : τέ *n*VX 976 Ἀγαύην *m* 979 τ' *k* Ὠκεανοῦ *b* : -οῖο *k* : -ίνη *a* 981 κάλλισ˛τον Π^{32}SU 982 Γηρυονέα *b*S : -ῆα *a* : -ην *k*; agn. *Σ*

βοῶν ἕνεκ' εἰλιπόδων ἀμφιρρύτῳ εἰν 'Ερυθείῃ.
Τιθωνῷ δ' 'Ηὼς τέκε Μέμνονα χαλκοκορυστήν,
Αἰθιόπων βασιλῆα, καὶ 'Ημαθίωνα ἄνακτα.
αὐτάρ τοι Κεφάλῳ φιτύσατο φαίδιμον υἱόν,
ἴφθιμον Φαέθοντα, θεοῖς ἐπιείκελον ἄνδρα·
τόν ῥα νέον τέρεν ἄνθος ἔχοντ' ἐρικυδέος ἥβης
παῖδ' ἀταλὰ φρονέοντα φιλομμειδὴς Ἀφροδίτη
ὧρτ' ἀνερειψαμένη, καί μιν ζαθέοις ἐνὶ νηοῖς
νηοπόλον μύχιον ποιήσατο, δαίμονα δῖον.
κούρην δ' Αἰήταο διοτρεφέος βασιλῆος
Αἰσονίδης βουλῇσι θεῶν αἰειγενετάων
ἦγε παρ' Αἰήτεω, τελέσας στονόεντας ἀέθλους,
τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐπέτελλε μέγας βασιλεὺς ὑπερήνωρ,
ὑβριστὴς Πελίης καὶ ἀτάσθαλος ὀβριμοεργός·
τοὺς τελέσας ἐς 'Ιωλκὸν ἀφίκετο πολλὰ μογήσας
ὠκείης ἐπὶ νηὸς ἄγων ἑλικώπιδα κούρην
Αἰσονίδης, καί μιν θαλερὴν ποιήσατ' ἄκοιτιν.
καί ῥ' ἤ γε δμηθεῖσ' ὑπ' 'Ιήσονι ποιμένι λαῶν
Μήδειον τέκε παῖδα, τὸν οὔρεσιν ἔτρεφε Χείρων
Φιλλυρίδης· μεγάλου δὲ Διὸς νόος ἐξετελεῖτο.
αὐτὰρ Νηρῆος κοῦραι ἁλίοιο γέροντος,
ἤτοι μὲν Φῶκον Ψαμάθη τέκε δῖα θεάων
Αἰακοῦ ἐν φιλότητι διὰ χρυσῆν Ἀφροδίτην·
Πηλεῖ δὲ δμηθεῖσα θεὰ Θέτις ἀργυρόπεζα
γείνατ' Ἀχιλλῆα ῥηξήνορα θυμολέοντα.
Αἰνείαν δ' ἄρ' ἔτικτεν ἐυστέφανος Κυθέρεια,
Ἀγχίσῃ ἥρωι μιγεῖσ' ἐρατῇ φιλότητι
'Ίδης ἐν κορυφῇσι πολυπτύχου ἠνεμοέσσης.
Κίρκη δ' 'Ηελίου θυγάτηρ 'Υπεριονίδαο
γείνατ' 'Οδυσσῆος ταλασίφρονος ἐν φιλότητι
Ἄγριον ἠδὲ Λατῖνον ἀμύμονά τε κρατερόν τε·

984 sch. Call. *Aet.* fr. 110. 52 986 (*φιτ.*–) Et^{M} s.v. *φιτύω* 1011–13 sch. A.R. 3. 200

983 *βῶν* Guyet *ἕνεχ' εἰλιπόδων* S 989 *ἀταλαφρονέοντα k*: *γρ. ἁπαλὰ φρονέοντα* L^{1} 990 *ἀνερειψ- bv*: *ἀναρειψ-* K^{1}S: *ἀναριψ- k*: *ἀναρεψ-* nQ 991 *μύχιον* Aristarchus: *νύχιον ak* 997 *'Ιολκὸν k* 1002 *Φιλλυρίδης b*SW: *Φυλλυρίδης a*: *Φυλλιρίδης k* 1003 *γρ. Νηρηίδες* L^{1} 1010 *ἠνεμοέσσης* Q: *ὑληέσσης ak* 1011 *'Υπερηνορίδαο k* 1012 *τίκτεν 'Οδυσσῆι ταλασίφρονι* sch. A.R. 1013 *ἠδ' ἐλάτινον a*

[*Τηλέγονον δὲ ἔτικτε διὰ χρυσῆν Ἀφροδίτην·*]
οἳ δή τοι μάλα τῆλε μυχῷ νήσων ἱεράων
πᾶσιν Τυρσηνοῖσιν ἀγακλειτοῖσιν ἄνασσον.
Ναυσίθοον δ' Ὀδυσῆι Καλυψὼ δῖα θεάων
γείνατο Ναυσίνοόν τε μιγεῖσ' ἐρατῇ φιλότητι.
αὗται μὲν θνητοῖσι παρ' ἀνδράσιν εὐνηθεῖσαι
ἀθάναται γείναντο θεοῖς ἐπιείκελα τέκνα.
[*νῦν δὲ γυναικῶν φῦλον ἀείσατε, ἡδυέπειαι*
Μοῦσαι Ὀλυμπιάδες, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο.]

1014 om. *k*, negl. Eust. in Hom. p. 1796. 43 δ' ἔτικτε *a*: δ' ἔτεκε *b*: δ' ἄρ' ἔτικτε Paley 1015 *μυχῶν kX* 1018 *Ναυσίνοον* V*b*QSU¹: *Ναυσίθοον ak*: *Λυσίνοον* U¹ (v.l.), L³, *Lisinoum* Mombritius 1020 *ἀθανάτοις v* 1021–2 Catalogi initium om. *Π¹³ak*: habet Q, post add. L⁴U² alii

COMMENTARY

Title. The title *Θεογονία* is not attested earlier than Chrysippus (*Stoic.* ii. 256). As a formal title it may have been established only by Alexandrian librarians and grammarians; though the titles of some epic poems (*Iliad*, *Odyssey*, *Cypria*, *Epigoni*) were established by the second half of the fifth century, and a means of reference would probably be required by schoolmasters if by no one else. One may surmise that if Herodotus, say, had chosen to distinguish this from other Hesiodic poems, he would have described it as Hesiod's *θεογονίη*, even if it was not familiar as a formal title (cf. Hdt. 2. 53. 2). Many later writers preferred to avoid the standard title, and employed periphrases such as *θεῶν γένεσις*, etc.; on these see Muetzell, pp. 355 f.

1–115. Proem. It was customary for a Greek singer to preface his recitation with a hymn to a god, of the kind represented by the extant 'Homeric hymns'. When the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were written down, no introductory hymn was attached to them. This might indicate that they were not at that time intended for continuous recitation, though there might be other explanations. The *Theogony* and *Works and Days*, on the other hand, both had hymns attached from the first. The *Works and Days* is introduced by a short invocation of Zeus, the *Theogony* by a much fuller hymn to the Muses. Both types are paralleled in the Homeric collection. (On the ancient athetesis of *Op.* 1–10, see F. Leo, *Hesiodea*, pp. 14–16 = *Kl. Schr.* ii. 354–7. The proems of both poems were athetized by Crates (sch. D.P. 62, ed. Rühl, *Rh. Mus.* 29, 1874, p. 83) on the ground that they had no special relevance to what followed, and could have served to introduce any poem—a view with which it is hard to concur. It is interesting that Crates is mentioned as one of the authorities for the statement in the Roman Life of Homer (p. 32 Wilamowitz) that there was an alternative opening to the *Iliad* which began *Μούσας ἀείδω καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα κλυτότοξον*—clearly a version of the *Iliad* that did begin with a prefatory hymn, which Crates no doubt mentioned only to dismiss as spurious. His discussion of the Hesiodic proems probably stood in the same context.)

The hymn to the Muses begins with a description of some of their characteristic activities (dancing and singing on Helicon by night) (1–21). This leads to an account of a particular occurrence in which they were involved—their epiphany to Hesiod himself (22–34). Then we return to their habitual activities (singing to Zeus on Olympus) (35–52). Again this leads to a narrative, the story of their birth (53–62), and again from the narrative we pass to the descriptive: what they did after, and have done since, their birth (63–103). They sing of Zeus their father; they assist and protect their favourites on earth. Finally the poet takes his leave of them, and in a passage of transition to the main part of the *Theogony*, tells them what to sing (104–15).

In its outer form and in its constituent elements (typical description, account of birth, leavetaking and transition, etc.), the hymn resembles the longer hymns in the Homeric collection, at least so far as they resemble one another. The correspondences have been worked out in detail by Friedländer (*Hermes*, 1914, pp. 1–16), and need not be elaborated. But there is perhaps place for a word on the feature that most strikes the casual reader of the proem, and which has often tempted scholars to see it as a conflation of two or more originally separate proems: the repetitious recurrence of the typical descriptions. I have already said something on this (p. 75); I would merely add that Hesiod keeps returning to these descriptions because it is only from passages of this type that he can readily pass to the narrative and other passages that he wants to bring in. He could not, for example, pass straight from the epiphany to the Muses' birth; he therefore returns to his starting-point, and follows the same road as before, so that he can then take a different turning off it.

Among the many discussions of the structure of the proem, Friedländer's article mentioned above and Wilamowitz's chapter in *Die Ilias und Homer* (Berlin, 1916, pp. 463 ff.) stand out by their excellence. V. Puntoni (*Riv. Fil.* 20, 1892, pp. 369 ff.) summarizes the results of most of the earlier attempts at analysis. More recent literature: Peppmüller, *Hesiodos*, pp. 10–18; W. Aly, *Rh. Mus.* 1913, pp. 22 ff.; H. G. Evelyn-White, *C.R.* 31, 1917, pp. 157 f.; P. Mazon, *Hésiode* (Budé, 1928), pp. 4–10; E. Bethe, *Ber. sächs. Ak.* 83 (2), 1931, pp. 30, 36; F. Schwenn, *Natalicium Geffcken* (Leipzig, 1931), pp. 132 ff.; R. C. W. Zimmermann, *Philol.* 1932, pp. 421–9; Sellschopp, *Stilistische Untersuchungen*, pp. 107 ff.; H. Bischoff, *Hermes*, 1937, pp. 360–7; R. Böhme, *Das Prooimion* (1937), esp. pp. 44–61; Zofia Abramowicz, *Études sur les hymnes homériques* (1937), pp. 28 ff.; G. Méautis, *R.É.G.* 1939, pp. 573–83; W. F. Otto, *Varia Variorum* (Festgabe Reinhardt), Köln, 1952, pp. 49 ff.; K. von Fritz, *Festschr. Snell* (1956), pp. 29–45; P. Walcot, *Symb. Osl.* 1957, pp. 37–47; E. Siegmann, *Festschr. Kapp* (Hamburg, 1958), pp. 9–14; H. Schwabl, *Hermes*, 1963, pp. 385–415; H. Maehler, *Die Auffassung des Dichterberufs im frühen Griechentum* (1963), pp. 36 ff.

1. **Μουσάων**: as often, the very first word indicates the singer's subject. So *Il.* 1. 1 *μῆνιν ἄειδε θεά*, *Od.* 1. 1 *ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε Μοῦσα*, *Thebais* fr. 1 *Ἄργος ἄειδε θεά*, *Il. parv.* fr. 1 *Ἴλιον ἀείδω*, *h. Dem.* 1 *Δήμητρ' ἠύκομον . . . ἄρχομ' ἀείδειν*, *h. Herm.* 1 *Ἑρμῆν ὕμνει Μοῦσα*, etc. The genitive is governed by *ἀρχώμεθα* (*ἀείδειν* being complementary, cf. Pl. *Rep.* 443B), as *Il.* 9. 97 *ἐν σοὶ μὲν λήξω, σέο δ' ἄρξομαι*, *Od.* 8. 499 *ὁ δ' ὁρμηθεὶς θεοῦ ἤρχετο*, Pi. *N.* 5. 25 *ὕμνησαν Διὸς ἀρχόμεναι*, A.R. 1. 1 *ἀρχόμενος σέο Φοῖβε*. As we also find Alcm. 29 *ἐγὼν δ' ἀείσομαι | ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχομένα*, Arat. 1 = Theocr. 17. 1 *ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα*, etc., the genitive must be understood to mean 'begin *from*'. *ἄρχεσθαι* with the genitive more often means 'begin *on*' (so in a proem, *Batr.* 1

ἀρχόμενος πρώτης σελίδος). We find an accusative with *ἄρχομαι ἀείδειν* in *h. Dem.* 1 (quoted above), *h.* xi. 1, *al.*

Ἑλικωνιάδων: the Heliconian Muses are also named in *Op.* 658. The epithet does not distinguish these Muses from others (as it would if it were applied, say, to 'nymphs'); it marks the place of their cult and the place they often haunt. They are the same Muses who are below called *Ὀλυμπιάδες* (25, 52, etc.) and have homes on Olympus. It was supposed that the Thracians who dwelt round Olympus before the arrival of the Macedonians brought the cult of the Muses from there to Helicon (Strab. 410, 471). The Muses' association with Helicon does not appear in Homer. The reason why Hesiod begins with their praise is explained by him in 34.

ἀρχώμεθ': for the plural cf. *ἡμεῖς* in *Il.* 2. 486, *Od.* 1. 10. Other examples of first person plural for singular in Chantraine, ii. 33. The subjunctive expresses resolve, cf. ib. 207; compare in particular *h. Ap.* 1 *μνήσομαι οὐδὲ λάθωμαι Ἀπόλλωνος ἑκάτοιο*, *h.* xxv. 1 *Μουσάων ἄρχωμαι*, *Epigoni* fr. 1 *νῦν αὖθ' ὁπλοτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἀρχώμεθα Μοῦσαι.*

2. The expansion by means of a relative clause of the subject of song initially named is a regular feature of epic proems (*Op.* 2–3, *Catal.* fr. 1, *Il.* 1. 1–2, *Od.* 1. 1, *Il. parv.* fr. 1, *Thebais* fr. 1, nearly all the hymns; cf. below, 105–6). So in invocations to deities (*Il.* 1. 37, *h.* xxiv. 1, etc.), where the relative clause regularly refers to their place(s) of residence, as here (E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, pp. 168 ff.). These opening lines, while not formally an invocation, have much in common with invocation structure.

αἵ θ' Ἑλικῶνος: for the immediate repetition of the name contained in the preceding epithet, cf. *Il.* 2. 655, 8. 528, *h. Aphr.* 258; not dissimilar are 130, 141 below.

ἔχουσιν: frequently used of a god's occupation of a locality. It implies (*a*) that he is worshipped there, and (*b*) that he resides in the place or sometimes visits it. The two things are inseparable in Greek religion.

ζάθεον: cf. 23. The adjective properly means not 'holy' merely, but 'numinous', *πλήρης θεῶν*. Cf. Wilamowitz, *Isyllos*, p. 107.

3–4. The dancing of the Muses is modelled on that of mortals. Compare poet. Lesb. fr. inc. 16 *Κρῆσσαί νύ ποτ' ὦδ' ἐμμελέως πόδεσσιν | ὄρχηντ' ἀπάλοισ' ἀμφ' ἐρόεντα βῶμον*. The ring-dance is one of the most ancient types of dance (cf. Hsch. *χορός· κύκλος, στέφανος*), and it is especially associated with springs and altars; see W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Sacred Dance* (Cambridge, 1923), pp. 88–106. Sittl says that Greek women still dance round public springs; the practice no doubt has its origin in sympathetic magic, and was intended to ensure the continual flowing of water.

περὶ κρήνην: cf. fr. 26. 19, a passage with several echoes of this proem.

ἰοειδέα: it is a little surprising that no particular spring is specified (unless *κρήνη Ἰοειδής* was the name, or the recognizable poetic equivalent of the name, of a particular spring); cf., however, *h.* xix. 20, where the mountain nymphs sing and dance upon unspecified mountains *ἐπὶ κρήνῃ μελανύδρῳ*.

The exact sense of the epithet *ἰοειδής*, applied in 844 and in Homer to the sea, is uncertain. It is usually taken as no more than 'dark', this being the only obvious quality which the appearance of water has in common with that of violets, but this is not really satisfactory. A positive purple colour might be appropriate to the sea at sunrise or sunset (cf. Arist. *Col.* 792ª20), but hardly of a spring. I am not convinced by the suggestion of N. P. Bénaky (*R.É.G.* 1915, p. 25) that the epithet means 'rippling'.

πόσσ': a rare elision, also in *h. Dem.* 287; cf. Kühner–Blass, i. 236.

βωμὸν: not otherwise known. The scholium *ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ γὰρ ὄρει καὶ κρήνη ἦν καὶ βωμός . . . ἐν Ἑλικῶνι δὲ ἦν ὁ βωμός, ὡς εἴρηται, τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἑλικωνίου*, is mere inference from the text. But the very importance of Zeus in Hesiod presupposes a local cult, and the natural place for his altar is on the mountain, perhaps on the very summit (cf. 7). This devotion of the Muses to their father is reflected in the songs they sing (11, 47, 71–75, *Op.* 2); they are bound to him the more closely in that they are the only deities beside him who have the special epithet 'Olympian' in early poetry.

5. λοεσσάμεναι τέρενα χρόα: cf. *Op.* 522. Even so would a Greek girl have bathed before an organized dance, so as to look her best. Compare *Cypria* fr. 4–5 (the two fragments probably belong to the same context), where Aphrodite and the Nymphs and Graces deck themselves out in fine clothes and garlands of flowers before they sing (and doubtless dance) on Mt. Ida; similarly Artemis in *h.* xxvii. 17. But here the bathing serves as an indication of place; for this device, cf. fr. 59. 2–4 *ἠ' οἵη . . . νίψατο Βοιβιάδος λίμνης πόδα παρθένος ἀδμής*, where comparison with the openings of other Ehoiai (frr. 181, 215, 253) indicates that we are merely being told where Coronis lived.

Περμησσοῖο: Zenodotus read *Τερμησσοῖο*, which has found its way from the scholia into some MSS. Both forms are attested in antiquity, but *Περμησσός* predominates, and particularly in those passages which most directly allude to the *Theogony*: Call. fr. 2a = 696, Nic. *Th.* 12, Strab. 407, 411, Virg. *E.* 6. 64, Prop. 2. 10. 26 (*ter* sscr. N m. rec.), Stat. *Th.* 7. 283, Mart. 1. 76. 11, 8. 70. 3, Claud. *laus Seren.* 8, Mart. Cap. 809, Hsch., *IG* 7. 1855. 4 (*s.* iv–v A.D.); compare the proper name *Περμάσιχος*, *IG* 7. 2072. *Τερμησσός* is found in Paus. 9. 29. 5, [Orph.] *A.* 123 (v.l. *Τελμ.*). If the initial consonant represents an original labio-velar, *Π-* will be correct for Boeotia, while Attic and koine would have *T-*. For similar variations in pre-Hellenic place-names in central Greece cf. *GDI* 380 (*Τευμήσσιος, Πευμάττιος*), Eust. 1872. 52 (*Παρνασσός, Τερνεσός*); also the Cretan goddess Britomartis/Britomarpis.

There is a further complication. The scholiast says that according to *Κράτης*[1] *ἐν τοῖς Βοιωτικοῖς* the local name was *Πάρμησος*, and he

[1] With the doubtful exceptions of sch. E. *Or.* 1233 and *Et. magn.* s.v. *Ἄρνη*, there is no trace of such a work by Crates of Mallos or any other Crates; there is much plausibility in Hecker's conjecture *Νικοκράτης*, cf. Jacoby, *FGrHist* no. 376; Wendel, *R.E.* xvii. 357. E. Maass (*Aratea*, p. 213, n. 4) dissents.

presumably proposed to read this form in Hesiod. It sounds plausible as contemporary Boeotian (cf. *ἰαρός*, *Ἄρταμις*, etc.), though the inscriptions support the familiar form. The scholium is probably responsible for *Παρνησοῖο* in S, and a similar scholium, not preserved, may account for variants *Παρμήσσοιο*, *Παρνησσοῖο et sim.* in inferior MSS. of Nicander, l.c.

The brook Permessus joined the Olmeius and flowed into Copais near Haliartus (Strabo 407). It is commonly identified (e.g. Kiepert's Atlas, Frazer, *Paus.* v. 153, and the *Guide Bleu*) with Archontitsa, the stream which flows through the valley of Ascra, where the sanctuary of the Muses was situated after the revival of the cult in the fourth century B.C. A late dedication (*IG* 7. 1855, *s.* iv–v A.D.) found in the grove of the Muses implies that Permessus was then thought to be somewhere there: *στῆσαν Περμησσοῖο πέλας ζαθέου [ποταμοῖο]*. However, E. Kirsten (*R.E.* xix. 871) points out that Archontitsa never emptied into Copais. One may add that, lying as it does in the valley immediately below Ascra, and beside the road from there to Thespiae, it would have been too familiar and too frequented for Hesiod to make it a bathing-place of the Muses. Goddesses only bathe in lonely places. Kirsten accordingly identifies Permessus with the stream of Zagará, which flows from the northern side of the same watershed near the top of the mountain.

Genitive of water in (from) which one washes, as fr. 59. 4 (cited above), *Il.* 5. 6, 6. 508, etc.

6. **Ἵππου κρήνης**: created by the kick of a horse's hoof, later (at any rate) said to have been Pegasus': Arat. 216–23, Paus. 9. 31. 3, etc. There was another *Ἵππου κρήνη* at Trozen (Paus. 2. 31. 9). The legend is of a common type, see Ninck, pp. 17 ff.

Paus., l.c., places the Horse's Spring some twenty stades above the grove of the Muses. It can with some confidence be identified with the modern Kriopigádi, a perennial source of cold, clear water near the summit of Helicon. Description in Frazer, *Paus.* v. 158.

ἠ': the second of a disjunctive pair *ἤ . . . ἤ . . .* often stands in thesis before an initial vowel without suffering correption, as a long vowel in such circumstances normally would. It therefore probably represents elided *ἠὲ* (cf. *Il.* 4. 76 *ἤ ναύτῃσι τέρας ἠὲ στρατῷ εὐρέι λαῶν*). So van Leeuwen, *Enchiridium*, 2nd ed., pp. 86 f.

Ὀλμειοῦ: Strabo's information about the relation of Olmeius to Permessus indicates that it is Kefalári, a stream which comes down from Mavromáti and meets the Zagará stream in the required place. The smooth breathing is attested by Anon. *lex de spiritu*, p. 322 Valck. At Stat. *Th.* 7. 284, where the stream is clearly referred to, the MSS. give *Hormie* (*Olmie* Gronovius). Cf. Muetzell, p. 45.

7. That the nymphs have dancing-places in the mountains (cf. *Cypria* fr. 5, *h.* xix. 19 ff., A.R. 1. 1221 ff., etc.) is certainly a genuine popular belief, and one which is still to be met with in Greece: see Lawson, p. 148. The Muses are in many respects hard to distinguish from nymphs: they are associated with them as mountain goddesses

in fr. 26. 10–12, they are actually called nymphs, e.g. in Lyc. 274 (cf. sch. ib.), and Colluthus can invoke the nymphs of Troy instead of the Muses to sing of the rape of Helen: admittedly a somewhat unsuccessful experiment. See further W. F. Otto, *Die Musen* (1956), pp. 9–20.

ἐνεποιήσαντο: this and the past tenses that follow (aorist here and 8, imperfect 10) are timeless; for the juxtaposition of present, aorist, and imperfect in descriptions of a god's characteristic activities cf. *h. Ap.* 1–13, *h.* xix. 10–15, 27–29; for present and aorist (in a very similar context to this) *h. Aphr.* 260–1; for present and imperfect, below, 268–9. Cf. on 10 *στεῖχον*.

8. **ἱμερόεντας**: the epithet is applied to *χορός* in *Il.* 18. 603, *Od.* 18. 194.

9–10. These lines are imitated in fr. 26. 20, *ἠέριαι στ(ε)ῖβο[ν*. Cf. *Gnomon*, 1963, p. 759.

9. **ἔνθεν ἀπορνύμεναι**: Hom. *epigr.* 4. 8, cf. *h. Ap.* 29. The Muses now set off down the mountain-side, and we ask where they are going. Some commentators have spoken of a procession from Helicon to Olympus, taking 68 ff. as the continuation of the present narrative. This is impossible: we are here dealing with a typical description, whereas *τότε* in 68 points to a particular occasion in the past, and must in fact refer to the time of the Muses' birth (cf. ad loc.). There is no suggestion of a procession to Olympus from Helicon. The truth of the matter is that Hesiod is—not necessarily consciously—bringing the Muses down the mountain in preparation for their encounter with himself. That encounter is described in a section which is clearly marked off from the typical description which precedes. But it is already in the poet's mind, and the development of the scene is influenced by the expectation of it (cf. Friedländer, *Hermes*, 1914, p. 14).

κεκαλυμμέναι ἠέρι πολλῷ: the regular epic way of saying 'invisible'. It is misleading to translate *ἀήρ* 'mist' in such contexts: mist is something visible, and *ἀήρ* is the very stuff of invisibility. *κεκαλυμμέναι* suggests a veil (*κάλυμμα*, *καλύπτρα*): cf. *Op.* 223 *ἠέρα ἑσσαμένη et sim.*

πολλῷ and *πολλῇ* are variants. In Homer *ἀήρ* is always feminine, and the clausula *ἠέρι πολλῇ* occurs in *Il.* 3. 381, 11. 752, 20. 444, 21. 549, 597; cf. also 16. 790, 17. 269, *Od.* 7. 15, 140. But it is masculine in *Op.* 550, and the clausula *ἠέρι πολλῷ* is found in a later poem (*GVI* 1765. 5, *s.* i–ii A.D.). There is, moreover, a possible indication that Aristonicus (and by implication Aristarchus) read *πολλῷ*: sch. on 697 *ἠέρα δῖαν* says *τὸ σημεῖον ὅτι τὴν ἀέρα λέγει ὥσπερ καὶ τὸν ἀέρα*. Taken at face value, this is a comment upon the gender of *ἀήρ* in Hesiod. If he read *πολλῇ* in 9, why did he not make his observation here? He presumably made it on the first instance of feminine *ἀήρ* that he came to in the text. It may be, however, that for *τὸν ἀέρα* we should write *τὸν αἰθέρα*: the point of the note would then be that Hesiod does not here observe the Homeric distinction between *ἀήρ* and *αἰθήρ*, a distinction to which Aristarchus several times adverts

(cf. K. Lehrs, *De Aristarchi stud. hom.*, p. 164). This conjecture receives some slight support from the gloss upon ἠέρα in Z, τὸν μέγαν αἰθέρα: the scholia in this manuscript are particularly well preserved. However this may be, I think we should here prefer the *lectio difficilior* πολλῷ.

10. ἐννύχιαι: just as the gods walk where mortals do not normally go (in the mountain heights, in the sea, etc.), so they walk at times when mortals are not normally abroad, at night and at high noon. *Op.* 730 μακάρων τοι νύκτες ἔασιν (for the expression cf. E. *IT* 1026 κλεπτῶν γὰρ ἡ νύξ). Cf. Stat. *S.* 1. 1. 94–95 *sub nocte silenti* | *cum superis terrena placent*; Pi. *P.* 3. 78; Arat. 117–18, 135; A.R. 1. 1225.

στεῖχον: this use of the imperfect in a typifying sense does not seem to be recognized by the standard grammars. (Matthiae, § 503, allows it, but neither of the two examples he gives is valid: one is an aorist, the other is the familiar Platonic 'philosophic imperfect'.) Besides the examples quoted above on 7, cf. the use of the iterative tense in -εσκον by Nic. *Th.* 285. All the instances I have noticed lack the syllabic augment.

ὄσσαν ἰεῖσαι: the phrase is repeated in 43, 65, 67, all of the Muses' singing voice. In 832 ὄσσα is used of a bull's voice. In Homer the word denotes a rumour, *Fama*, the messenger of Zeus (*Il.* 2. 93, *Od.* 1. 282, 2. 216).

11–21. The Muses cannot walk in silence. They sing a processional upon their favourite theme, the gods, and in first place Zeus. The list of gods of whom they sing is in some ways surprising when compared with the rest of the *Theogony*; there are differences of emphasis which suggest that Hesiod is not thinking of his own pantheon, but rather of a traditional catalogue which is much more akin to the Homeric scheme of things. It begins with Zeus and Zeus' principal wife, and passes naturally to his daughter Athene, and his son Apollo together with Artemis. Then comes the second great god, Poseidon, and two great goddesses, Themis and Aphrodite (who appear side by side again in *h. Aphr.* 93–94). Aphrodite suggests Hebe (cf. *h. Ap.* 195) and Dione, who is Aphrodite's mother in Homer, though not in the *Theogony*, where she is merely a lovely nymph (353). Dione is followed by another matron, Leto (for this association cf. *h. Ap.* 93); we have now got on to parents of the major gods, and cannot be surprised if the next in the list are the arch-Titans, Iapetos and Kronos. Finally a group of the more elemental divinities: Dawn, Sun, Moon; Earth, Ocean, and Night.

11. αἰγίοχον . . . πότνιαν: common as these epithets are in Homer, neither of them ever appears there in the accusative. πότνιαν also in 926, *h. Dem.* 203, *Aphr.* 24. Cf. p. 79.

12. Ἀργείην: cf. *Il.* 4. 8, 51–52; *Phoronis* fr. 4.

χρυσέοισι πεδίλοις: cf. 454. Golden sandals are worn by Hermes in *Il.* 24. 340, by Athene in *Od.* 1. 96, by Dawn in Sappho 123. As a symbol of his divinity, Empedocles used to go about in sandals of bronze (Strab. 274, D.L. 8. 69, etc.).

πεδίλοις ἐμβεβαυῖαν: cf. fr. 70. 12.

14. **Ἄρτεμιν ἰοχέαιραν**: another formula which Homer has only in the nominative. The accusative recurs in 918, *h. Ap.* 15, 159, etc. The epithet 'shedder of arrows' corresponds to the use of *χεῖν* found in *Il.* 5. 618 *Τρῶες δ' ἐπὶ δούρατ' ἔχευαν*, 8. 159, *al.*

15. **γαϊήοχον**: the prosody, which is paralleled in Pi. *O.* 13. 81, results (as metrical irregularities often do) from the adaptation of a formula: the regular nominative *Ποσειδάων γαιήοχος* is here turned into the accusative. Correption of final diphthongs before an *initial* vowel is, of course, normal. Correption within the word is exceptional except in certain words: *υἱός* (Homeric), *οἷος*, *τοιοῦτος*, etc., *ποιεῖν* (besides *ποεῖν*, cf. *Epigr. gr.* 759. 3), *Βοιωτός*, *παλαιός* in Tragedy (see Pearson on S. fr. 956. 3), *δείλαιος* in Comedy. But further examples can be found in all types of verse. Homer has *ἔμπαῖον* (*Od.* 20. 379) and—a compound word and therefore a special case—*χαμαιεῦναι*, *-άδες* (*Il.* 16. 235, *Od.* 10. 243, 14. 15; also Emped. 127. 1, Euphor. fr. 161, Nic. *Th.* 532). Zenodotus read *ναῖε* in *Il.* 6. 34, 13. 172. Examples in later epic: Emped. 80 *ὑπέρφλοῖα*, Theocr. 24. 71 *Εὐηρείδα*, D.P. 150 (v.l.) *δοῖαί*, Anon. *De herbis* 66 and 87 *μεῖοῦται*, [Orph.] *A.* 1022 *Αἴήτης*, *H.* 15. 9, 20. 5 *ἀστραπαῖος*, [Opp.] *C.* 2. 311 *ναῖεσκε*, Q.S. 2. 230 codd. and orac. *ap.* Eus. *PE* 4. 9. 2 *γαῖης*. See for examples from other genres Hephaestion, 1. 4–6; Schulze, pp. 46 ff.; Radermacher, *Aristophanes' Frösche*, p. 295; Sjölund, *Metr. Kürzung*, 35–38. Analogous are cases where long vowels are shortened, as in *ἥρῶος* *Od.* 6. 303 Barnes, cf. Pi. *P.* 1. 53, etc.; *ἤέ* Numen. fr. 8, Nic. fr. 50. 1, 74. 19, Max. 127, Nonn. *D.* 34. 47; *Τρῶιλος* Q.S. 4. 155, 419; *δῆϊος* perhaps in Homer, certainly in Nonn. *D.* 14. 401 *al.*; *Δῆϊων* prob. in [Hes.] fr. 26. 29. In Hes. *Op.* 490 *πρῶϊηρότῃ* or *πρωιηρότῃ* is an attractive conjecture of Kirchhoff's for *προηρότῃ* or *πρωτηρότῃ* of the MSS.

16. **ἑλικοβλέφαρον**: an un-Homeric epithet, but in *h.* vi. 19 (again of Aphrodite), fr. 11. 1. Its sense is not certain. The first element of the compound represents the noun or adjective *ἕλιξ* (not *ἑλίσσω*); the second may refer to eyelids, or more generally to eyes (so already below, 910), the latter being supported by the analogy of Homer's *ἑλίκωπες Ἀχαιοί*, and also offering the more promising range of possibilities. See the discussions of *ἑλίκωψ* in Frisk s.v., and D. L. Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad*, pp. 244 f.

17. **χρυσοστέφανον**: another un-Homeric compound; applied to Phoibe in 136, to Aphrodite in *h.* vi. 1, and in principle applicable to any goddess.

Διώνην: see above on 11–21. The author of the Orphic theogony made her a Titan (fr. 114. 5); so Apld. 1. 1. 2.

18-19. S and Π^2 have these two lines transposed; cf. p. 66. The order 18, 19 gives the more natural sequence.

18. Iapetos and Kronos are the only individual Titans named as such in Homer (*Il.* 8. 479); others in Hesiod's list of Titans (below, 133–7) are mentioned only incidentally, Hyperion as the Sun or his

father, Rhea as the mother of Zeus and his brothers, and so forth. But if Hesiod here seems to agree with Homer, he also agrees with himself, in that Iapetos and Kronos are the only two of the Titans who stand out later in the *Theogony* as constituting a serious individual danger to Zeus: Kronos who nearly swallows him, and Iapetos who rears a brood of dangerous sons against whom measures have to be taken individually.

I have above (on 11–21) suggested an explanation of their juxtaposition with Leto; it is perhaps worth noticing, however, that she is Kronos' daughter according to the MSS. of *h. Ap.* 62.

τε ἰδὲ: vowels are seldom elided before *ἰδέ* (Hermann, *Orphica*, p. 812), though it has no digamma on Cyprian inscriptions. It most frequently stands in this position in the line, following the trochaic caesura, where hiatus is in any case common.

ἀγκυλομήτην: applied in Homer only to Kronos, in Hesiod also to Prometheus (546; *Op.* 48 MSS. and Plutarch, who, however, knew a variant *ποικιλομήτης* or possibly *αἰολομήτης*, cf. *Philol.* 1962, p. 315). A common minor variant is *ἀγκυλόμητις*, a compound of which the earliest example guaranteed by metre is Opp. *H.* 2. 107; *-μήτης* is proved for early epic by the genitive *-μήτεω* (*Κρόνου πάις ἀγκυλομήτεω passim*); cf. Corinna, 1. 14–15 *ἀγκουλομείταο Κρόνω*. The original meaning cannot have been 'crooked-planning': this would require the form *-μητις* (cf. *πολύμητις*), and in any case, while *σκολιός* might be used of a wicked or unjust device, *ἀγκύλος* in such a sense cannot be paralleled earlier than Lycophron (344). *Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης* was originally, in all probability, 'Kronos of the curved sickle': A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, ii. 549 f., iii. 928, n. 7. But it was already understood as 'Kronos of the bent *μῆτις*' by Hesiod's time, as is shown by the extension to Prometheus and by the analogical formations in Homer *ποικιλομήτης, δολομήτης*. This interpretation, which remained unquestioned in antiquity, caused the later by-form *ἀγκυλόμητις*, and Lycophron's use of *ἀγκύλος* itself in the sense 'crafty'.

19. Cf. 371. On the Attic form *λαμπράν* see p. 81.

21. For the abridgement of what might otherwise become a very long list, cf. 363 ff., *Il.* 2. 649, 18. 49. Several important gods have not been named: Hermes, Hephaestus, Ares, Iris, etc.

ἀθανάτων ἱερὸν γένος αἰὲν ἐόντων = 105, cf. 33. Not a Homeric phrase: Sellschopp has observed that *ἀθάνατοι*, though used substantivally in Homer, is never qualified by another adjective. *γένος*: not 'birth', but 'order', 'brood', a collective term, as in 591, *Op.* 109, etc.

22–34. **Hesiod's vision.** Upon the nature of Hesiod's vision divergent views have been held. In antiquity it was sometimes interpreted as a dream. The direct evidence for this view is scanty and mostly late (Fronto, *ad Caes.* 1. 4. 6; *vit. Hes.* p. 47. 20 ff. Wil.; Niceph. in Synes. p. 373D Pet.; Diaconus p. 219. 13), but it is supplemented by indirect evidence in the inspiratory dreams of Callimachus (fr. 2

with schol. and testt.) and Ennius (Pers. *prol.* 1–3 with sch., *Sat.* 6. 10–11, Fronto, l.c.). Among modern scholars the prevailing view is that it was a genuine vision such as might easily be induced by solitude amid awesome mountain scenery: a religious experience which actually influenced Hesiod's life and made him a poet (Schmid–Stählin, i. 1. 249 f.; Latte, *Antike u. Abendland*, 2, 1946, pp. 155 ff.; E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, p. 117; Otto, *Die Musen*, p. 32; and others).

A different view is taken by Dornseiff (pp. 37–38, 76) and Trencsényi-Waldapfel (*Acta Orientalia*, 5, 1955, pp. 45 ff.). They compare the divine epiphanies which were described by the Hebrew prophets and which gave them their claim to be heard. On this view, the epiphany was as much a literary convention in Hesiod's time as in Callimachus'; the fact that we cannot point to his precedents does not mean that he had none.

A third interpretation is offered by H. Schwabl (*Gymnasium*, 1955, pp. 533 f.). When Hesiod hears the Muses make a suggestion to him, this is merely a conventional epic way of saying that he had an idea. Schwabl compares *Il.* 7. 17–53, which is, however, by no means a typical episode. The Homeric dream (e.g. as experienced by Agamemnon and Nausicaa) is more relevant. But there are important differences between any of these and Hesiod's account. The Muses approached him while he was tending sheep on the mountain; we do not know whether by day or by night (the latter cannot safely be inferred from 10), we do not know whether he could see them or only hear their voice (the latter cannot safely be inferred from 9), and we do not know whether he was asleep or awake (he may not have been sure himself, and would probably not have considered that it mattered). But besides speaking to him, they made him able to sing, and gave him a laurel staff—something that no Homeric apparition could do except in human disguise.

The 'literary' interpretation of Dornseiff cannot be lightly dismissed. We must at least take due account of several conventional elements in Hesiod's vision:

(1) A poet, prophet, or lawgiver receives instructions in an encounter with a god. Poets: Hesiod, Archilochus (Kontoleon, *Ἐφημ. Ἀρχαιολ.* 1952, pp. 40 ff.; Peek, *Philol.* 1955, pp. 7 ff.), Epimenides, Parmenides, Callimachus, Ennius, Propertius (3. 3), pseudo-Oppian (*C.* 1. 17 ff.), Quintus of Smyrna (12. 310); cf. the Simichidas of Theocritus (7. 92). Prophets: Amos, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel. Lawgivers: Ḥammurabi, Moses, Minos, Zaleucus, Numa.

(2) The encounter takes place on a mountain where the god lives. Hesiod on Helicon (cf. Call., Theoc., Virg. *E.* 6. 64 ff., Prop., Q.S. 12. 313), Minos on Ida, Moses and Elijah on Horeb (1 Kings xix. 8). In other cases it is in a cave, in a sacred grove, or under a sacred tree. Cf. Chadwick–Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature*, ii. 776–7.

(3) It is a shepherd who receives the visitation. Hesiod, Epimenides (*πεμφθεὶς παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰς ἀγρὸν ἐπὶ πρόβατον*, D.L. 1. 109; cf.

Archilochus *πεμφθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Τελεσικλέους εἰς ἀγρὸν . . . ὥστε βοῦν καταγαγεῖν ἐπὶ πρᾶσιν*), Simichidas, Quintus; Amos; Ḫammurabi, Moses, Zaleucus. We may also compare the cowherd Cædmon, who was visited by an angel in a dream and given the gift of song (Bede, *Hist. eccl. gent. Angl.* 4. 22); the shepherdess Dryope, who was taught to dance and hymn the gods by the Hamadryads on Mt. Oeta (Ant. Lib. 32); and the story in Paus. 9. 30. 10. One must, of course, take account of the fact that shepherds have more reason than most people to be alone in the mountains, and also more leisure to practise music and song; cf. H. Fränkel, *Dichtung u. Philosophie*, 2nd ed., p. 106, n. 2; A. B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, p. 21. At the same time one must wonder whether Hesiod ever really had any sheep. Sheep are conspicuous by their absence in the *Works and Days* (except in the spurious *Days*), appearing only in 516 in a pictorial image illustrating the strength of Boreas. For meat, milk, and skins Hesiod relies consistently on cows and goats (541–4, 585, 590–2); the *πῖλοι* of 542 and 546 need not imply sheep's wool, and in any case they could have been bought at any market. The argument from silence is perhaps not strong enough to cast doubt on Hesiod's veracity in *Th.* 23; but it remains a possibility that the sheep owe their presence to the force of tradition.

(4) The god who appears (or the prophet inspired by him) addresses mankind in strongly derogatory terms. Hesiod (26); Epimenides (fr. 1, cf. below on 26); Isaiah (vi. 9); cf. *h. Dem.* 256 ff., Parm. 6. 3 ff., Emped. 2, Ar. *Av.* 685 ff., Ov. *M.* 15. 153, Orph. fr. 233, [Pythag.] *carm.* [*aur.*] 55 ff. It is particularly noteworthy that the Muses deliver this typical address to Hesiod in the plural although he is (presumably) alone; the same thing probably happened in Epimenides (cf. on 26–28). Schwabl (*Proc. Afr. Class. Assoc.* 2, 1959, p. 25) quotes also *h. Dem.* l.c. (which can be taken either as an address in the vocative or as a general statement in the nominative) and Virg. *E.* 1. 45. The plural emphasizes that the addressee belongs to a particular class; as we might say, to a single shepherd, 'you shepherds are a lazy lot'.

(5) The god gives the man a visible token of his 'call'. Hesiod is given a staff; Archilochus a lyre.

(6) The man who was previously without the gift of words is suddenly granted eloquence. Hesiod (31–32); Jeremiah (i. 6–9); Moses (Exod. iv. 10–12); Cædmon (Bede, l.c.; further parallels in Plummer's commentary, pp. 254 f.). In Ezekiel's case the gift of eloquence is combined with the visible token: he is given a book, in which are written 'lamentations, and mourning, and woe', and he is instructed to eat it (ii. 9–iii. 3). Cf. also Alice Sperduti, *T.A.P.A.* 1950, p. 216.

The presence of these typical elements in Hesiod's vision need not mean that it was not genuine. There are fashions in religious experience, and any vision that he had would naturally assemble itself in accordance with his subconscious expectations and ambitions. We need only assume, I think, that there were Greek precedents of which he was aware. It may be added that if you believe in nymphs, it is not

at all difficult to see them: see Lawson, pp. 47–48 and 131–2, Dodds, pp. 116–17.

For a rich collection of material on the theme of the poet's call in antiquity, see O. Falter, *Der Dichter und sein Gott bei den Griechen u. Römern* (1934), especially pp. 79–87.

22. αἵ νύ ποθ': the relative (demonstrative) and *ποτε* are characteristic of the transition to a historical digression in epic, as of that to the myth in choral lyric. Cf. *Il.* 2. 547, 4. 474, 6. 21, 132, *Od.* 11. 322, *h. Ap.* 307; Bacch. 11. 40, Pi. *O.* 3. 13, *P.* 1. 16, etc. For the reference of the pronoun *αἵ* we must go back to line 1. Cf. *Il.* 2. 780, *h. Ap.* 356; van Groningen, pp. 53–54. *νύ ποτε* is a rare combination; cf. *Il.* 19. 95 *καὶ γὰρ δή νύ ποτε Ζεὺς ἄσατο*, poet. Lesb. quoted on 3–4. Z gives *αἵ ῥά ποθ'*, for which cf. fr. 234. 2, *Il.* 4. 106, *h.* xxxii. 14. But *ῥα* is more appropriate to a familiar tale than to a new one.

Ἡσίοδον: the poet names himself, speaking in the third person, not to set his signature upon the poem (this cannot have been thought necessary at a time when there was no general circulation of written books), but rather out of simple pride, as when Achilles says *ἦ ποτ' Ἀχιλλῆος ποθὴ ἵξεται υἷας Ἀχαιῶν* (*Il.* 1. 240); cf. also *Il.* 4. 354, 8. 22, 11. 761, *Sc.* 111, Hdt. 6. 129. 4, Theocr. 1. 103, etc. The 'signature' is a later development, perhaps suggested by Hesiod: cf. Theognis 22, Alcm. 39, etc.; Aly, *R.E.* iiiA 1757–8.

Schulze (p. 17, n. 3, p. 507) explains Hesiod's name as meaning 'sender-forth of song', and this appears to be current doctrine (Felix Solmsen, *Untersuchungen z. gr. Laut- u. Verslehre*, 1901, p. 81; Frisk s.v.). It is theoretically possible; but as it assumes a hypothetical word **ϝόδα* 'song', which might occur but in practice does not, it is more natural to explain the second element in the name as the ordinary word *ὁδός* (which is found, for example, in the Eretrian name Prexiodos). The fact that the compound *ἡσί-οδος* does not express any intelligible concept is no obstacle to this view; for names of this type see Ernst Fraenkel, *R.E.* xvi. 1623–5. On Aeolic *Αἰσίοδος* and a theory formerly based on it, see p. 87.

καλὴν ἐδίδαξαν ἀοιδήν: in *Op.* 659 Hesiod refers to the same event in the words *λιγυρῆς ἐπέβησαν ἀοιδῆς*. For *ἐδίδαξαν* cf. *Od.* 8. 481, 488; Theocr. 7. 92. Perhaps Hesiod is here thinking not of the single epiphany but of a period of practice.

23. Ἑλικῶνος ὕπο ζαθέοιο: for the violation of Hermann's Bridge cf. p. 94. *ὑπό* with mountains normally takes the dative, cf. *Il.* 2. 866, *Od.* 1. 186, etc.

25. The line recurs in 52, 966, 1022.

Ὀλυμπιάδες: see on 3–4 *ad fin.*

κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο: again of the Muses in *Il.* 2. 598; of Naiads or Dryads, fr. 304. 5; elsewhere of mountain nymphs (whom the Muses closely resemble, cf. on 7), *Il.* 6. 420, *Od.* 6. 105, 9. 154.

26–28. The Muses' address is curiously elliptical. They begin with the typical abuse of their audience, but they do not elaborate or

explain it; they do not identify themselves, but merely proclaim what they can do; and they do not issue any instructions, though this omission is made good in 33–34. The speech seems to imply that Hesiod has hitherto been preoccupied with false things. This is an explicit accusation in Epimenides' imitation of 26, *Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψευσταί, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί* (fr. 1), a verse which was probably addressed to him by Aletheia and/or Dike in the cave of Zeus where he slept. (Callimachus' adaptation of the first hemistich in *H.* 1. 8 is, of course, no evidence that it was nominative and not vocative in the original.) This distinction which the Muses make between truth and plausible fiction is somewhat problematic. It is sometimes understood as a distinction between epic and didactic poetry (e.g. Goettling–Flach, Paley, Schmid–Stählin). This is certainly wrong; no Greek ever regarded the Homeric epics as substantially fiction. But contradictions between different legends made it clear that poets did not invariably tell the truth. Cf. *h.* i. 1–6; Solon 21 *πολλὰ ψεύδονται ἀοιδοί*; Pi. *O.* 1. 28 f., *N.* 7. 20 ff.; Laconian *ὁμηρίδδειν* = *ψεύδεσθαι*. Such contradictions were no less common in divine genealogies, so that there cannot be any generic opposition. The Muses seem to be saying, 'You have lived your life in ignorance of the truth. But now you shall tell it to men. Admittedly, we sometimes deceive; but when we choose, we can reveal the truth, and we are going to reveal it to you.' Hesiod again insists that he is telling the truth at the beginning of the *Works and Days* (10 *ἐγὼ δέ κε Πέρσῃ ἐτήτυμα μυθησαίμην*). Pindar's insistence upon the truth is even louder, cf. *O.* 13. 52, *N.* 1. 18, fr. 205.

26. ποιμένες ἄγραυλοι: *Il.* 18. 162, cf. *Sc.* 39.

κάκ' ἐλέγχεα: a standard epic term of abuse, *Il.* 2. 235, 5. 787, 8. 228.

γαστέρες: colloquial use, cf. Diphilus (?) 133 *γαστὴρ ὅλον τὸ σῶμα*, Long. *Past.* 4. 11 *οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὢν ἢ γνάθος καὶ γαστὴρ καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ γαστέρα*, Lucil. 75 *uiuite lurcones, comedones, uiuite uentres*, Petron. 57. 6 *uiginti uentres pasco et canem.* Sittl says that *γαστήρ* is still so used among the Vlachs. (In view of this, one may suspect a hidden meaning in *Od.* 18. 53. The suitor Antinous has just proposed that Odysseus and the beggar Iros shall fight, the winner to be rewarded with haggis. Odysseus then says to the suitors, *δολοφρονέων*, 'An old man cannot put up any sort of fight against a younger one: *ἀλλά με γαστὴρ ὀτρύνει κακοεργός*.' The overt meaning is of course, 'but my evil belly drives me on'. At the same time the words can mean, 'but a villainous glutton incites me'—a satisfying shaft at Antinous.)

According to the scholiast, *Ἀπολλώνιος μὲν ὁ Ῥόδιος λείπειν τὸν πρῶτον στίχον φησίν· οὐ λείπει δέ, ἀλλ' ἐστί, ποιμένες ἄγραυλοι κάκ' ἐλέγχεα.* (Schoemann's addition of ⟨*τινὰ μετὰ*⟩ after *λείπειν* is unjustified; the meaning is: 'Apollonius says that the sense of the first line (sc. 26) is incomplete.' For this sense of *λείπειν* cf. Ap. Dysc., *Adv.* 159. 28, *al.*) Neither the nature of Apollonius' difficulty nor the point of the commentator's (Aristarchus'?) reply is clear.

27. ἴδμεν . . . ἴδμεν δ': parts of *εἰδέναι* are not infrequently found

in anaphora, cf. *Il.* 7. 237–41, 20. 201–3, 432–4, *Od.* 12. 189–91, *h. Dem.* 229–30.

The line as a whole is closely similar to *Od.* 19. 203 *ἴσκε ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγων ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα*. The Homeric line is the less satisfactory of the two as Greek, and the less firmly integrated in its context; if *ἴσκε* is meant in the proper sense 'assimilate', then *ὁμοῖα* is superfluous, and if it bears the secondary sense 'speak', then *λέγων* is superfluous. Cf. Wilamowitz, *Die Heimkehr des Odysseus*, p. 49.

ψεύδεα: *sic*, not *ψευδέα*. See below on 229.

ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα: besides *Od.* l.c., cf. Thgn. 713 *οὐδ' εἰ ψεύδεα μὲν ποιοῖς ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα*, Hor. *A.P.* 338 *ficta voluptatis causa sint proxima veris*. In these places the meaning is 'plausible', the sort of fiction that can be believed in. In a different sense, of 'probable' conjecture or opinion, Xenoph. fr. 35 *ταῦτα δεδοξάσθω μὲν ἐοικότα τοῖς ἐτύμοισι*, and Latin *veri similis*. The converse of the Hesiodic sense is found in Hdt. 8. 8. 3 *λέγεται . . . καὶ ἄλλα ψεύδεσι ἴκελα*, i.e. 'implausible'; cf. Long. *Past.* 4. 20 *παρεκελεύετο τἀληθῆ λέγειν μηδὲ ὁμοῖα πλάττειν μύθοις*.

28. Cf. *Il.* 7. 358 = 12. 232 *οἶσθα καὶ ἄλλον μῦθον ἀμείνονα τοῦδε νοῆσαι*. 20. 201 *σάφα οἶδα καὶ αὐτὸς | ἠμὲν κερτομίας ἠδ' αἴσυλα μυθήσασθαι*.

εὖτ' ἐθέλωμεν: a common qualification in telling of a god's powers. Cf. 429, 430, 432, 439; *Il.* 4. 41, 10. 556, *Od.* 3. 231, 5. 48, 10. 22, 14. 445, 16. 198, 23. 186, *h. Aphr.* 38. It explains why he does not always do what he is supposed to be able to. For other explanations of the mixture of truth and falsehood in information that comes from the gods, cf. *Od.* 19. 560 ff. (the alternative gates through which dreams may come); *h. Herm.* 541 ff. (Apollo's oracle); ib. 560 ff. (the Thriai).

γηρύσασθαι: the choicer variant is supported by both Π^1 and Π^2. The verb is un-Homeric, but occurs in *Op.* 260, *h. Herm.* 426. *μυθήσασθαι* was no doubt a reminiscence of the Homeric formula *ἀληθέα μυθήσασθαι* (*Il.* 6. 382, *Od.* 14. 125, 17. 15, 18. 342, cf. *ἐτήτυμα μυθήσασθαι Op.* 10, *h. Dem.* 44).

29. **ἀρτιέπειαι**: *ἀρτιεπής* has a bad sense in *Il.* 22. 281, but *ἄρτια βάζειν* in a good sense 14. 92, *Od.* 8. 240.

30. **σκῆπτρον**: the word elsewhere denotes the staff carried by kings (*Il.* 1. 279, 2. 86, etc.), priests (*Il.* 1. 15, 28), and prophets (*Od.* 11. 90, A. *Ag.* 1265) as the symbol that they are a god's representatives; also by heralds (*Il.* 7. 277), and, temporarily, by anyone who stands up to speak in the assembly of leaders (*Il.* 1. 245, 2. 279, 3. 218, 23. 568, etc.). Rhapsodes in post-Homeric times often carry a laurel wand, normally called *ῥάβδος*: Pi. *Isth.* 3/4. 56, Call. fr. 26. 5, Eust. 6. 18, 25. (At symposia a sprig of laurel, with the leaves left on, was held: sch. Ar. *Nub.* 1367 *μυρρίνης γὰρ κλάδον κατέχοντες ᾖδον τὰ Αἰσχύλου, ὥσπερ τὰ Ὁμήρου μετὰ δάφνης*. Hsch. *αἴσακος· ὁ τῆς δάφνης κλάδος ὃν κατέχοντες ὕμνουν τοὺς θεούς*.) On vases, rhapsodes either hold a lyre or a plain staff. The two were alternatives; if the rhapsode

has no lyre, he must have something else to hold, to set him apart from the rest of the company and to focus their attention (cf. 31 *θηητόν*. Plato's Ion recites *κεκοσμημένος ἐσθῆτι ποικίλῃ καὶ χρυσοῖσι στεφάνοις*, 535D). Murko reports that the Serbian bard, if necessary, holds a staff, or the long Turkish tobacco-pipe, or some other substitute, instead of his *gusle* (*N.Jb.* 1919, p. 285; cf. K. Meister, *Die homerische Kunstsprache*, p. 232). It is true that on a red-figure amphora from Vulci (line reproduction in *Roscher*, ii. 3238; Reinach, *Rép. des vases peints*, i. 142), Musaeus is represented carrying both a lyre (in his left hand) and a tall laurel wand, with leaves on (in his right); but he cannot conveniently have performed on the lyre without first laying aside the wand.

It was accordingly inferred from Hesiod's receipt of a staff that he did not sing to the lyre: Paus. 9. 30. 3 (a seated statue of Hesiod) *κιθάραν ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασιν ἔχων, οὐδέν τι οἰκεῖον Ἡσιόδῳ φόρημα· δῆλα γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐπῶν ὅτι ἐπὶ ῥάβδου δάφνης ᾖδε*. Nicocles (Nicocrates? Jacoby, *FGrHist* 376 F 8) *ap.* sch. Pi. *N.* 2. 1 said that Hesiod was the first rhapsode—by 'rhapsode' meaning no doubt 'rhabdode', according to one ancient etymology. The same inference underlies the story that Hesiod was disqualified from the hymn competition at Delphi because he could not play the lyre (Paus. 10. 7. 3). Yet Hesiod associates *ἀοιδοί* with *κιθαρισταί* in 95 (see ad loc.; cf. fr. 305. 2), and *h. Herm.* 425–33 suggests that theogonic poetry was at least sometimes sung to the lyre in archaic times, as later (Plut. *Mor.* 743C, cf. Luc. *Icarom.* 27, Ath. 620C). If Hesiod bore a staff instead of a lyre, then, it was not because this was typical at his date, in his area or for his genre, but rather because he could not obtain a lyre or could not play one—he had had no professional training. So Meister, l.c. On the staff and its symbolism see further F. Pfister, *R.E.* xi. 2128 f., *Rel. d. Gr. u. R.* pp. 314 f., *Phil. Woch.* 1928, cols. 1516 ff.; F. von Papen, *Der Thyrsos in d. gr. u. röm. Lit. u. Kunst*, Diss. Bonn, 1905, pp. 40 f.; F. J. M. de Waele, *The Magic Staff or Rod in Graeco-Italian Antiquity*, 1927; P. Corssen, *Arch. f. Rel.* 28, 1930, pp. 100 ff.; Chadwick–Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature*, i. 653 ff.; N. K. Chadwick, *Poetry and Prophecy*, pp. 9 ff., 49 ff.; C. Gatti, *Acme*, ii (3), 1949, pp. 23 ff.; Onians, p. 456, n. 2; Trencsényi-Waldapfel, l.c. (on (22–34), p. 58.

ἔδον: an un-Homeric form, but older than the Homeric (Attic–Ionic) *ἔδοσαν*. Homer has similar forms such as *ἔβαν*, *ἔφαν*, and contrariwise, Hesiod has *ἔδοσαν* (141), *ἔφασαν* (29), etc.

δάφνης ἐριθηλέος ὄζον: cf. *Il.* 10. 467 *μυρίκης τ' ἐριθηλέας ὄζους*, *h. Herm.* 109 *δάφνης ἀγλαὸν ὄζον*. The bay or laurel (often mistranslated 'olive', e.g. Mair, Evelyn-White [corrected in the second edition], Lattimore), is sacred to Apollo, who appears as the Muses' associate in 94, and it is especially associated with his oracle (*h. Ap.* 396 *χρείων ἐκ δάφνης*, etc.); for its mantic properties cf. below on 31. Ordinary staves were sometimes made of it (*αἱ γεροντικαὶ καὶ κοῦφαι*, Theophr. *hist. pl.* 5. 7. 7).

31. **δρέψασαι, δρέψασθαι**: decision between these two variants is not easy. Both are ancient. *δρέψασαι* was perhaps read by Archias, *A.P.* 9. 64. 3–4 *καί σοι* (*Ἡσίοδε*) *καλλιπέτηλον ἐρυσσάμεναι περὶ πᾶσαι ὤρεξαν δάφνης ἱερὸν ἀκρεμόνα*, though *ἐρυσσάμεναι περὶ πᾶσαι* is an odd phrase and may be corrupt (*ἐρεισάμεναι* Hermann; *χερὶ* Jacobs; *ἐρασσάμεναι περὶ πάντων* Hecker; Beckby's translation 'dich alle umschirmend' is most unlikely). None of the many other ancient allusions to the passage collected in Rzach's *editio maior* is unambiguous; they mostly refer simply to Hesiod receiving the staff from the Muses. Most modern critics prefer *δρέψασθαι*, e.g. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, 131, '"They granted me to pluck for myself" a branch of the holy tree —the symbolic act expresses his acceptance of his "call".' Von Fritz, *Festschr. Snell*, p. 32, adds an argument against *δρέψασαι*: it makes the story into fiction. However, this would have no force if it *was* fiction, or a dream. I am swayed in favour of *δρέψασαι* by the arguments of L. Deubner, *Arch. f. Rel.* 30, 1933, p. 83, n. 1. (i) No parallel has been produced for *ἔδον δρέψασθαι* meaning 'they said I might pluck' or 'they showed me where to pluck'—it is not the same use as *δὸς τείσασθαι* etc. in prayers. (ii) The parallels reviewed on 22–34 lead us to expect that Hesiod's role will be that of a passive recipient. (iii) With *δρέψασαι* the thoughts come in a more natural sequence: 'they gave me a staff, a branch of springing bay, | plucking it, a fine one.'

Nicephorus Chumnus (Boissonade, *Anecd. gr.* iii. 385) and other Byzantine writers say that the Muses went on to feed Hesiod on the bay-leaves. For the supposedly inspiring practice of daphnephagy, see Pearson on S. fr. 897; the evidence that it was an addiction of Hesiod's is utterly worthless. The same applies to his potation of inspiring waters, a commonplace which appears in late Hellenistic times; see Ninck, pp. 91 ff.

θητητόν: un-Homeric word, also in Tyrt. 7. 29.

ἐνέπνευσαν: a term not specially applied to artistic 'inspiration', but to the imparting by a god of any new mental or spiritual disposition: *μένος* (conscious sensation of strength, cf. on 688), *θάρσος*, or a constructive idea such as *φᾶρος ὑφαίνειν* (*Od.* 19. 138). Cf. Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 106; Onians, p. 56.

αὐδὴν: K and one Aristides MS. give *ἀοιδήν*, a corruption paralleled, for example, at *Sc.* 278, 396, *Or. Sib.* 11. 322, 12. 295. Rzach (*Wien. St.* 16, 1894, pp. 218 f.) writes *μ' ἀοιδήν*, comparing Lucian *diss. c. Hes.* 1 *ὡς διὰ τοῦτο λάβοις τὴν θεσπέσιον ἐκείνην ᾠδὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν, ὅπως κλείοις καὶ ὑμνοίης τὰ παρεληλυθότα καὶ θεσπίζοις τὰ ἐσόμενα*, *Od.* 1. 328 and 8. 498 *θέσπιν ἀοιδήν*. He might also have compared Opp. *H.* 4. 7 ff. *οἵῃσιν ἐμὸν νόον ἠπιόδωροι | Μοῦσαι κοσμήσαντο καὶ ἐξέστεψαν ἀοιδῆς | δώρῳ θεσπεσίῳ*, Q.S. 12. 308 *ὑμεῖς γάρ μοι πᾶσαν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θήκατ' ἀοιδήν*. But the vulgate reading is superior in sense: the faculty *αὐδὴ θέσπις* fits the purpose clause *ἵνα κλείοιμι* perfectly, while *ἀοιδή* is normally an activity (though it can also be a faculty, as *Il.* 2. 599 *αὐτὰρ ἀοιδὴν | θεσπεσίην ἀφέλοντο καὶ ἐκλέλαθον κιθαριστύν*). Cf. fr. 310 *Μουσάων αἵ τ' ἄνδρα . . . τιθεῖσι | θέσπιον αὐδήεντα*, [Orph.]

A. 4–5 *πέμπε δ' ἐπὶ πραπίδεσσιν ἐμαῖς ἐτυμήγορον αὐδήν, | ὄφρα πολυσπερέεσσι βροτοῖς λιγύφωνον ἀοιδὴν | ἠπύσω.*

32. **θέσπιν** is Goettling's almost certain correction of *θείην*. Cf. Hsch. *θέσπιν· θείαν φήμην*. S. *Ichn.* 244 *θέσπιν αὐδάν*. Lucian and Aristides both use *θεσπέσιος* in paraphrasing the sentence.

τά τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα: a shorter equivalent of the full phrase seen in 38, *Il.* 1. 70, *Cert.* 97; cf. fr. 204. 113 [*ὅσσά τ' ἔην ὅσα τ' ἔ*]*στι καὶ ὀππόσα μέλλει ἔσεσθαι*, orac. *ap.* Diod. 9. 3. 2 *ὃς σοφίῃ τά τ' ἐόντα τά τ' ἐσσόμενα προδέδορκεν*, Solon 3. 15, E. *Hel.* 14. The phrase expresses the close connexion between poetry and prophecy which is widespread in early literature. In the absence of written records, the ability to see into the distant past is no less marvellous than the ability to see into the future, and there is no reason for a sharp distinction between the two. Neither is possible without some form of divine revelation, for only the gods have the necessary first-hand knowledge (cf. *Il.* 2. 485 f. *ὑμεῖς γὰρ θεαί ἐστε πάρεστέ τε ἴστέ τε πάντα· ἡμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἷον ἀκούομεν, οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν*). Thus the knowledge of either a poet (as here) or a prophet (as Calchas in *Il.* 1. 70) theoretically or ideally embraces past, present, and future. Cf. Pl. *Rep.* 392D, 617C; *Charm.* 174A. In practice, the Greek poet concentrates almost exclusively upon the past—though Hesiod does break into prophecy in *Op.* 176–201. In the poetry of some other peoples, e.g. the Hebrew and Icelandic, prophecy of the future has a much more prominent place. Cf. Chadwick–Chadwick, op. cit. (on 30) i. 451–3, 473, ii. 581–2; Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 1185.

33. **ἐκέλονθ'**: the imperfect is regularly used in reporting orders; it expresses the abiding character of the order, which obtains until it is finally discharged.

μακάρων: only once in Homer in this absolute use (*Od.* 10. 299), six times in Hesiod. *μακάρων . . . αἰὲν ἐόντων Op.* 718.

γένος: see on 21.

34. **σφᾶς**: one might expect *σφέας* (cf. *Sc.* 169, 403; Chantraine, i. 267). But the contracted form, which Π^1 also had, to judge from the space, is regular in proclitic positions. Hence we find *σφῶν αὐτῶν* without variant in *Il.* 12. 155 and 19. 302, elsewhere *σφέων*: *σφᾶς αὐτοὺς* A.R. 2. 959, elsewhere *σφέας*. The MSS. of Hippocrates (but not those of Herodotus) show a similar distinction. (To the examples of *σφῶν αὐτῶν* add Emped. 110. 5.) Cf. W. Schulze, *Kl. Schr.*, pp. 266–8; F. Sommer, *Glotta*, 1, 1909, p. 234; Wackernagel, pp. 4–6.

πρῶτόν τε καὶ ὕστατον: so in [48] the Muses sing of Zeus at the beginning and end of their song; Theognis (1–4) says he will never forget Apollo, either when beginning or when ending, but will always sing of him *πρῶτόν τε καὶ ὕστατον ἔν τε μέσοισιν*: the singer in *h.* xxi does likewise. Cf. *h.* i. 18, [Hes.] fr. 305. 4. For later parallels, see Gow on Theocr. 17. 1. Similar honorification in different connexions: *Il.* 9. 97 *ἐν σοὶ μὲν λήξω, σέο δ' ἄρξομαι, οὕνεκα πολλῶν | λαῶν ἐσσὶ ἄναξ*, *h.* xxix. 4 ff. *οὐ γὰρ ἄτερ σοῦ | εἰλαπίναι θνητοῖσιν ἵν' οὐ πρώτῃ πυμάτῃ τε | Ἑστίῃ ἀρχόμενος σπένδει μελιηδέα οἶνον*, Thgn. 1146

Ἐλπίδι τε πρώτῃ καὶ πυμάτῃ θυέτω. The principle is one more honoured in theory than in observance (cf. Verdenius, *Fondation Hardt Entretiens*, vii. 133); Theognis does not mention Apollo again after the prologue, and Hesiod does not make any sort of address to the Muses at the end of the *Theogony* (965 and 1021 are new beginnings, not conclusions) or of the *Works and Days*. It does not seem to me necessary to suppose with Wilamowitz (*Hesiodos' Erga*, p. 7) that Hesiod actually wrote such an address, now lost. The interpretation of H. Schwabl (*Proc. Afr. Class. Assoc.* 2, 1959, p. 27), according to whom Hesiod's obligation applies only to the beginning and end of the proemium, so that he does in fact discharge it, seems incompatible with the relationship between 34 and 33, which refers to the *Theogony* as a whole. Further verbal parallels for *πρῶτόν τε καὶ ὕστατον*: *Il.* 2. 281, 15. 634, 16. 692, *Od.* 9. 14.

35. Hesiod now breaks off and returns to the theme begun in 1.

ἀλλὰ τίη μοι ταῦτα: as in the Homeric line *ἀλλὰ τίη μοι ταῦτα φίλος διελέξατο θυμός;* (*Il.* 11. 407, 17. 97, 21. 562, 22. 122, 385). But the syntax, with the ellipse of *μέλει*, more resembles *Il.* 21. 360 *τί μοι ἔριδος καὶ ἀρωγῆς;* Thgn. 1067 *τί μοι πλοῦτός τε καὶ αἰδώς;* Ar. *Lys.* 514 *τί δέ σοι ταῦτα;* Cf. Kühner–Gerth, i. 417.

περὶ δρῦν ἢ περὶ πέτρην: the origin and exact meaning of this proverbial phrase remain obscure. Oak and rock are found together in several different connexions in Greek literature, and it is best to begin discussion by classifying and setting aside those which have no relevance to our problem.

(1) Birth from oak or rock. *Od.* 19. 163: 'Come, tell me your lineage'; *οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ δρυὸς ἐσσὶ παλαιφάτου οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης*. The other ancient examples all derive from the Homeric passage: Pl. *Apol.* 34D, *Rep.* 544D, Lucill. *A.P.* 11. 253, Juv. 6. 12 (cj.), Plut. *Mor.* 608C, Philostr. *im.* 2. 3. 1, Palladas *A.P.* 10. 55. Eustathius and the *Odyssey* scholia explain the expression by reference to the practice of exposure of children in desolate places—they were then assumed to be born from trees or rocks; alternatively, by reference to an ancient myth of the origin of mankind. The latter may be right; there were myths of men being born from or as trees (cf. *Roscher*, v. 500 f., *C.Q.* 1961, p. 143), and in the Deucalion myth they were born from stones, though not from rocks. The *Odyssey* passage, therefore, can be understood as it stands. It has a Hebrew parallel in Jeremiah ii. 27.

(2) Oak and rock as symbols of insensibility, solidity, etc. (*a*) Nonn. *D.* 48. 504 f. *τίς δρυὶ μῦθον ἔλεξε; τίς ἄπνοον ἧπαφε πεύκην; τίς κρανέην παρέπεισε, καὶ ἐς γάμον ἤγαγε πέτρην;* (in *C.Q.* 1962, p. 231, I suggest the transposition of *πεύκην* and *πέτρην*). Cf. Cic. *Acad. pr.* 2. 101 *non enim est e saxo sculptus aut e robore dolatus: habet corpus, habet animum, mouetur mente, mouetur sensibus*, etc. Lucr. 5. 130 *nec cruor in lignis neque saxis sucus inesse*. This is probably the point also of Nonn. *D.* 16. 224. (*b*) Plut. *Mor.* 1083D *καίτοι λέγεται μὲν ὁ Λυγκεὺς ἐκεῖνος διὰ πέτρας καὶ διὰ δρυὸς ὁρᾶν*. (*c*) Oak and rock charmed by Orpheus' music. *A.P.* 7. 8–10; cf. Nonn. *D.* 3. 68.

(3) Oaks and rocks as the weapons of the Giants: Hermipp. 31 (i. 232 Kock), Pl. *Soph.* 246A, Apld. 1. 6. 1. (The Centaurs fought with firs or pines and rocks, Diod. 4. 12, Apld. 2. 5. 4.)

(4) Bees live in a hollow rock or oak or in reeds: ps.-Phocyl. 172–3.

(5) [Longin.] *π. ὕψ.* 40. 4 *ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς συρομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ ταύρου Δίρκης,* (Eur. fr. 221) *εἰ δέ που τύχοι, πέριξ ἑλίξας εἶλχ' ὁμοῦ λαβὼν γυναῖκα πέτραν δρῦν μεταλλάσσων ἀεί.* The meaning of this is obscure.

In these examples the verbal association *δρῦς–πέτρη* seems to have spread by analogy from one field of application to another. But the governing fact is that trees and rocks are the most obvious examples of discrete objects in a natural landscape. That is why bees live in them before the invention of the hive, and why the Giants and Centaurs fight with them; and what else can the first man be born from, unless it be from the earth herself?

We are now left with a group of passages which may have some relevance to Hesiod. They have this in common, that the oak and rock are in some way associated with speech. *Il.* 22. 126 (Hector thinks of throwing himself on Achilles' mercy, and decides against it): *οὐ μέν πως νῦν ἔστιν ἀπὸ δρυὸς οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης | τῷ ὀαριζέμεναι, ἅ τε παρθένος ἠίθεός τε, | παρθένος ἠίθεός τ' ὀαρίζετον ἀλλήλοιιν.* Pl. *Phdr.* 275BC (Socrates has quoted the story of an Egyptian king's opinion that the art of writing ruins the memory): Phaedrus: *ὦ Σώκρατες, ῥᾳδίως σὺ Αἰγυπτίους καὶ ὁποδαποὺς ἂν ἐθέλῃς λόγους ποιεῖς.* Socrates: *οἱ δέ γ', ὦ φίλε, ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Δωδωναίου ἱερῷ δρυὸς λόγους ἔφησαν μαντικοὺς πρώτους γενέσθαι. τοῖς μὲν οὖν τότε, ἅτε οὐκ οὖσι σοφοῖς ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς οἱ νέοι, ἀπέχρη δρυὸς καὶ πέτρας ἀκούειν ὑπ' εὐηθείας, εἰ μόνον ἀληθῆ λέγοιεν· σοὶ δ' ἴσως διαφέρει τίς ὁ λέγων καὶ ποδαπός.* Macarius, 3. 40 (*Paroem. gr.* ii. 158) *δρυὸς καὶ πέτρας λόγοι· ἐπὶ τῶν ἀδολεσχούντων καὶ μυθολογούντων παράδοξα.* Mention must also be made of an Ugaritic parallel, to which attention is drawn by F. Dirlmeier, *Rh. Mus.* 1955, pp. 25 f.: *A.N.E.T.* p. 136 'I've a word I fain would tell thee, A speech I would utter to thee: Speech of tree and whisper of stone, Converse of heaven with earth, E'en of the deeps with the stars, Yea, a *thunderbolt* unknown to heaven, A word not known to men.' This appears to mean 'what tree and stone say to each other', i.e. secrets that men cannot hear.

Scholiasts offer the same explanations for the Hesiod and *Iliad* passages. (i) To talk of ancient (sc. stale) things, *ἀρχαιολογεῖν,* because primitive man was born in the wild, or born from trees, etc. (ii) To recite oracles, *Δωδώνη γὰρ δρῦς, πέτρα δὲ Πυθώ.* (iii) *περιττολογεῖν, ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὰς δρῦς φύλλων καὶ περὶ τὰς πέτρας κυμάτων.* (iv) To talk of the origin of mankind. (v) Exegesis in *Th.* p. 371 Fl. *ἀλλὰ τί μοι ταῦτα, φησίν, ὥσπερ εἰ ἔλεγον περὶ τῶν ἐν δρυῒ καὶ πέτρᾳ σκηνωμάτων; οἱ γὰρ παλαιοὶ πρὸ τοῦ κτίσαι πόλεις ἐν δρυσὶ καὶ πέτραις ᾤκουν.* All these explanations are either absurd or inapposite or both, although some of them have been repeated by modern critics. Other interpretations proposed in modern times are (vi) to chatter, like lovers by trees or rocks (van Lennep). But in the *Iliad* passage there need be no

connexion between the phrase 'from oak or rock' and the simile that follows. (vii) 'But why should I say more about myself, a humble shepherd?'—the oak and the rock representing the simple country life (Paley). But the rock and the oak do not carry this symbolism in any of the many other passages where they are found. (viii) But why do I reveal what I saw far from men, among rocks and trees? (Sittl). The short answer is, why not? The fact that a miracle happens in a lonely place is no reason for reticence in reporting it. (ix) Originally 'to talk about one's descent', and hence coming to mean generally 'to talk about one's private affairs' (Verdenius, *Mnem.* 1958, p. 23). This is the most far-fetched of all; no individual claims descent from tree and rock, and the development to cover *any* personal experience is very unlikely.

It is best to acknowledge that the truth is lost in antiquity. All that we can do is attempt to formulate the general sense of the phrase. There are several possible alternatives. (1) Why do I digress? (2) Why do I go round in circles? (sc. from the duty of beginning with the Muses, 1, back to the subject of the same duty, 34). (3) Why do I boast? (cf. Emped. 113: having explained his claim to be a god, the poet breaks off, saying *ἀλλὰ τί τοῖσδ' ἐπίκειμ', ὡς εἰ μέγα χρῆμά τι πράσσων, | εἰ θνητῶν περίειμι πολυφθερέων ἀνθρώπων;*). (4) Why do I speak of the less important instead of the more important? (The verse is quoted and applied in this sense by Porph. *vit. Plot.* 22, which K. J. McKay, *Mnem.* 1958, p. 251, curiously interprets as supporting Verdenius' theory.) (5) Why do I relate what no one will believe? This would be supported by the proverb in Macarius, which does not look like a mere regurgitation of Hesiod. The meaning *ἀπίθανα λέγειν* would also be appropriate to Hector's monologue, and would give point to Plato's use in the *Phaedrus*, explaining why he says *δρυὸς καὶ πέτρας* instead of just *δρυός*.

Anyone who attempts to explain how Hesiod's expression came to have one of these senses, or some other sense, should in future take note of the fact that *περί* with the accusative in early epic always has a local sense; so that the phrase is not simply 'about', i.e. concerning, tree and rock, but 'round'. The original meaning of *δρῦς* was simply 'tree', so that the species 'oak' may have no significance. The fullest recent discussion of the proverb (with special reference to *Il.* 22. 126) is by V. Longo in *Ἀντίδωρον Hugoni Henrico Paoli oblatum*, Genoa, 1956, pp. 183–203.

36. **τύνη**: an old form of the second person pronoun, found in *Op.* 10, 641, and six times in the *Iliad*, often with a peremptory or contemptuous tone like Attic *οὗτος*. For the form cf. Laconian *τούνη*, *ἐγώνη* (*ap.* Hsch.); modern Cyprian (*ἐ*)*σούνη*, *ἐγώνη*. For a direct address to oneself in the second person, cf. Pi. *P.* 1. 81, E. *Med.* 402, Men. *Sam.* 111, 134, Theocr. 11. 72; Ter. *Andr.* 206, Catull. 8. 1, 51. 13, etc. It is rather more common, especially in the early period, to address one's heart, as *Od.* 20. 18, Archil. 67, Thgn. 1029, etc.

Μουσάων ἀρχώμεθα: an abbreviated repetition of 1. Hesiod has

led himself round in a circle (cf. above on 35), and now has to make a fresh start on the same lines as before. Note again the typical relative clause.

Διὶ πατρὶ: Zeus' most ancient title, cf. Sanskrit *Dyáus pitá*, Latin *Iuppiter*, Umbrian *Iupater*, Hsch. *Δειπάτυρος· ὁ θεὸς παρὰ Στυμφαίοις*.

37. **τέρπουσι μέγαν νόον**: cf. *h. Ap.* 204 *οἱ δ' ἐπιτέρπονται θυμὸν μέγαν εἰσορόωντες | Λητώ τε χρυσοπλόκαμος καὶ μητίετα Ζεύς*. The further parallel of *h. Dem.* 37 *τόφρα οἱ ἐλπὶς ἔθελγε μέγαν νόον* confirms *μέγαν* against the variant *μέγα* (adverbial), which is given by L in Hesiod and by the Mosquensis in *h. Ap.* l.c.

ἐντὸς Ὀλύμπου: this un-Homeric expression recurs in 408. 'Olympus' is here the gods' settlement at the top of the mountain, not the mountain itself. Sch.A *Il.* 1. 497 *ὅτι ἐν τῷ ἄκρῳ τοῦ Ὀλύμπου ἐστὶν ὁμώνυμος πόλις Ὄλυμπος*. Cf. Lehrs, *De Aristarchi stud. hom.*, pp. 164–74.

The variant *αἰὲν* for *ἐντὸς* (*a*; Q has *ἐντὸς*, not *αἰὲν* as Rzach reports) is from 33–34. There is a curiously similar variant, with a similar cause, at *Od.* 14. 21.

38. **εἴρουσαι**: see *C.Q.* 1962, p. 177. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 1029c (on Plato's Sirens) *αὗται δ' ἀνιέμεναι τὰ θεῖα εἴρουσαι καὶ καταδουσαι τῆς ἱερᾶς περιόδου καὶ χορείας ὀκτάχορδον ἐμμέλειαν*. (In a similar passage, 745F, Bernardakis restores *εἴρουσαι* for MSS. *ἐρέουσαι*.)

For the rest of the line see on 32.

39. **ὁμηρεῦσαι**: 'with voices in tune'. *ὁμηρέω*: **ὁμήρης*, 'fitted together' in the musical sense (*ἁρμονία*). Cf. *h. Ap.* 164 *οὕτω σφιν καλὴ συνάρηρεν ἀοιδή*. In a different sense Pi. *P.* 3. 113 f. *ἐξ ἐπέων κελαδεννῶν τέκτονες οἷα σοφοὶ ἄρμοσαν*. In *Od.* 16. 468, *ὡμήρησε* may mean simply 'met' (cf. 333), or 'told the same story'.

ἀκάματος: the adjective is applied only to fire in Homer, who, however, speaks of an 'unbreakable' voice in *Il.* 2. 490. Tithonus' voice *ῥεῖ ἄσπετος*, *h. Aphr.* 237. Cf. below, 519, 824.

ῥέει: cf. 83, 97, etc. A common metaphor; cf. Onians, pp. 66 ff.

40. **στομάτων**: for the singular given by *r* cf. 65, for the plural *Sc.* 279, *h.* xxxii. 20, Thgn. 18, A.R. 4. 903.

ἡδεῖα: G. Zuntz (*C.Q.* 1960, p. 37, n. 2) ingeniously suggests that Theocritus (1. 95) took *ἡδεῖα* as neuter plural, qualifying *γελᾷ*. It must, of course, be feminine singular; but there is a real difficulty, in that *ἀκάματος* looks as if it ought to be predicative, 'their voice flows untiring' (cf. *h. Aphr.* cited on 39), and *ἡδεῖα* cannot then be a predicate of the same verb. So either 'their untiring voice flows sweet', or with punctuation after *στομάτων*, 'the voice flows untiring from their mouths; sweet it is, and the house of the father rejoices', etc. For the possibility of this punctuation cf. on 155.

γελᾷ: the primary metaphorical meaning is 'shine' with reflected light, as *Il.* 19. 362 *γέλασσε δὲ πᾶσα περὶ χθὼν χαλκοῦ ὑπὸ στεροπῆς*. Cf. Hsch. *γελεῖν· λάμπειν, ἀνθεῖν*. The metaphor is also found in the *Ṛgveda*, and may therefore be Indo-European heritage. Elsewhere it is extended to express the rejoicing of the surroundings at a pleasant sound, odour or event. Thgn. 8–10 *πᾶσα μὲν ἐπλήσθη Δῆλος ἀπειρεσίη |*

ὀδμῆς ἀμβροσίης, ἐγέλασσε δὲ γαῖα πελώρη, | γήθησεν δὲ βαθὺς πόντος ἁλὸς πολιῆς. Cf. *h. Dem.* 13 f. As applied to the sea, the metaphor can have more than one meaning; cf. 256, Sem. 7. 27 f., A. *PV* 90, *GDK* 3. 4, Opp. *H.* 4. 334; Munro on Lucr. 1. 8; W. B. Stanford, *Greek Metaphor*, pp. 114–16. For the contraction γελᾷ cf. Chantraine, i. 52.

πατρός: best translated '*the* father', though he is, of course, *their* father.

41. θεᾶν: see p. 83.

ὀπὶ λειριοέσσῃ: in *Il.* 3. 152 cicadas ὄπα λειριόεσσαν ἰεῖσι. Cf. also A.R. 4. 903 ὄπα λείριον (of the Sirens); *GVI* 2027. 10 τέττιξ γλυκεροῖς χείλεσι λειρὰ χέων. The meaning of the adjective is uncertain. It is formed from λείριος or λείριον, and in *Il.* 13. 830 is applied to a despised adversary's skin; cf. the name *Ποδα-λείριος*. If it is a colour-adjective, it might be applied to a voice: Arist. *Top.* 107ᵃ12 ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸ λευκὸν ἐπὶ σώματος μὲν χρῶμα, ἐπὶ δὲ φωνῆς τὸ εὐήκοον. So *candida uox* in Latin. The ancient grammarians assume that λειριόεσσα refers to other qualities of the lily: ἁπαλή (Apoll., Phot.) or ἡδεῖα (Apion, *Et. magn.*). Bechtel, *Lexilogus*, p. 213, explains the word as meaning 'thin'; from this basic meaning it could come to mean 'fine, delicate' when applied to a voice, cf. *Il.* 18. 570–1 λίνον δ' ὑπὸ καλὸν ἄειδε λεπταλέῃ φωνῇ.

42. σκιδναμένῃ: not used of sound in Homer. The form κιδν- given by S is normally found only in cases of metrical need, though in *h. Herm.* 232 the MSS. give it at the beginning of the verse. Mimn. 2. 8 has ὅσον τ' ἐπὶ γῆν κίδναται ἠέλιος, but he is imitating *Il.* 7. 451 ὅσον τ' ἐπικίδναται ἠώς. Cf. on 345.

ἠχεῖ δὲ κάρη νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου: so in the hymn to Pan (19 ff.) the mountain nymphs sing and dance, κορυφὴν δὲ περὶ στένει οὔρεος ἠχώ. The un-Homeric verb ἠχεῖν recurs in 835 and *h. Dem.* 38.

νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου: the formula occurs four times in the *Theogony*, and in *h.* xv. 7, but not in Homer (κατ' Οὐλύμπου νιφόεντος once, *Il.* 18. 616).

43. δώματά τ' ἀθανάτων: the gods have their own individual houses on the peaks of Olympus, built for them by Hephaestus (*Il.* 1. 607–8, 11. 76, 14. 166, 338, 18. 369). Zeus' house occupies the very highest summit, like the king's palace in a Mycenean city.

αἱ δ', etc.: the sentence resembles *h.* xxvii. 18, αἱ δ' ἀμβροσίην ὄπ' ἰεῖσαι | ὑμνεῦσιν Λητὼ καλλίσφυρον. Only after we have heard about the sonic effects of the Muses' song are we told what they were singing about. This is the regular pattern; cf. 68 ff., *h. Herm.* 418–33, *h.* xix. 19–47; less clearly in *h. Ap.* 182–93. So even in later poetry; cf. especially Virg. *E.* 6. 27 ff. But sometimes the archaic sequence is reversed, as in A.R. 1. 496–515, [Orph.] *A.* 419–41. A similar principle may be discerned in the account of Zeus' battle with Typhoeus, see on 820–80 (p. 383).

44. θεῶν: for the prosody cf. *Il.* 1. 18, *Od.* 14. 291, *h. Dem.* 55, 259, 325, Archil. 22. 3; probable also in fr. 1. 5, 185. 7.

πρῶτον is answered by δεύτερον in 47 and αὖτις in 50. The series

refers to the actual order in which the Muses take their three subjects. It corresponds to that of the *Theogony–Catalogue* series (except that the latter said nothing about Giants, so far as we know): the gods from the beginning, and their descendants, *Th.* 116 ff.; the power of Zeus, a theme that becomes more and more prominent in the latter part of the *Theogony*; mankind, *Th.* 965 ff. and *Catalogue*. The sequence gods–men is that of the ordinary combination of hymn and heroic lay. So in the song of the maidens of Delos, *h. Ap.* 158 ff., *αἵ τ' ἐπεὶ ἂρ πρῶτον μὲν Ἀπόλλων' ὑμνήσωσιν, | αὖτις δ' αὖ Λητώ τε καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ἰοχέαιραν, | μνησάμεναι ἀνδρῶν τε παλαιῶν ἠδὲ γυναικῶν | ὕμνον ἀείδουσιν.*

κλείουσιν ἀοιδῇ: cf. *Op.* 1 *Μοῦσαι Πιερίηθεν, ἀοιδῇσι κλείουσαι.*

45. **ἐξ ἀρχῆς**: sc. the beginning of the *θεῶν γένος*. Cf. 115. This is much more natural than to take *ἐξ ἀρχῆς* with the following relative clause, as we are bidden to do by the scholiast and Wilamowitz (*Il. u. H.*, p. 467): Hesiod and Homer never postpone relative *ὅς*. The phrase *ἐξ ἀρχῆς* occurs seven times in the *Theogony*, four times in the *Odyssey*; never in the *Iliad* or *Works and Days*.

οὓς Γαῖα καὶ Οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ἔτικτεν: the Muses miss out the descendants of Chaos; it is not a complete cosmogony and theogony that they sing, just the ancestry of the Olympian gods. For the singular verb *ἔτικτεν*, cf. *Il.* 18. 398 *εἰ μή μ' Εὐρυνόμη τε Θέτις θ' ὑπεδέξατο κόλπῳ*, 17. 387. The reading *ἔτικτον* does not occur in cod. Paris. 2772, as Rzach reports in his 1884 edition, or in Barocc. 60, as Paley states.

The imperfect *ἔτικτε* and aorists *τέκε*, *τέκετο* are used without distinction in epic genealogies; but always *γένετο*, never *γίνετο*, and similarly *γείνατο*, *φιτύσατο* (986).

46. **θεοὶ δωτῆρες ἐάων**: here, and more clearly in 633, the phrase distinguishes the younger gods from their parents the Titans. This is hard to reconcile with E. Meyer's view of the Titans as beneficent earth-spirits (*Kl. Schr.* ii. 39). Cf. on 133.

47. **δεύτερον αὖτε** (*αὖ*, *αὖτις*) is a Homeric formula; cf. 214, 310. *δεύτερον* is probably neuter, not masculine. Similarly *τὸ τρίτον* (. . .) *αὖτις* 313 below, *Il.* 23. 733, etc.

θεῶν πατέρ' ἠδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν: 457, 468. Homer has only the nominative *πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε*.

48. It is nonsense to say that the Muses sing of Zeus second, both first and last, even granting that the latter is a formulaic expression which cannot be pressed (cf. on 34). Sittl's solution of the difficulty, that *πρῶτον* and *δεύτερον* are to be understood in a purely logical and not a temporal sense, is unconvincing: in a classification of this type Zeus, the god sung first and last, should also be first in the logical sequence, which could only be based on relative importance. Guyet was very probably right in condemning the line; there was a motive for interpolation in the apparent lack of construction in 47. The only things that can be said in its favour are (*a*) that corresponding in sense to 34 as it does, its presence strengthens the parallelism between the Muses' relationship with Zeus and Hesiod's with the Muses

(Friedländer, *G.G.A.* 1931, p. 252); (*b*) that 49, following 48, would resemble *Il.* 9. 97–98 (quoted on 34). But 49 can equally well be taken after 47.

That the line is spurious is further suggested by the fact that it does not scan. The facile emendation *λήγουσί τ' ἀοιδῆς* found in Π^1 and S destroys the essential parallelism *ἀρχόμεναί τε–λήγουσαί τε* (for which cf. fr. 305. 4, *h.* i. 17 f.). Of the numerous modern attempts to restore metre, most spoil the structure of the line (which is in itself perfect) by juggling with the words; the most plausible are those which assume that *θεαὶ* is intrusive (four consecutive lines, 46–49, have some part of *θεός* in the same position; in 51 *θεῶν* has displaced *Διὸς* in Π^1 Π^{20}): *ὑμνεῦσιν ἰδὲ λήγουσαι ἀοιδῆς* (L. Dindorf), *ὑμνεῦσι καὶ ἐκλήγουσαι* (Ludwich). Others have maintained that the vulgate text does scan, either as *λήγουσαΐ τ' ἀοιδῆς* (for which Casaubon, *Lectiones Theocriticae*, 1584, cap. xiv, had little difficulty in adducing parallels from the corrupt texts then current), or as *λήγουσαῖ τ' ἀοιδῆς* (Muetzell, Schoemann: an unexampled rhythm, and there are only doubtful parallels for the prosody, Pi. *N.* 11. 18 codd., and the corruptions of *αὐδή* cited on 31). In fact it does not scan; and it may well be that it never did scan on any normal principles, though if its author intended the prosody *λήγουσαΐ τε*, he cannot have been much earlier than Π^1 itself.

49. κάρτει τε μέγιστος: *Il.* 2. 118 (of Zeus) *τοῦ γὰρ κράτος ἐστὶ μέγιστον*. The variant *κράτεϊ* is possible (scanned as an anapaest in *Il.* 7. 142), but may have been caused by *κρατερῶν* below.

50. The juxtaposition of men and Giants may be explained in several ways. The Giants are themselves men in the fifth century: E. *HF* 853 *ἀνοσίων ἀνδρῶν* (*pace* Wilamowitz); cf. Telecl. 1. 15 (i. 210 Kock: in the Golden Age there was plenty to eat) *οἱ δ' ἄνθρωποι πίονες ἦσαν τότε καὶ μέγα χρῆμα Γιγάντων*, *Epigr. Gr.* 831. 8 *ὑβρισταὶ φῶτες*, Epic. Alex. adesp. 9. vi. 13–14 (pp. 84 f. Powell), *Batr.* 7 *γηγενέων ἀνδρῶν μιμούμενοι ἔργα Γιγάντων*. In Homer the Giants occupy an intermediate position between men and gods: the Laestrygonians are *οὐκ ἄνδρεσσιν ἐοικότες ἀλλὰ Γίγασιν* (*Od.* 10. 120), and like the Cyclopes and Phaeacians, the Gigantes are *ἀγχίθεοι* (7. 206: Grattius *Cyn.* 63 calls them *semidei*), though mortal (7. 59–60). Later, mankind is said to have sprung from the blood of the Giants (Ov. *M.* 1. 156 ff., cf. Lyc. 1356 ff.).

In what way men and Giants might have been combined in the Muses' song, however, it is not easy to say. After their divine genealogies one would expect heroic genealogies, as in the Hesiodic corpus; but the Giants had neither ancestry nor descendants, nor even individual names. Possibly Hesiod is imagining something like his own Myth of Ages (*Op.* 109 ff.), where the bronze generation, though not called Giants, have several of their characteristics: they precede the generation of heroes, they are fearful, strong and bellicose, and they kill each other off (M. Mayer, *Die Giganten und Titanen*, 1887, pp. 14 f.). Admittedly they do not attempt to scale Olympus.

51. An almost exact repetition of 37. The end of the paragraph mirrors the beginning; a good example of ring-composition.

52. The line not only completes the ring, corresponding as it does to the naming of the Muses in 36, but at the same time prepares for the continuation, by providing an antecedent for the typical relative pronoun (cf. on 22) which introduces the myth. (Friedländer, *Hermes*, 1914, p. 6.) Here and in a few other places (62–63, 115–16, 232–3, 264–5, 336–7) I have employed the device of indenting two lines instead of one, to mark a transition without suggesting a break: to mark a new paragraph in the ordinary way in Hesiod often obscures an essential connexion of thought.

53. **ἐν Πιερίῃ**: probably with *τέκε* rather than with *μιγεῖσα*. The place where a god is born is often mentioned in the *Theogony* (cf. 62, 241, 297, 384, 978; *h.* xv. 2, xvi. 3, xvii. 3). The place where intercourse took place is sometimes given (279, 971, probably 1010); but here it is the birthplace which is of prime importance, since it is the Muses with whom we are concerned. Mnemosyne bore them (1) *ἐν Πιερίῃ*, (2) *Κρονίδῃ πατρὶ μιγεῖσα*. The goddesses are addressed as 'Muses from Pieria' in *Op.* 1, and they are *Πιερίδες* for Solon (1. 2) and the author of the *Scutum* (206). Pieria is the region immediately to the north of Olympus, between it and the Haliacmon. In Homer it is the first place at which gods alight when going down from Olympus, for Hera when she goes to Lemnos (via Thrace and Athos, *Il.* 14. 226), for Hermes when he goes to the Ogygian Isle (*Od.* 5. 50). It is also the first of the many places Apollo visits in search of a site for his oracle (*h. Ap.* 214–16). The association of the Muses specifically with Pieria is not Homeric, though they are 'Olympian' in Homer. The Olympus–Pieria district must have been at one time the principal centre of their cult. Cf. on 1.

54. **Μνημοσύνη**: known as the mother of the Muses to Alcman (8. 9), Eumelus (16), Solon (1. 1), *h. Herm.* 429, etc. Cf. A. *PV* 460 f. *γραμμάτων τε συνθέσεις, | μνήμην ἁπάντων, μουσομήτορ' ἐργάνην.* The importance of memory to the oral poet needs no stressing. Cf. *Il.* 2. 488 ff. *πληθὺν δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μυθήσομαι . . . εἰ μὴ . . . Μοῦσαι . . . μνησαίαθ', ὅσοι ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθον*, *Cert.* 98. The Muses themselves were also called Mneiai, according to Plutarch (743D), while Pausanias (9. 29. 2) tells us that the three original Muses of Helicon were called Melete, Mneme, and Aoide. Memory is therefore not to be thought of as a mere allegorical figure; she is a kind of Muse herself, and might be directly invoked as such. Cf. Pl. *Euthyd.* 275CD *οὐ γὰρ σμικρὸν τὸ ἔργον δύνασθαι ἀναλαβεῖν διεξιόντα σοφίαν ἀμήχανον ὅσην· ὥστ' ἔγωγε καθάπερ οἱ ποιηταὶ δέομαι ἀρχόμενος τῆς διηγήσεως Μούσας τε καὶ Μνήμην ἐπικαλεῖσθαι.* In *h. Herm.* 425–33, Hermes sings a theogony, and honours Mnemosyne first of the gods (just as Hesiod first honours the Muses), for she is his patron.

Ἐλευθῆρος: to be identified with Eleutherae on Cithaeron (see Waser, *R.E.* v. 2343–4). Hesiod's words mean that Mnemosyne had a cult there; and as she was primarily a goddess of singers, it is not

unlikely that a 'school' of poets existed there in Hesiod's time. It is possible that the existence of rival Muse-cults on Helicon and Cithaeron may have some connexion with the legend of the singing-contest between the two mountains described by Corinna.

μεδέουσα: Homer has the form *μεδέων* only in the *Iliad*, in the formula *Ζεῦ πάτερ Ἴδηθεν μεδέων*. The construction with the local dative *γουνοῖσιν* is rare; cf. Pi. *O.* 7. 88, Macedonius *A.P.* 6. 30. 8. The normal construction is with the genitive.

55. **λησμοσύνην**: a conscious paradox, as when Macedonius salutes *Μνήμη* and *Λήθη* in the same breath, *A.P.* 10. 67 *Μνήμη καὶ Λήθη μέγα χαίρετον, ἡ μὲν ἐπ' ἔργοις Μνήμη τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, ἡ δ' ἐπὶ λευγαλέοις*. The use of abstract nouns in apposition to a birth is quite common, cf. 223, 326, *Op.* 804, *Il.* 14. 325 *ἡ δὲ Διώνυσον Σεμέλη τέκε χάρμα βροτοῖσι*, *Od.* 11. 287, 12. 125, *Cypr.* 7. 1, *h. Ap.* 25; *h. Herm.* 160 *μεγάλην σε πατὴρ ἐφύτευσε μέριμναν θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι*, *h.* xvi. 4, etc. So also in other contexts: *Op.* 701, *Il.* 3. 50–51, etc.

ἄμπαυμά τε μερμηράων: both words are un-Homeric, as is *λησμοσύνη*. Cf. Thgn. 343 *κακῶν ἄμπαυμα μεριμνέων*, Bacch. 5. 3 ff. *γνώσῃ μὲν ἰοστεφάνων | Μοισᾶν γλυκύδωρον ἄγαλμα . . . ὀρθῶς· φρένα δ' εὐθύδικον | ἄτρεμ' ἀμπαύσας μεριμνᾶν | δεῦρ' ἄθρησον νόῳ*. The view of poetry as a sweet consolation is expressed again in 98–103; cf. *Od.* 1. 337, Pi. *N.* 4. 1 ff., Gorg. *Hel.* 8–9, Pl. *Lg.* 653D, Philox. Cyth. fr. 9, Theocr. 11. 1 ff., Call. *ep.* 46. Euripides does not allow it this power (*Med.* 190–200, cf. *Ba.* 282 f., fr. 1079), and certainly it had the opposite effect on Odysseus (*Od.* 8. 83–92 and 521–31), though that was a special case.

56. **ἐννέα γάρ οἱ νύκτας**: the notion that the number (or size) of children that a mother bears is proportionate to the amount of intercourse is not uncommon in mythology. Alcmene bears two sons, having lain both with Zeus and with Amphitryon. Similarly with the Tyndaridae. There are English and Indian stories in which the birth of twins proves a wife unfaithful. In one Irish legend, a woman is ravished by three brothers, and consequently has triplets. Cf. Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, Copenhagen, 1957, v. 409–10. The idea appears in a different form in the Hittite *Song of Ullikummi* (see p. 21). There Kumarbi lies with a huge rock, five times, ten times; the result is not a corresponding number of children, but a stone child who grows to prodigious size.

The Muses are, I think, far the largest multiple birth in Greek mythology.

58–59. The lines also occur in *Od.* 10. 469 f. (with *μάκρ'* instead of *πόλλ'*); a similar formula in *Od.* 11. 294 f., 14. 293 f., *h. Ap.* 349 f. 59 recurs again in *Od.* 2. 107a, 19. 153, and 24. 143, though only in some MSS.; the same is true in 10. 470. Wilamowitz condemned the line in Hesiod (*Il. u. H.*, p. 467, n. 1). This is unnecessary, and O. F. Gruppe's excision of both lines even more so.

ἐνιαυτός here seems to mean 'the due time', a sense which might be derived from such an expression as *Od.* 11. 248 *περιπλομένου*

δ' ἐνιαυτοῦ τέξεις ἀγλαὰ τέκνα, where the strict meaning may be simply 'in time'. Cf. Alc. 42. 12 ἐς δ' ἐνίαυτον | παῖδα γέννατ'.

μηνῶν φθινόντων: originally 'as the moons waned', but perhaps by this time 'as the months passed'. The genitive absolute is often found in temporal expressions in epic, cf. 184, 493; Spieker, *A.J.P.* 6, 1885, p. 342; O. Seip *De participii et infinitivi ap. Hesiodum usu*, Diss. Giessen, 1886, pp. 50–53.

περὶ . . . ἐτελέσθη: the compound, which occurs only in this formulaic verse, seems to combine the idea of 'revolving', as in περιτέλλομαι, περιπλόμενος (cf. Onians, p. 443), with that of fulfilment, as in *Od.* 5. 390 τρίτον ἦμαρ . . . τέλεσ' Ἠώς, 795 below, τετελεσμένον εἰς ἐνιαυτόν. The περὶ can hardly be taken with πολλά in the sense 'exceptionally many'.

60. **δ'**: the commonest use of apodotic δέ is after a temporal protasis (Denniston, p. 179). Cf. especially *h. Ap.* 351.

ἐννέα: the number of Muses was by no means fixed in antiquity. At the opening of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* the Muse is addressed in the singular. Ephorus and others made the number three; others again four, five, seven, or eight; cf. M. Mayer, *R.E.* xvi. 688. The number nine appears once in late Homer (*Od.* 24. 60); also Eumelus fr. 16. It may be influenced by the size of certain mortal choirs, like the twin choirs of nine boys and nine girls in the cult of Zeus Sosipolis at Magnesia on the Meander (*Arch. Anz.* 1894, p. 81). Cf. Liv. 31. 12. 9 *carmen praeterea ab ter nouenis uirginibus cani per urbem iusserunt*; ib. 27. 37. 12 *tum septem et uiginti uirgines . . . carmen in Iunonem reginam canentes ibant*. For a different explanation see Roscher, *Abh. sächs. Ges.* 24 (1), 1904, pp. 35 f., 71; cf. also Usener, *Rh. Mus.* 58, 1903, p. 10.

κούρας: on -ᾶς see p. 85.

ὁμόφρονας: 'of like disposition', as might be expected of children born together of the same parents. Contrast *Sc.* 49 f. (Alcmene) διδυμάονε γείνατο παῖδε, οὐκέθ' ὁμὰ φρονέοντε· κασιγνήτω γε μὲν ἦστην.

61. **ἐν στήθεσσιν**: with μέμβλεται, cf. *Op.* 531 καὶ πᾶσιν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ τοῦτο μέμηλεν, *Od.* 22. 11 φόνος δέ οἱ οὐκ ἐνὶ θυμῷ | μέμβλετο.

ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἐχούσαις: a Hesiodic formula, cf. p. 78. The short datives in -οις and -ῃς (-αις) are found some 57 times in Hesiod (*Th.* and *Op.*), not counting 46 places where they stand before a vowel and could be written -οισ', -ῃσ', against 233 cases of -οισι, -ῃσι. This is a markedly higher proportion than in Homer, for whom the corresponding figures are *Il.* 79: 214: 1534, *Od.* 105: 149: 1270 (C. Reichelt, *De dativis in οις et ηις (αις) exeuntibus*, Progr. Breslau, 1893). It is slightly higher in *Op.* (28: 18: 94) than in *Th.* (29: 28: 139). Note that in the *Iliad*, -οις and -ῃς are about 2·7 times as frequent before vowels as elsewhere; this shows that it is not quite arbitrary to write -οισ' and -ῃσ'. The form -αις (Attic according to Wackernagel, pp. 53 f.) is usually found only at the line-end: *Il.* 12. 284, *Od.* 22. 471, and here. (In *Od.* 5. 119 there is a variant θεὰς. On *Th.* 71 and 215 see *ad locc.*) -αισι is nowhere well attested in early epic.

Hesiod's tendency to admit modern forms more freely than Homer is also seen in the case of the genitives *-ου*, *-εω*, *-έων* as against *-οιο*, *-αο*, *-άων* (Rzach, *Dialekt des Hesiodus*, pp. 397 ff.). It is not legitimate to draw conclusions about his relative date. Other factors come into account: Hesiod's personal fluency in the epic tongue (cf. *Gnomon*, 1963, pp. 11–12), and the fact that unlike the Ionian poet, he probably (to argue from later records of Boeotian) said *-οις* and *-αις* in his everyday speech.

62. A more precise indication of place than *ἐν Πιερίῃ* in 53; the narrative has the effect, perhaps also the intention, of explaining both epithets, *Πιερίδες* and *Ὀλυμπιάδες*. The topmost peak of Olympus is where Zeus' mansion stands, according to Homer (cf. on 43). Orpheus was born in a similar situation (A.R. 1. 25).

ἀπ': the reading *ἐπ'* in S might be the result of reminiscence of A.R. 2. 1101 *τυτθὸν ἐπ' ἀκροτάτοισιν ἀήσυρος ἀκρεμόνεσσιν*. Apollonius immediately precedes Hesiod in S, and was copied by the same scribe.

The line has exactly the same structural function as 52: it completes the paragraph-ring, and provides an antecedent for the relative *ἔνθα* with which we must proceed.

63. **ἔνθά σφιν**: on the accentuation see the Excursus, p. 438.

λιπαροί: perhaps polished with oil, like Nestor's throne in *Od.* 3. 406–8. Cf. Onians, pp. 280 ff.

χοροὶ καὶ δώματα: cf. *Od.* 12. 3 f. *ὅθι τ' Ἠοῦς ἠριγενείης | οἰκία καὶ χοροί εἰσι*. For the goddesses' mountain dancing-places cf. on 7.

64. That the Charites and Himeros live next to the Muses means, of course, that they have related interests and that they have much to do with each other. The Charites are often found in association with the Muses, e.g. *h.* xxvii. 15 *Μουσῶν καὶ Χαρίτων καλὸν χορὸν ἀρτυνέουσα*; Sappho 128 *δεῦτέ νυν ἄβραι Χάριτες καλλίκομοί τε Μοῖσαι*; Thgn. 15, Pi. *N.* 4. 1–8, 9. 53–55, Bacch. 19. 3–6; E. *HF* 673 ff. *οὐ παύσομαι τὰς Χάριτας | Μούσαις συγκαταμειγνύς, | ἀδίσταν συζυγίαν*. In *Cypr.* fr. 5 the Charites sing on Ida with Aphrodite and the Nymphs; cf. also Pi. *O.* 14. 3 ff. *ὦ λιπαρᾶς ἀοίδιμοι βασίλειαι | Χάριτες Ἐρχομενοῦ . . . οὐδὲ γὰρ θεοὶ σεμνᾶν Χαρίτων ἄτερ | κοιρανέοντι χορὸς οὔτε δαῖτας*, etc., and below on 907. Himeros reappears in 201 as an attendant of Aphrodite, but not elsewhere in Hesiod or in Homer. Cf. on 8.

οἰκί' ἔχουσιν: cf. 758, fr. 151, *Od.* 9. 505. Plutarch quotes the line with *οἰκί' ἔθεντο*, no doubt a mere figment of memory. The same variants occur in D.P. 649. The statement of the scholiast that 'they say there were shrines of the Charites and Himeros on Helicon as well as of the Muses' receives no support from Pausanias or elsewhere, and may be due to someone trying to interpret the text too literally and not even realizing that Hesiod is talking about Olympus, not Helicon.

65. **ἐν θαλίῃς**: a characteristic setting for the association of Muses (one of whom is actually called *Θάλεια*) and Graces (one of whom is called *Θαλίη*); cf. on 917. For the expression 'to dwell *ἐν θαλίῃς*', compare *Il.* 9. 143 *ὅς μοι τηλύγετος τρέφεται θαλίῃ ἐνὶ πολλῇ*. The phrase

ἐν θαλίῃς is more usually combined with *τέρπεσθαι*, as in *Op.* 115, *Od.* 11. 603, Archil. 7. 2. Cf. also Hdt. 3. 27. 1 *ἐπιφανέος δὲ τούτου γενομένου αὐτίκα οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι εἵματά τε ἐφόρεον τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ ἦσαν ἐν θαλίῃσι.*

διὰ στόμα: *διὰ* in this sense normally takes the genitive, e.g. Thgn. 18 *τοῦτ' ἔπος ἀθανάτων ἦλθε διὰ στομάτων.* The subject of the new sentence is the Muses again: it does not occur to Hesiod to make this explicit, because the preceding sentence was for him a statement about the Muses rather than about their neighbours.

66. The line is correctly punctuated by Triclinius and in some other MSS., but not, I think, in any modern edition. There should be a comma after *μέλπονται*, which is, as usual, intransitive (e.g. *h.* xix. 21). For if *νόμους* were governed by *μέλπονται*, *καὶ* would become the sentence-connective, and *τε* would then be inexplicable. In fact it is *τε* which connects the sentences.

νόμους καὶ ἤθεα κεδνά: the epithet shows that *ἤθεα* here means 'manners', as in *Op.* 67, 78, 699, and not 'abodes' as always in Homer. It follows that we must read *νόμους* and not *νομοὺς* (an alternative recognized by the scholia). Hoekstra, *Mnem.* 1957, pp. 220 f., plausibly argues that *νομοὶ καὶ ἤθεα* was a formular phrase which originally had the local sense, cf. *Il.* 6. 511 *μετά τ' ἤθεα καὶ νομὸν ἵππων.* The transference of meaning and of accent would be as in *πίονα δημόν* > *πίονα δῆμον.*

νόμος is not found in Homer (though read in *Od.* 1. 3 by Zenodotus, cf. ps.-Scymn. 102; *εὐνομίη* occurs in *Od.* 17. 487). In Hesiod it occurs several times (cf. 74, 417, *Op.* 276, 388). As a subject of song, *νόμοι καὶ ἤθεα ἀθανάτων* is a little surprising. (The sense is probably different in Alcm. 40 *ϝοῖδα δ' ὀρνίχων νόμως | παντῶν*, and S. fr. 861 *Σειρῆνας εἰσαφικόμην | Φόρκου κόρας θροοῦντε τοὺς Ἅιδου νόμους.*) *νόμους* is probably to be taken in the sense of 'ordinances', that is, the *τιμαί* laid down for each of the gods by Zeus, cf. 74, *Op.* 276: this is part of the Muses' song in 74, and has its place in Hesiod's own programme in 112. *ἤθεα κεδνά* would fit such passages in the *Theogony* as 233–6, 402–3, 406–8, 917, but these are incidental, and do not form the main subject of the poem, or of any other Greek poetry. It may be remarked that by no means all the gods' *ἤθεα* are *κεδνά*: the idea that they are, or ought to be, is not commonly met with in early Greek literature.

67. **ἐπήρατον ὅσσαν ἰεῖσαι**: a somewhat lame echo of 65. Koechly deleted the line; but *ἀθανάτων* is a necessary limitation of *πάντων*: for its position cf. 117 f. *πάντων ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ | ἀθανάτων*, 390 f. *ὅτε πάντας Ὀλύμπιος ἀστεροπητὴς | ἀθανάτους ἐκάλεσσε θεούς*, *h.* xxix. 1 f., etc. The same objection applies to Merkelbach's conjecture (*Stud. Ital.* 1956, p. 287) that *ἀθανάτων κλείουσι ⟨νόμους καὶ ἤθεα κεδνά⟩* stood in the Alexandrian text as an alternative to 66, signalled as such by critical signs which were later omitted. W. Bannier (*Rh. Mus.* 69, 1914, p. 509) defends the repeated phrase by referring to such repetitions as *Od.* 9. 30/32. There, however, the repeated phrase corresponds to a repeated event; the type is quite different (cf. on 721–5).

The simplest explanation is that Hesiod's invention failed him. There are somewhat similar repetitions, again two lines apart, in 143/5 and 450/2.

68. **τότ'**: resuming the narrative after the brief digression 63–67; similarly used in 635 and 674. We return from the present to the time immediately following the Muses' birth. The first thing a newborn god does—even if he is born practically on the summit of Olympus!—is to go and join the other gods. Cf. 202, *h.* vi. 15, xix. 42.

The line is imitated in fr. 26. 18, cf. *Gnomon*, 1963, p. 759.

69. **ἀμβροσίῃ μολπῇ**: construe with *ἴσαν*, not as parallel to *ὀπὶ καλῇ*. Cf. 686 *ξύνισαν μεγαλῷ ἀλαλητῷ*, *Il.* 3. 2 *Τρῶες μὲν κλαγγῇ τ' ἐνοπῇ τ' ἴσαν*, etc.

περὶ δ' ἴαχε: cf. 678, *Od.* 9. 395; above on 43.

70. **ὑμνεύσαις**: for the dative cf. *Sc.* 279, 348 *περὶ δέ σφισιν ἄγνυτο ἠχώ*. The use of *-αις* here rather than *-ῃς* (cf. on 61) is perhaps to be explained by the sense-break; but it might easily be due to the transmission, cf. on 215.

ἐρατὸς: the adjective which was applied to the Muses' voice in 65 is now rather oddly used of the sound of their feet. *δοῦπος* suggests that they are not simply walking, but performing some sort of processional dance. Chains or files of female dancers are often represented in art; cf. M. Emmanuel, *La Danse grecque antique* (1896), p. 253. But the closest parallel is perhaps the procession of the Cretans to Delphi led by Apollo in *h. Ap.* 514 ff.: *βάν ῥ' ἴμεν· ἦρχε δ' ἄρα σφιν ἄναξ Διὸς υἱὸς Ἀπόλλων, | φόρμιγγ' ἐν χείρεσσιν ἔχων, ἐρατὸν κιθαρίζων, | καλὰ καὶ ὕψι βιβάς· οἱ δὲ ῥήσσοντες ἕποντο | Κρῆτες πρὸς Πυθὼ καὶ ἰὴ παιῆον ἄειδον*. It is the implied dance to which *ἐρατός* is really appropriate.

ποδῶν ὕπο δοῦπος ὀρώρει: cf. *Od.* 16. 10. In fr. 158 the true reading is perhaps *ποδῶν ὕπο νοῦθος ὀρώρει, δοῦπος* having got in from the present passage; Herodian's explanation of the word *νοῦθος, ψόφος ἐν οὔδει*, appears to be an attempt at etymology.

71. **νισομένων**: this word is mostly written with two sigmas in MSS. The single sigma is proved by inscriptions and by the etymology of the word (*νισ- <*νι-νσ-*, reduplication of the stem *νεσ-* in *νέομαι, Νέστωρ*).

πατέρ' εἰς ὅν: Brugmann's change to *πατέρα ὅν*, accepted by Rzach, has no justification. *νίσομαι* in epic is always constructed with a preposition, and *εἰς* with a personal object is a characteristic epic use, cf. *Op.* 84, 290, *Il.* 7. 312, 15. 402, etc. *Π*[13] has ει]c ὅν·

ὁ δ', etc.: what follows seems to be meant as a new statement of the content of the Muses' song, to judge from 75 *ταῦτ' ἄρα Μοῦσαι ἄειδον*. The events of which they sang were of fairly recent occurrence, since Zeus' marriages (that with Mnemosyne was the fifth) followed upon his accession to the kingship (cf. p. 37). Cf. Pi. fr. 31 *Πίνδαρος . . . ἐν Διὸς γάμῳ καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτούς φησιν, ἐρομένου τοῦ Διὸς εἴ του δέοιντο, αἰτῆσαι ποιήσασθαί τινας αὑτῷ θεούς, οἵτινες τὰ μεγάλα ταῦτ' ἔργα καὶ πᾶσάν γε τὴν ἐκείνου κατασκευὴν κοσμήσουσι λόγοις καὶ μουσικῇ*.

οὐρανῷ ἐμβασιλεύει: cf. *Op.* 111.

72. **αἰθαλόεντα κεραυνόν**: cf. 504, 707, 854. Not a Homeric phrase. For the variant of Π^{13} cf. on 515.

73–74. **κάρτει**: cf. 49. In 386 ff. it is explained why Kratos, Bie, Zelos, and Nike are inseparable from Zeus. In 496 (if the line is genuine) Zeus is said to have overcome Kronos both *τέχνῃσι* and *βίηφι*; there, however, the reference is not to Kronos' final defeat (in the Titanomachy), but to his enforced regurgitation of his other children.

εὖ: cf. 885. 'And he has appointed their ordinances to the Immortals, well in each detail, and assigned them their privileges.'

ἕκαστα | ἀθανάτοις: the scholiast paraphrases *τὰ τῶν θεῶν. τουτέστιν ἑκάστῳ τῶν θεῶν καλῶς τὴν ἁρμόζουσαν παρέσχε τιμὴν ἔχειν*. I do not think Rzach is right in inferring from this that the scholiast read *ἑκάστῳ ἀθανάτων*: indeed, if he had, the paraphrase would have been unnecessary. Van Lennep prints the vulgate text, but his citation of *Il.* 11. 11 and *Od.* 19. 592–3 suggests that he meant to write *ἑκάστῳ ἀθανάτοις*—a possible reading, but not a necessary one.

διέταξε νόμους is van Lennep's simple correction of *διέταξεν ὁμῶς*, which modern editors surprisingly retain. Cf. *Op.* 276 *τόνδε γὰρ ἀνθρώποισι νόμον διέταξε Κρονίων*. If both verbs governed *τιμάς*, there would be a pointless tautology, made worse by the addition of *ὁμῶς*. There is a similar corruption in Emped. 9. 5; cf. Herzog, op. cit. (p. 50, n. 1), p. 42, n. 29. On *νόμος* see above on 66.

τιμάς: the 'provinces' or 'spheres of influence' of the gods, allotted at the beginning of Zeus' régime, though in some cases on the basis of what had obtained earlier. Aphrodite's *τιμή* consists of *παρθένιοι ὅαροι*, etc. (203–6); cf. 112, 393, 425–6, 885, *Il.* 15. 189, *h. Dem.* 86, *Aphr.* 37, xxii. 4.

75. **ταῦτ' ἄρα Μοῦσαι ἄειδον**: cf. *Od.* 8. 83, 367, 521 *ταῦτ' ἄρ' ἀοιδὸς ἄειδε*.

Μοῦσαι . . . 'Ολύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι: the formula is elsewhere used in invocations, as in 114, *Il.* 1. 1 v.l., 2. 484, 11. 218, 14. 508, 16. 112.

76. The line is at first sight otiose. But it tells us again how many the Muses were, and there is a tendency for a list of names to be accompanied by an indication of the number of items in it, cf. 148, 264, 907, fr. 7. 2, *Il.* 7. 161, 24. 252, *h. Dem.* 108, *Od.* 8. 118. So sometimes in mythographers, e.g. sch. Pi. *O.* 7. 49.

Why does Hesiod give the Muses' individual names here, and not earlier? The answer is perhaps that the idea has only just occurred to him. The names seem not to have been traditional, but to be suggested to Hesiod by things he has said about the Muses in the preceding lines. (This observation was first made, so far as I know, by R. H. Klausen, *Rh. Mus.* 1835, pp. 443–4; later by Sittl and Friedländer.) If Hesiod is inventing names for the Muses, it is no doubt because they had none before—they were a mere plurality, 'the Muses'. Cf. p. 32. According to Rhianus, fr. 19, one of their names is as good as another: *πᾶσαι δ' εἰσαΐουσι, μιῆς ὅτε τοὔνομα λέξῃς*.

77. **Κλειώ**: cf. 67 *κλείουσιν*.

Εὐτέρπη: cf. 37 = 51 *τέρπουσι*.

Θάλεια: cf. 65 *ἐν θαλίῃς* and note.

Μελπομένη: cf. 66 *μέλπονται*, 69 *ἀμβροσίῃ μολπῇ*.

78. **Τερψιχόρη**: we have seen the Muses both dancing and giving delight; cf. also *Sc.* 272 *τοὶ δ' ἄνδρες ἐν ἀγλαΐαις τε χοροῖς τε | τέρψιν ἔχον*. On the François Vase in Florence (*c.* 570 B.C.), where the nine Muses are represented and labelled with the Hesiodic names, we find not *Τερψιχόρη* but *Στεσιχορε*. H. Schmidt (*Observationes archaeol. in carmina hesiodea*, diss. Halle xii, 1894, p. 113), pointing out that not only the names on the vase, but the very arrangement of the figures, corresponds in general with Hesiod's list, argued that the vase has the status of a very early manuscript, and that *Στησιχόρη* should be restored in the text of Hesiod. But variant forms of names are typical of vases; cf. H. Luckenbach, *Jb. f. Phil.*, Suppl. xi, p. 561. There are similar discrepancies between the names of Centaurs and Lapiths on the same vase and in the *Scutum*, viz. Hoplon for Hopleus, Oroibios for Oreios. Terpsichore was known at least to Pindar (*Isth.* 2. 7) and Plato (*Phdr.* 259c). It is curious to note that *Τερψιχόρη* has apparently displaced *Στησιχόρη* in the text of Nonnus (*D.* 29. 238 and 242).

Ἐρατώ: cf. 65 *ἐρατήν*, 70 *ἐρατός*.

Πολύμνια: cf. 70 *ὑμνεύσαις*. The François Vase has *Πολυμνις*: the form *-ια* is attested in Mel. adesp. 24. Plutarch (*Mor.* 743D) wrongly analyses the name as Poly-mneia.

Οὐρανίη: the Muses sing how Zeus *οὐρανῷ ἐμβασιλεύει* (71). Alternatively, the idea of a *Μοῦσα Οὐρανίη* may have been suggested to Hesiod by the tradition that the Muses were daughters not of Zeus but of Uranos (Alcm. 67, cf. 5 fr. 2. i. 28; Mimn. 13 Bgk.; cf. Musaeus fr. 15, sch. Pi. *N.* 3. 16). Urania also appears in fr. 305. 4; there is an Oceanid of the same name, 350 below.

79. **Καλλιόπη**: cf. 68 *ὀπὶ καλῇ*. The name is known to Alcman, fr. 27. 1.

ἥ δὲ ... ἀπασέων: the last-named is also the most important, cf. 361, *Sc.* 260, *h. Dem.* 110. The reading of the MSS. (including Π^3) and Stobaeus, *ἥ δὲ*, is unexceptionable. *ἣ δὴ* is given by Macrobius (twice) and the Geneva scholia to *Il.* 2. 484, and has been introduced in S by the second hand. It is at first sight supported by the parallel of 361: 'aber wenn *τε* oder *δὴ* stünde, so müsste Kalliope und ihr Vorzug bekannt sein, und doch erfindet Hesiodos eben erst die Einzelgestalt und ihren Vorzug.' (Wilamowitz, *Il. u. H.*, p. 474, n. 2.) Diodorus gives *σφέων*: this might be defended by 361 and *h. Dem.* l.c., but it is quite probable that the parallel of 361 caused Diodorus to misquote. One citation cannot in any case outweigh the other citations plus the direct tradition.

80 ff. There is now a somewhat contrived transition to the subject of kings. Calliope is the most important of the Muses, because she has tutelage of kings. But for the rest of the section, the kings owe their advantages to the Muses as a body. At the end (94 ff.) there is an even more awkward transition from kings to singers.

Why are the kings introduced at all? They are not usually regarded by the Greeks as being dependent upon the Muses, except for the celebration of their renown. (Egeria's assistance to Numa was of a quite different kind.) I have suggested on p. 44 that Hesiod has introduced their praise because the poem was designed for their ears.

81. This and the following line are taken by editors with what follows, probably rightly, though one should perhaps not ignore the possibility of joining them with 80 instead, as Dio of Prusa (2. 24) seems to have done.

τιμήσουσι: this form of the aorist subjunctive, with short thematic vowel, is *difficilior lectio*, and supported by *Il.* 1. 175 *οἵ κέ με τιμήσουσι* (v.l. *-ωσι*), 9. 155 *οἵ κέ ἑ . . . τιμήσουσι* (v.l. ant. *-ονται*), *h.* xxx. 7 f. (cf. 16) *ὅν κε σὺ θυμῷ | πρόφρων τιμήσεις*. Cf. Schulze, *Hermes*, 20, 1885, pp. 491–4; Chantraine, i. 454 ff. Short-vowel subjunctives are also preserved by the tradition at 101, 799, *Op.* 283, 293 (cf. Wilamowitz, ad loc.), 327, 583 (cf. below on 83), 764.

For *τιμᾶν* of favour shown by a god to a mortal cf. 418, 532, *Il.* 2. 4, 15. 612, *Od.* 3. 379, *h.* xxv. 6, xxx. 8, Tyrt. 3. 3, Sappho 112. 5, Thgn. 169, Bacch. 5. 193, A. *Ag.* 1337, Cleanth. 1. 36, etc.

Διὸς κοῦραι μεγάλοιο: in *Il.* 9. 502 the phrase is used of the Litai.

82. **γεινόμενον**: this, and not *γι(γ)νόμενος*, is the form regularly used in epic for 'being born'. It is in fact not a present but an aorist participle: the ordinary *γενόμενος* with metrical lengthening of the first syllable (Schulze, pp. 182–91). Cf. 202, [219], *Il.* 10. 71, 20. 128, 23. 79, 24. 210, *Od.* 7. 198, Hom. *epigr.* 4. 13, Call. *H.* 3. 23, Theocr. 17. 75. For the use of an aorist participle in this context cf. A. *Th.* 664 ff. *ἀλλ' οὔτε νιν φυγόντα μητρόθεν σκότον | . . . Δίκη προσεῖδε καὶ κατηξιώσατο*; [Luc.] *astr.* 20 *καί σφισι γενομένοισι τῷ μὲν ἡ Ἀφροδίτη, τῷ δὲ ὁ Ζεύς, τῷ δὲ ὁ Ἄρης ἐπέβλεψαν.*

τε ἴδωσι is preserved by Stobaeus and Themistius, cf. sch. *καὶ ὄντινα, φησί, βασιλέα ἴδωσι καλοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς*. The simple verb is regular in such expressions; see the rich collection of parallels cited by Headlam on Herondas 4. 73 (to which add Call. fr. 1. 37–38 and A.R. 4. 475). The MSS. have *ἐσίδωσι* or *ἐπίδωσι*, forms which are often introduced by scribes to avoid the hiatus (e.g. *Op.* 610, *h. Ap.* 341.

Just as the evil eye harms, so the eye of a favourable deity directed upon a man, especially at his birth, brings him fortune. See Headlam, l.c.

διοτρεφέων βασιλήων: the late position of the genitive is noteworthy; cf. on 213, 682, 885, 893.

83. **χείουσιν**: the form *χείω* also occurs in *Od.* 9. 10 and *GVI* 1948. 3; it is parallel to *ῥείω, κλείω, πλείω, πνείω. χεύουσιν* (S, Themistius) would be the earliest example of *χευ-* as a present stem: in *Op.* 583 *καταχεύεται* may be aorist subjunctive (for the form cf. *Il.* 7. 336, *Od.* 6. 232, 23. 159; for *ἀνθεῖ* as present subjunctive, *Op.* 712; for subjunctive after *ἦμος*, *Op.* 680, *Od.* 4. 400); so may *χεύω* in *Od.* 2. 222 (*χείω* Ptol. Oroand., Ar.). The earliest certain example is *χεύετο* in

[Hes.] fr. 204. 125 (probably a sixth-century fragment, cf. *C.Q.* 1961, p. 136). Cf. also Schulze, pp. 62–63, 276; van Leeuwen, *Ench.* (2nd ed.), pp. 317–19; Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 105.

ἐέρσην: any liquid distilled from heaven. Cf. Philostr. *Heroic.* 19. 19 (on the Amazons) *τρέφουσι δὲ τὰ βρέφη γάλακτί τε φορβάδων ἵππων καὶ δρόσου κηρίοις, ἢ μέλιτος δίκην ἐπὶ τοὺς δόνακας τῶν ποταμῶν ἱζάνει.* Honey itself was believed to be deposited in the form of dew, or to be made out of dew by the bees; see Conington on Virg. *G.* 4. 1. The honey-sweetness which Pindar claims for his voice (fr. 152) was later explained by the story that bees had actually deposited honey upon his infant lips (Paus. 9. 23. 2, etc.). The effect of the 'sweet dew' is that the king's words *ῥεῖ μείλιχα* (84); cf. 97 *γλυκερή οἱ ἀπὸ στόματος ῥέει αὐδή*. Such adjectives as *μελίγλωσσος*, *μελίγηρυς*, etc., are also to be understood in terms of this primitive notion. Besides imparting sweetness, honey is also associated with true prophecy. It is only when the Thriai have eaten of it that they will tell you the future correctly (*h. Herm.* 558 ff. with Allen–Sikes–Halliday). The roll which Jehovah gave Ezekiel to eat when he made him a prophet was in his mouth 'as honey for sweetness' (Ezek. iii. 3). Compare the power of poetic inspiration attributed to mead in Nordic literature; Chadwick–Chadwick, op. cit. (on 30) i. 651–3; Onians, pp. 66 ff.

84 ff. The passage is closely similar to *Od.* 8. 170–3, and most commentators have assumed that one passage is modelled on the other. The majority award priority to Hesiod (e.g. Wilamowitz, *Il. u. H.*, pp. 477 f.; Bethe, *Homer*, ii. 329 f.; E. Schwartz, *Odyssee*, 224, n. 1; Sellschopp, p. 49; Jacoby, p. 81; P. Von der Mühll, *Od.* ad loc.; R. Merkelbach, *Untersuchungen zur Odyssee*, p. 174. *Contra* P. Cauer, *G.G.A.* 1917, pp. 531 f., and *Grundfragen der Homerkritik*, 3rd ed., p. 653; E. Meyer, *Kl. Schr.* ii. 20, n. 1; F. Focke, *Die Odyssee*, pp. 256–60, cf. 229, 230, n. 1; Fr. Solmsen, *T.A.P.A.* 1954, pp. 8 ff.) I do not think it safe to assume a direct relationship of dependence. But one may at least say that, as in 27, Homer seems the further removed from the original or traditional application of the language involved. *αἰδοῖ μειλιχίῃ* is much less appropriate to the tone of an eloquent man (*Od.* 8. 172) than to the respect with which the people regard an *αἰδοῖος βασιλεύς* (*Th.* 92); and mere eloquence, though god-given, does not make a man who is *εἶδος ἀκιδνότερος* conspicuous in a crowd, or cause people to gaze at him as at a god when he is going about the town, i.e. when he is not even speaking. Kingship does. So it looks very much as if the *Odyssey* passage is an adaptation, if not of the *Theogony* passage, at any rate of a similar passage in a similar context.

ῥεῖ: cf. on 39 and 83.

οἱ δέ νυ λαοί: there is nothing to choose between this variant and *οἱ δέ τε λαοί*. The clausula *οἱ δέ νυ λαοί* occurs in *Il.* 1. 382.

85–86. **ἐς**: often with *ὁρᾶν*, cf. *Op.* 21, 534, 738, etc.

διακρίνοντα θέμιστας | ἰθείῃσι δίκῃσιν: cf. *Op.* 221 *σκολιῆς δὲ δίκης κρίνωσι θέμιστας*, *Il.* 16. 387 *οἳ βίῃ εἰν ἀγορῇ σκολιὰς κρίνωσι θέμιστας*.

Parties to a dispute would come before the *βασιλεύς* and state their case, and he would settle the dispute (*διακρίνειν*: cf. *Op.* 35 *ἀλλ' αὖθι διακρινώμεθα νεῖκος ἰθείῃσι δίκῃς*) by pronouncing a legally binding decision (*θέμις*). *διακρίνειν θέμιστας* is thus to decide between opposing claims and between the possible *θέμιστες* that would uphold the one or the other. The decision may consist either of straight or of crooked *δίκαι*. The word *δίκη* has been plausibly connected with *δείκνυμι*, and may originally have meant a 'marker' such as a boundary stone between two estates (Palmer, *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1950, pp. 149 ff.). A straight row of markers would be the result of a fair demarcation, while if some of the stones were moved so as to take in an additional piece of land, the row would be crooked. *σκολιαὶ δίκαι* are thus unjust decisions (*Op.* 219, 250, 264) and *ἰθεῖαι δίκαι* just ones (*Op.* 225–6, *h. Dem.* 152, cf. *Op.* 7, 224, 230, *Il.* 18. 508).

ἀσφαλέως: unerringly. The idea of truth is often associated with that of *ἀσφάλεια*; cf. Pi. fr. 205 *ὥνασσ' Ἀλάθεια, μὴ πταίσῃς ἐμὰν | σύνθεσιν τραχεῖ ποτὶ ψεύδει.* S. fr. 588 *θάρσει· λέγων τἀληθὲς οὐ σφαλῇ ποτε.* X. *Cyr.* 8. 7. 13 *ἀλλ' οἱ πιστοὶ φίλοι σκῆπτρον βασιλεῦσιν ἀληθέστατον καὶ ἀσφαλέστατον.* Dem. 19. 184 *οἷς γάρ ἐστ' ἐν λόγοις ἡ πολιτεία, πῶς, ἂν οὗτοι μὴ ἀληθεῖς ὦσιν, ἀσφαλῶς ἔστι πολιτεύεσθαι;* Men. fr. 421 *ἀεὶ κράτιστόν ἐστι τἀληθῆ λέγειν | ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ· τοῦτ' ἐγὼ παρεγγυῶ | εἰς ἀσφάλειαν τῷ βίῳ πλεῖστον μέρος.* [Luc.] *astr.* 15 *ἐξέπεσε τῆς ἀληθηίης καὶ παντὸς ἀπεσφάλη τοῦ λόγου.* [Luc.] *Ocyp.* 83 *μαθὼν ἀλήθειαν γὰρ ἰατρὸς ἀσφαλῶς | κρεῖττον πρόσεισι, σφάλλεται δὲ μὴ μαθών.*

87. **αἶψά τι**, which I have now found in a MS., is one of Schoemann's conjectures for *αἶψά τε* of most MSS. and citations; *τι* goes with *μέγα νεῖκος* (cf. *Sc.* 79 codd. *ἦ τι μέγ' ἀθανάτους . . . ἤλιτεν Ἀμφιτρύων*). Peppmüller conjectured *κε*, which soon afterwards received undeserved support from Π^3. He compared *Od.* 18. 263 *οἵ κε τάχιστα | ἔκριναν μέγα νεῖκος*: a unique instance of the modal particle with a 'gnomic' aorist (*οἵ τε* Monro, cf. his *Homeric Grammar*, § 324; *κρίνειαν* Nauck), which it would be rash to introduce here. The papyrus reading might be due to a reminiscence of *αἶψά κε καὶ* in *Il.* 16. 624 or *Od.* 14. 131, but *κε* and *τε* are in any case easily interchanged. *αἶψά κε* is f.l. for *αἶψά τε* in *Il.* 19. 221; a papyrus has *κε* for *τε* (wrongly) in 21. 609, and another has *τε* for *κε* in *Od.* 10. 74. Stobaeus has *ὅς κ'* for *ὅς τ'* at *Op.* 347. The better-attested reading *αἶψά τε*, however, is just as difficult. The *τε* cannot link *αἶψα* with *ἀσφαλέως* (it is not the king's speech which is rapid, but his solution of the dispute), and a 'generalizing' *τε* would naturally have gone with *ὅ δέ*. *αἶψά τι* gives an excellent sense, and it is obvious how easily *τι καὶ* could become *τε καὶ*. *τε* and *τι* are ancient variants in *Il.* 5. 408, 15. 274, *Od.* 1. 188, 2. 182.

μέγα νεῖκος: I find no need to see an allusion to Hesiod's dispute with Perses, as does Mazon (*Hésiode*, p. 8). It is in his judicial capacity that a *βασιλεύς* has most direct contact with his subjects, and this side of his activities is naturally prominent in their praise of him and complaint about him.

88. The scholiast interprets: *διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐχέφρονές εἰσι καὶ καλοῦνται, ὅτι*, etc. This cannot be got out of the Greek, and even if it could, it would be rather a strange statement. Better 'for this is why there are (or: they are) kings, because', etc., *ἐχέφρονες* being a mere laudatory addition to the predicate. This is still somewhat odd; one would have expected rather something like *τούνεκα γὰρ βασιλῆας ἐπὶ χθόνα θῆκε Κρονίων, ὄφρα*. . . . Schoemann assumed a lacuna, which he filled from *Od.* 8. 480: *τούνεκα γὰρ βασιλῆες ἐχέφρονες ⟨ἠδὲ δίκαιοι | τιμῆς ἔμμοροί εἰσι καὶ αἰδοῦς,⟩ οὕνεκα λαοῖς*, etc. A further possibility might be, 'for this is why sensible men are (set up as) kings', sc. because they are good at settling disputes *ῥηιδίως* and without leaving hard feelings. This is perhaps the best sense, though rather a strain on the Greek. If Hesiod's thought is clear, his expression is not, and vice versa.

τούνεκα–οὕνεκα is not a Homeric correlative pair. It is not certain whether *τούνεκα* is from *τοῦ ἕνεκα* (with epic psilosis), or an analogical formation corresponding to *οὕνεκα* as, for example, *τώς* to *ὡς* (Schulze *ap.* Jacobsohn, *Philol.* 1908, p. 495). If the latter, it should not be written *τοὕνεκα* with a coronis.

89. **βλαπτομένοις**: cf. Thgn. 937–8 *οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν | βλάπτειν οὔτ' αἰδοῦς οὔτε δίκης ἐθέλει* (i.e. not recognize his rights, ihn zurücksetzen); *Op.* 193 *βλάψει δ' ὁ κακὸς τὸν ἀρείονα φῶτα μυθοῖσι σκολιοῖς ἐνέπων, ἐπὶ δ' ὅρκον ὀμεῖται*. K. von Fritz (*Festschr. Snell*, p. 41) suggests that *βλαπτομένοις* is middle, in a reciprocal sense, 'wronging each other'; but the use of *διακελεύεσθαι* which he quotes from Hdt. 1. 1. 4 is a special one of that verb, and not entirely adequate as a parallel. Besides, it is the *ἀδικούμενοι* for whom the kings effect redress, and not the *ἀδικοῦντες*. So *βλαπτομένοις* is best taken as a passive.

ἀγορῆφι: probably with *βλαπτομένοις*, 'in their dealings'; if with *τελεῦσι*, then 'in the agora', as *εἰν ἀγορῇ* in *Il.* 16. 387 (quoted on 85–86).

μετάτροπα ἔργα τελεῦσι: 'they accomplish restitution'. The phrase may be compared with *Od.* 17. 51 *αἴ κέ ποθι Ζεὺς ἄντιτα ἔργα τελέσσῃ*, *Il.* 24. 213 *τότ' ἄντιτα ἔργα γένοιτο*.

90. **ῥηιδίως**: probably with *τελεῦσι* rather than *παραιφάμενοι*. *ῥηιδίως* or *ῥεῖα* is an adverb frequently used in aretalogies, especially of gods; cf. 254, 442–3, *Op.* 5–7, *Il.* 16. 690 = 17. 178, etc.

μαλακοῖσι . . . ἐπέεσσιν: the ideal ruler not only decides disputes, he uses his powers of persuasion to justify his decision and mollify the party to whom his settlement is less favourable.

After the general statement about (sensible) kings, we return to the picture of the particular king favoured by the Muses.

91. **ἀν' ἀγῶνα**: *ἀγών* here has the sense of *ἀγορή*, as in *Il.* 18. 376, Pi. *P.* 10. 30, etc. See Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 513 and 845. *Od.* 2. 10–13 (Telemachus) *βῆ ῥ' ἴμεν εἰς ἀγορήν . . . τὸν δ' ἄρα πάντες λαοὶ ἐπερχόμενον θηεῦντο*. The variant *ἀνὰ ἄστυ* is from *Od.* 8. 173 *ἐρχόμενον δ' ἀνὰ ἄστυ θεὸν ὣς εἰσορόωσιν* (cf. A.R. 4. 1179); Π^3 gives *εισορ[οω]σιν* for *ἱλάσκονται* by a similar contamination.

θεὸν ὣς: a common Homeric simile, usually expressing the degree to which a king or priest was honoured by the people. Cf. *Il.* 8. 540, 9. 155, 12. 312, 16. 605, 22. 434.

ἱλάσκονται: cf. *Il.* 22. 394 *ὣ Τρῶες κατὰ ἄστυ θεῷ ὡς εὐχετόωντο*, *Od.* 8. 467.

92. = *Od.* 8. 172, cf. on 84 ff.

93. τοίη: so Π^3, confirming an old conjecture (Winterton, 1635). Cf. Bühler on Mosch. *Eur.* 62. No sense can be got out of *οἵα τε*; it might be the result of the marginal addition of *τ* to a variant *οἵη* (cf. *Sc.* 20 *τὼς Π*, *ὡς* codd.). *οἵη* was in fact conjectured by Nilsson, *Die Kausalsätze im Griechischen bis Aristoteles*, Würzburg, 1907, p. 66; but it would tie the line too closely to *μετὰ δὲ πρέπει ἀγρομένοισι. τοίη* gives it sufficient autonomy to refer to the whole of the preceding passage from 81 onward.

δόσις: more abstract than *δῶρον*; *δῶρα θεάων* is used of song in 103 (see n.), *δόσις* is appropriate to more indirect gifts. Cf. *Op.* 718 (*πενίην*) *μακάρων δόσιν αἰὲν ἐόντων.*

94–97. These four lines recur (with minor variants) as lines 2–5 of the 25th Homeric hymn. Those authors who cite the lines and name a source for them name Hesiod; and they are certainly original in this context. The hymn is a senseless bit of patchwork, consisting merely of the excerpt from Hesiod with a prefatory line in front and a couple of valedictory lines at the end. Many of the short hymns are composed in this way: see Wünsch, *R.E.* ix. 150; R. Böhme, *Das Prooimion* (Bausteine z. Volkskunde u. Religionswissenschaft, 15, 1937), pp. 3–10.

The train of thought is as follows: 'The Muses bestow all these benefits upon a king (93). For (although) singers are from the Muses, and kings are (not from the Muses but) from Zeus: nevertheless the Muses' favour is always beneficial (even to a king), and the words flow sweet from the recipient's lips.'—This last generalization serves as a kind of pivot on which we swing back from kings to singers. Taken with what precedes it, its implied reference is to kings; and it therefore seems to us somewhat illogical that it should be followed by an illustration of the sweetness of a singer's words and not a king's. But this kind of inconsequence, a series of thoughts ABC, where A and B or B and C make a coherent sequence, but ABC taken as a whole seem to lack all cohesion, is characteristic of archaic Greek literature. For Hesiod, compare, for instance, *Op.* 359–63, where 361–2 cohere with 359–60 only if taken in one way, and with 363 only if taken in another. Pindar's technique of passing into or out of a myth by means of a generalization has some affinity with the archaic type, but here it has become a conscious principle of composition.

94. ἐκ γάρ τοι Μουσέων: the medieval MSS. have *Μουσάων*, *-άων* being often written unmetrically for *-έων* (cf. on 800). In Triclinius' copy the metre is repaired by the omission of *τοι*: this text is also given by the MSS. of *h.* xxv, but it would be wrong to alter the text

of Hesiod on that account. Rzach in his apparatus states that Themistius (twice) and Eustathius give *ἐκ μὲν Μουσάων*. This is misleading, for these are not verbatim quotations: Hesiod's words are worked into the writer's own sentence, and we cannot show that a different text from the vulgate was read.

ἐκ Μουσέων ἔασιν may well be meant literally, of lineal descent. For the expression cf. 336, 590, 869. Singers did, at least sometimes, trace their descent from famous singers of the past (the Homeridae from Homer, whose ancestry was taken back to Orpheus), and these were themselves sons of Muses: Orpheus of Calliope or Clio; Linus of Urania (fr. 305—he was also a *κιθαριστής*, cf. fr. 306) or Terpsichore or Apollo and Calliope; Thamyris of Erato. Cf. Pi. *N.* 3. 1 *ὦ πότνια Μοῖσα, μᾶτερ ἁμετέρα*. Royal families similarly traced their ancestry back to Zeus; cf. the epithets *διογενής, διόγνητος*.

Ἀπόλλωνος: on Apollo's association with the Muses, see Allen–Sikes–Halliday on *h.* xxv.

95. **ἐπὶ χθόνα**: citations give *ἐπὶ χθονὶ*, as in the hymn. Hesiod has the accusative in 187, 531, *Op.* 11, 487, 505, the dative in *Op.* 252, cf. 90, *Th.* 556, 564. Cf. on 531.

καὶ κιθαρισταί: the *ἀοιδός* usually accompanied himself on the lyre (cf. on 30), so that *ἀοιδοὶ καὶ κιθαρισταί* here and in fr. 305. 2 probably does not refer to two different sets of people, but is equivalent to 'citharodes'. Cf. *Il.* 2. 599 f. (quoted on 31), 13. 731, *Od.* 1. 159 *τούτοισιν μὲν ταῦτα μέλει, κίθαρις καὶ ἀοιδή* (both supplied by Phemius, cf. 153 f.); 21. 406 *ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἀνὴρ φόρμιγγος ἐπιστάμενος καὶ ἀοιδῆς*.

96. **ὁ δ' ὄλβιος, ὅντινα Μοῦσαι | φίλωνται**: cf. *h. Dem.* 486–7 *μέγ' ὄλβιος ὅντιν' ἐκεῖναι | προφρονέως φίλωνται, h.* xxx. 7 *ὁ δ' ὄλβιος, ὅν κε σὺ θυμῷ | πρόφρων τιμήσεις*.

97. **γλυκερὴ οἱ ἀπὸ στόματος ῥέει αὐδή**: cf. *Il.* 1. 249 *ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδή*, and above on 83. For the asyndeton cf. on 533.

98. **εἴ γάρ τις καὶ**: *Op.* 321.

πένθος ἔχων νεοκηδέι θυμῷ: Nauck suggested *κῆδος . . . νεοπενθέι*, on the model of *Od.* 11. 39 *νεοπενθέα θυμὸν ἔχουσαι*. But *νεοκηδέι θυμῷ* may be compared with *ἀκηδέα θυμὸν* in 61 and elsewhere. On the question whether there is a special allusion in these lines appropriate to Hesiod's audience, see p. 45; for the power of song to assuage grief, cf. on 55.

99. **ἄζηται**: probably not 'groans' as *LSJ* suggests, associating the word with the *ἄζω* attested by Photius from Sophocles (fr. 980) and Nicochares; that is a formation from *ἆ*, of a mainly fifth-century type (cf. *φεύζω, αἰάζω*, etc.). It is rather the commoner word *ἄζω*, 'is dried out'. So sch., *ἀναξηραίνει γὰρ ἡ λυπή*. For the notion that one becomes unnaturally dry inside as a result of weeping and sorrow, cf. E. *El.* 239 f. (El.) *οὐκοῦν ὁρᾷς μου πρῶτον ὡς ξηρὸν δέμας*. (Or.) *λύπαις γε συντετηκός, ὥστ' ἐμὲ στένειν*. Teles p. 34 Hense *ὥσπερ ὁ Λαέρτης εἰς ἀγρὸν ἀπελθὼν μόνος μετὰ γραδίου κακουχεῖ αὐτὸν καὶ ξηραίνει* (cf. *Od.* 1. 190 *ἀλλ' ἀπάνευθεν ἐπ' ἀγροῦ πήματα πάσχειν | γρηῒ*

σὺν ἀμφιπόλῳ). Maneth. 2 (1). 168 f. δειλοὺς πανταρβεῖς τε φρεσὶν καταπεπτηῶτας, | αὐχμηρούς, ἐὸν ἦτορ ἀεὶ βλάπτοντας ἀνίαις. Christod. *A.P.* 2. 187 f. δάκρυα μὲν σταλάεις· τὸ δὲ δάκρυον ἔσβεσε τέχνη | ἄπλετον ἀγγέλλουσα δυσαλθέος αὐχμὸν ἀνίης. (In Hdt. 3. 41 ἐδίζητο ἐπ' ᾧ ἂν μάλιστα τὴν ψυχὴν ἀσηθείη ἀπολομένῳ, AB give ἀσθείη, but the reading of D is confirmed by ἄσῃ in 1. 136. 2; cf. Baehr ad loc.) Homer speaks of a man's heart being 'withered' by grief, like some sort of plant: *Il.* 1. 491 φθινύθεσκε φίλον κῆρ, 18. 446 ἤτοι ὁ τῆς ἀχέων φρένας ἔφθιεν. On this and related ideas cf. Onians, pp. 30–38, 48.

κραδίην: better taken with ἄζηται than with ἀκαχήμενος.

ἀκαχήμενος: cf. Chandler, *Greek Accentuation*, 2nd ed., § 788; above, p. 82.

αὐτὰρ: we would say, 'and then'.

100. Μουσάων θεράπων: *h.* xxxii. 20, Thgn. 769, *Margit.* 1. 2; a humorous cliché by the time of Aristophanes (*Av.* 909, 913). Cf. Falter, op. cit. (on 22–34 *ad fin.*), pp. 74 f. Similar expressions are Οὐρανίας κλεινὸς θεράπων Bacch. 5. 13; θεράποντες Ἄρηος *Il.* 2. 110, *al.* (cf. Archil. 1); κρατερὼ θεράποντε Διός (i.e. powerful princes) *Od.* 11. 255; Ἀθηναίης δμῶος (i.e. τέκτων) *Op.* 430, etc.

κλεῖα προτέρων ἀνθρώπων: cf. *Il.* 9. 189 ἄειδε δ' ἄρα κλέα ἀνδρῶν, *Od.* 8. 73, *h.* xxxii. 18 κλέα φωτῶν | ᾄσομαι ἡμιθέων, ὧν κλείουσ' ἔργματ' ἀοιδοί. προτέρων ἀνθρώπων also in *Il.* 5. 637 and 23. 332; cf. *Op.* 160. κλεῖα is the product of contraction from κλέεα (originally *κλέϝεσα). Other forms of the plural are κλέᾱ and perhaps κλέᾱ (in the phrase κλέα ἀνδρῶν); the latter would be an Attic contraction, like ὑγιᾶ from ὑγιέ(σ)α. On Nauck's κλέεα, adopted by Rzach, see Ludwich's section 'Homerisch ist nicht Urgriechisch' in his *Aristarchs homerische Textkritik*, ii. 232 ff.

101. Men and gods are the two main subjects of Greek poetry. Cf. *Od.* 1. 338 ἔργ' ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, τά τε κλείουσιν ἀοιδοί; *h. Ap.* 190 ὑμνεῦσίν ῥα θεῶν δῶρ' ἄμβροτα ἠδ' ἀνθρώπων | τλημοσύνας. Cf. on 44.

ὑμνήσει: cf. on 81.

102–3. δυσφροσυνέων ἐπιλήθεται οὐδέ τι κηδέων | μέμνηται: for this form of expression (as 551 γνῶ ῥ' οὐδ' ἠγνοίησε, *h. Ap.* 1 μνήσομαι οὐδὲ λάθωμαι, *Il.* 1. 416, 10. 113, S. *OT* 58, *Ph.* 527, etc.) cf. W. Arend, *Die typischen Scenen bei Homer*, p. 15; H. Humbach, *Münchener Studien z. Sprachwissenschaft*, 14, 1959, pp. 23 ff.

δυσφροσυνέων: the word is used again in 528. The variant δυσφρονέων, adopted in Stephanus–Dindorf and *LSJ*, should be given no credence. The first-declension genitive ending **-έων** is always scanned as one syllable in epic except in the words πυλέων (*Il.* 7. 1, 12. 340, *Sc.* 246) and perhaps once θυρέων (*Od.* 21. 191 v.l.). For the corruption cf. E. *Hel.* 1470 εὐφρόναν for εὐφροσύναν. Similar forms are known only from lexica: Bekker *Anecd.* 1. 472 ἀφρόνη· ἡ ἀφροσύνη, and Hsch. εὐφρόνη· εὐφροσύνη (cj. Gesner in [Orph.] *H.* 9. 8), notices which may derive from similar corruptions. W. Dindorf's conjecture δυσφρονᾶν in Pi. *O.* 2. 52 should therefore be

treated with some reserve, and so should Housman in *C.R.* 2, 1888, pp. 242–5.

οὐδέτι: we shall never know whether Hesiod meant *οὐδ' ἔτι* (Nauck) or *οὐδέ τι*. For the former cf. *Od.* 15. 22 f. *παίδων δὲ προτέρων καὶ κουριδίοιο φίλοιο | οὐκέτι μέμνηται τεθνηότος*, for the latter *Il.* 24. 129 *σὴν ἔδεαι κραδίην μεμνημένος οὔτε τι σίτου | οὔτ' εὐνῆς*. There is the same uncertainty in *Il.* 8. 362.

παρέτραπε: as we say, 'diverts'. Cf. *h. Dem.* 203 *πολλὰ παρασκώπτουσ' ἐτρέψατο πότνιαν ἁγνὴν | μειδῆσαι γελάσαι τε*. *para-* has the same force as in *παραιφάμενος, παραμυθεῖσθαι*.

δῶρα θεάων: music. Cf. Archil. 1. 2 *καὶ Μουσέων ἐρατὸν δῶρον ἐπιστάμενος*, Alcm. 59(b). 1 *ϝαδηᾶν ἔδειξε Μωσᾶν δῶρον*, Pl. *Lg.* 796E; Falter, op. cit. (on 22–34 *ad fin.*), pp. 60 ff. Similarly, wine is *δῶρα Διωνύσου πολυγηθέος* (*Op.* 614), sleep is *Ὕπνου δῶρον* (*Il.* 7. 482), marriage and the like is *δῶρα Ἀφροδίτης* (*Sc.* 47), and so forth.

104. We have now reached the passage of transition to the main part of the poem. The poet salutes the god who has been the subject of his prefatory hymn, prays that his song may be beautiful, and—only now—announces the subject of the poem. The endings of the Homeric hymns should be compared.

χαίρετε τέκνα Διός: *h.* xxv. 6 (from Hesiod, cf. on 94–97); cf. xxvii. 21 *χαίρετε τέκνα Διὸς καὶ Λητοῦς ἠυκόμοιο*.

δότε δ' ἱμερόεσσαν ἀοιδήν: *h.* x. 5 (*δὸς*). Cf. vi. 19 *δὸς δ' ἐν ἀγῶνι | νίκην τῷδε φέρεσθαι, ἐμὴν δ' ἔντυνον ἀοιδήν*, xxiv. 5 *χάριν δ' ἅμ' ὔπασσον ἀοιδῇ*, xxv. 6 *καὶ ἐμὴν τιμήσατ' ἀοιδήν*.

105. The subject of song is, as usual, summed up in the object of a verb and then expanded by a relative clause; see on 2.

ἀθανάτων: cf. on 21.

106. **Γῆς**: elsewhere Hesiod uses only the form *Γαῖα* for the divinity (23 times), though he uses *γῆ* as well as *γαῖα* for the earth in ordinary senses (9 times in *Th.*, thrice in *Op.*; *γαῖα* 27 and 18 times respectively). *Γῆ* as a goddess is Homeric: *Il.* 3. 104, 19. 259, *epigr.* 7. 1.

S adds *τ'* after *Γῆς*. In Π^3, to judge from the space, the particle was absent as in the other MSS.; cf. also Orph. fr. 63. 2 *οὕνεκα Γῆς ἐγένοντο καὶ αἵματος Οὐρανίοιο*.

107. The descendants of Earth and Heaven have been specified first, because theirs is by far the most important line; cf. 45, and the list in 11 ff. The two other main families are now added to complete the picture: that of Night (the daughter of Chaos), and that of Pontos (the son of Earth but not of Heaven).

ἁλμυρὸς: applied to Pontos again in 964. The adjective occurs eight times in the *Odyssey* (in the phrase *ἁλμυρὸν ὕδωρ*), never in the *Iliad*.

ἔτρεφε: Pontos' children all live in the sea, so far as we can tell, though only some of his grandchildren do. *οὓς τρέφει θάλασσα* is very often used of fish, whales, etc., who live in the sea and derive their

sustenance from it (cf. 582); this usage may have influenced Hesiod's choice of the word.

108. This sentence brings the cosmological aspect of the *Theogony* into the programme. The poem is not merely to tell of the gods in their generations, but also of the origin of the gods and of the world with all its visible parts. 105–7 have told us only what gods we are to hear about; now we gain some idea of the sort of things we shall be told about them. This cosmological part of the programme may be compared with Parm. 11 (εἰδήσεις) *πῶς γαῖα καὶ ἥλιος ἠδὲ σελήνη | αἰθήρ τε ξυνὸς γάλα τ' οὐράνιον καὶ ὄλυμπος | ἔσχατος ἠδ' ἄστρων θερμὸν μένος ὡρμήθησαν | γίνεσθαι*, and Emped. 38 *εἰ δ' ἄγε τοι λέξω πρωθήλιον ἀρχήν, | ἐξ ὧν δῆλ' ἐγένοντο τὰ νῦν ἐσορῶμεν ἅπαντα, | γαῖά τε καὶ πόντος πολυκύμων ἠδ' ὑγρὸς ἀὴρ | Τιτάν ⟨τ'?⟩ ἠδ' αἰθὴρ σφίγγων περὶ κύκλον ἅπαντα.*

εἴπατε: so again in 115 as *variatio* for the much commoner ἔσπετε (114, fr. 1. 14, *Il.* 1. 1 v.l., 2. 484, 11. 218, 14. 508, 16. 112). Aorist (εἴπατε, εἰπέ, ἔσπετε, ἀείσατε) and present (ἔννεπε, ἐννέπετε, ἄειδε, ὕμνει) are used indiscriminately.

τὰ πρῶτα: adverbial, 'in the first place'. Cf. 202 *γεινομένῃ τὰ πρῶτα*.

θεοὶ καὶ γαῖα: a little surprising, since Earth and the things that follow are themselves divine. To Hesiod's audience *θεοί* would suggest primarily the non-cosmic gods. Scheer conjectured (and Goettling had said that you would have expected) *χάος καὶ γαῖα*. But Chaos is not a part of the visible world, whose origin requires explanation; it is itself rather part of the explanation of the visible world. The text is confirmed by *h. Herm.* 426 ff. *γηρύετ' ἀμβολάδην, ἐρατὴ δέ οἱ ἔσπετο φωνή, | κραίνων ἀθανάτους τε θεοὺς καὶ γαῖαν ἐρεμνήν, | ὡς τὰ πρῶτα γένοντο καὶ ὡς λάχε μοῖραν ἕκαστος.*

109. ποταμοὶ: rivers (including by implication the archetypal river Oceanus) rank with earth and sea as constituents of the visible world. Cf. E. *HF* 1296 and Wilamowitz, ad loc.

οἴδματι θυίων: *Il.* 21. 234, 23. 230, cf. below, 131. Sem. 7. 39 (the sea) *πολλάκις δὲ μαίνεται | βαρυκτύποισι κύμασιν φορευμένη*. The medieval MSS. give *θύων*, as usual; cf. Jacoby, p. 105, Allen–Sikes–Halliday on *h. Herm.* 560.

110. ἄστρά τε λαμπετόωντα: 382. *λαμπετάω* is used only in the participle; cf. M. Leumann, *Homerische Wörter*, p. 181.

καὶ οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὕπερθεν: 702, 840, *Il.* 15. 36. The *οὐρανός*, 'firmament', is closely associated with the stars, which are thought of as fixtures upon it; cf. *οὐρανὸς ἀστερόεις*, 106, etc.

111. The line is a repetition of 46, and absent in Π^3, B, and citations by Theophilus and Hippolytus. It is patently interpolated; put in here because of the similarity of 110 to 45, though it would have gone much better after 107. The Olympian gods are already comprised in *θεοί* in 108, and in any case they were not born from the rivers, sea, and stars, or directly (in the sense of 46) from earth and heaven.

112–13. This part of the programme, if taken literally, is less than adequately fulfilled in the poem. The gods' 'wealth' is an expression which does not occur again; there are no details of the distribution of *τιμαί*, such as we find in *Il.* 15. 187–93, only the brief statement that Zeus allotted their privileges to the gods (885), and occasional incidental statements concerning the *τιμαί* of individual gods (203–6, 392–403, 411–52); and there is nothing about the first occupation of Olympus (the Olympians are already there during the Titanomachy, 633; cf. 391 and 397). However, it is better not to press the inconsistency. The occupation of Olympus may be thought of as a synonym for the possession of the ruling power (van Groningen, p. 264); and with the statement of *τιμαί* may be counted all those passages where a god's typical activities or functions are mentioned, e.g. 121, 141, 215, 220, 231, 346, 372, 903, 905, 917, 926, 929, 935, 939.

The subject of the verbs is *θεοί*, understood from 108 and in the same sense as in 108, viz. the non-cosmic gods. For similar omissions of the subject, where it is the thing dominant in Hesiod's mind, cf. 189, 481, 532, 534, 639, 868. The desire to supply a subject may have been a further motive for the interpolation of 111.

ἄφενος, v.l. *ἄφενον*: the masculine form certainly occurs in Call. *H.* 1. 96 and Crinagoras *A.P.* 9. 234. 3; it is a variant thrice in Homer (*Il.* 1. 171, 23. 299, *Od.* 14. 99) and thrice in Hesiod (here, *Op.* 24 and 637), which is to say in all the Hesiodic occurrences of the word—it is recommended for this reason by Fehrle, *Phil. Woch.* 1926, cols. 700–1. It is a variant again in Call. *H.* 1. 94. Cf. *Et. magn.* 178. 1.

τιμὰς: see on 74.

114–15. Sch. *ταῦτα τὰ δύο ἔπη ὁ Σέλευκος ἀθετεῖ· οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἀρίσταρχον τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μόνον ⟨νόθον⟩ λέγουσιν.* (I have added *νόθον* as an alternative to Waeschke's deletion of *λέγουσιν*. Geel's *ψέγουσιν* and Koechly's *ἀθετοῦσιν* are less probable.) 'The *ἐξ ἀρχῆς*' means 'the line beginning with the words *ἐξ ἀρχῆς*', sc. 115. I cannot suggest what Seleucus and Aristarchus found objectionable in either verse. For the manner of rounding off the invocation, cf. fr. 1. 14 *τάων ἔσπετε Μ[οῦσαι ἀγακλυτὰ φῦλα γυναικῶν]*, *Od.* 1. 10 *τῶν ἀμόθεν γε θεὰ θύγατερ Διὸς εἰπὲ καὶ ἡμῖν*. The preceding programme is summed up by 114, and 115 initiates the theogony itself by asking a particular question, which is then followed by its answer. For this cf. *Il.* 1. 8 f. *τίς τ' ἄρ σφωε θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι; Λητοῦς καὶ Διὸς υἱός.* Bischoff (*Hermes*, 1937, pp. 364–5) compares also Hdt. 1. 0–1 . . . *τά τε ἄλλα καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι. Περσέων μέν νυν οἱ λόγιοι Φοίνικας αἰτίους φασὶ γενέσθαι τῆς διαφορῆς*, etc. The question to the Muses followed immediately by its answer (especially the question which of a number of things, men slain, etc., came first) is a device found several times in the *Iliad* besides 1. 8: 2. 761, 5. 703, 11. 218, 14. 508, 16. 112. It is as if the poet at this point hands over to the Muse. Cf. Aristid. 28. 51 *ἀκούεις δὲ καὶ τοῦ Λάκωνος λέγοντος εἰς*

αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν χορόν· ἁ Μῶσα κέκλαγ' ἁ λίγηα Σηρήν (Alcm. 30) . . . *προστίθει δὲ κἀκεῖνο, ὅτι αὐτῆς τῆς Μούσης δεηθεὶς κατ' ἀρχὰς ὁ ποιητής, ἵν' ἐνεργὸς ὑπ' αὐτῆς γένοιτο, εἶτα ὥσπερ ἐξεστηκώς φησιν ὅτι τοῦτο ἐκεῖνο, ⟨ὁ⟩ χορὸς αὐτὸς ἀντὶ τῆς Μούσης γεγένηται.*

116–53. When your gods include the Heaven and the Earth, a theogony entails a cosmogony. Hesiod therefore begins with the beginning of things; but he is not interested in cosmogony for its own sake. He hurries over it, anxious to get on to the sons of Uranos and their story, and it is noteworthy how he characterizes first Earth, then Heaven, then the Mountains, as seats of the gods (117, 128, 129): this is what makes them important to the writer of a theogony. It is also worth noticing that whereas the writer who focuses his imagination on the world's creation necessarily thinks of some pre-existing state upon which that creation supervened, and regularly describes it (cf. Anaxag. B 1, Ar. *Av.* 693, A.R. 1. 496, 'Linus' fr. 1, Ov. *M.* 1. 5, *GDK*, nos. 24 and 46; *Enûma Eliš* 1. 1 (*A.N.E.T.*, pp. 60–61), Genesis i. 2, Sanchuniathon-Philo ap. Eus. *PE* 1. 10. 1 (*FGrHist* 790 F 2), *Ṛgveda* x. 129. 1, etc.; Seeliger, *Roscher*, vi. 464), such a description is quite absent from Hesiod's account. He tells us simply that Chaos came into being first: he does not tell us how, or whether anything or nothing existed before it.

The universe is, naturally, built from the bottom upward, starting with the foundations (Chaos: see on 116). Then come the floor and walls (Earth, with her subsidiary parts Tartarus, mountains and sea), and the roof (Uranos). When the house is ready, the inhabitants move in; within twenty lines of the beginning we find a whole batch of non-cosmic gods, the Titans, and they are closely followed by their brothers the Cyclopes and Hundred-Handers—a thorough muster of forces in preparation for the Succession Myth.

On the cosmogony see Preller–Robert, i. 31–56; Paula Philippson, *Symb. Osl.*, Suppl. vii, 1936, pp. 6–17; Schwenn, pp. 106–14; Fr. Solmsen, *Stud. Ital.* 1949(–50), pp. 235–48; F. M. Cornford, *The Unwritten Philosophy*, pp. 95–116, and *Principium Sapientiae*, pp. 187–213; Kirk–Raven, *The Presocratic Philosophers*, pp. 24–31; H. Fränkel, *Wege und Formen*, 2nd ed., 317 ff.; M. C. Stokes, *Phronesis* 8, 1963, pp. 1–34.

116. **ἤτοι μὲν**: Denniston, pp. 389, 554 f. *μέν* is common at the beginning of the section that follows the invocation, cf. 969, *Il.* 2. 494, 14. 511 (v.l.), *Od.* 1. 11.

Χάος: best translated Chasm. It is a yawning space (*χάϝος* is related to *χάσκω*, *χανδάνω*: *χαῦ-νος* is derived from it, as *ἐρεμ-νός* from *ἔρεβος*); it is dark and gloomy (814; its children are Erebos and Nyx, 123); and it appears from 736–45 and 807–14 that it is beneath the earth. It is in fact the same as that space between Earth and Tartarus which is called a *χάσμα* in 740. But it is more than empty space, it is stuffed with darkness, and has sufficient substance to catch fire from Zeus' thunderbolts in 700 when earth and sea boil and seethe.

Pseudo-Oppian uses the word χάος of a gaping throat (*C.* 3. 414, 4. 161, cf. Opp. *H.* 5. 52); and it is possible that Hesiod thought of his Chaos in these terms; cf. on δειρήν in 727. So Luc. 6. 696 *et Chaos innumeros auidum confundere mundos*, Sen. *Herc. Fur.* 677 *auidum Chaos*, Val. Fl. 1. 830 *ingenti patet ore Chaos, quod pondere fessam materiem lapsumque queat consumere mundum*. For Chaos as part of the underworld cf. also [Pl.] *Axioch.* 371E, Plut. *Mor.* 953A, Q.S. 2. 614, 14. 2, *Anth. Pl.* 91. 5, *GDK* 59. 12. 12; Virg. *A.* 4. 510, 6. 265, Ov. *M.* 10. 30, *F.* 4. 600, etc. Various other conceptions of it existed in antiquity: they are listed by Waser, *R.E.* iii. 2112–13, and do not concern us here. Cf. also *LSJ* s.v.; Solmsen, l. c.

The above account of Hesiod's Chaos is essentially that of Preller–Robert (cf. Hölscher, *Hermes*, 1953, p. 399). A different interpretation, to be found in Wilamowitz, *Glaube d. Hellenen*, i. 343, is forcefully argued by Cornford, *Unwritten Philosophy*, pp. 95 ff. (cf. *Princ. Sap.*, pp. 194 f.), and adopted by Kirk–Raven, pp. 26–32. On this view, Chaos is the gap between Earth and Heaven, and its appearance (before the creation of Earth or of Heaven—like the grin before the Cheshire Cat) is a duplication of the separation later achieved by the castration of Uranos. χάος is certainly used for the air in the fifth century (Bacch. 5. 27, E. fr. 448, Ar. *Nub.* 424, 627, *Av.* 1218; cf. Simm. *Pter.* 7, Arist. *Phys.* 208^{b}28), and perhaps even by Ibycus (fr. 28 Bgk.; but cf. Jebb and Snell on Bacch. l.c. The fragment is not accepted by Page). But this says nothing for Hesiod; new senses of the word Chaos are as old as Pherecydes, if he gave this name to water (fr. 1a; but cf. *C.Q.* 1963, p. 172). Hesiod must be interpreted from his own text, and the explanation given above seems to me the only one that accounts for his uses of the word.

Note that although grammatically neuter, Chaos is treated as female (123, Ar. *Av.* 698). On such neuter deities cf. Kretschmer, *Glotta*, 13, 1924, p. 102.

The position at the head of the genealogy of a dark, intangible element is typical. The Orphic cosmology reported by Eudemus of Rhodes began from Night (Orph. fr. 28); 'Musaeus' began from Tartarus and Night (B 14), Epimenides from Aer and Nyx (B 5), Acusilaus like Hesiod from Chaos (B 1 = *FGrHist* 2 F 6); Hyginus with *Caligo*, which generates Chaos; while Cicero *ND* 3. 44 refers to a Stoic genealogy which began with Erebos and Night. The birds begin their cosmogony with an imposing concentration of blackness: *Χάος ἦν καὶ Νὺξ Ἔρεβός τε μέλαν πρῶτον καὶ Τάρταρος εὐρύς* (Ar. *Av.* 693). Cf. below on 123 and 124.

117. **εὐρύστερνος**: cf. *Cypr.* 1. 2 *βαθυστέρνου πλάτος αἴης*. Eurysternos or Eurysterna was a cult title of the Earth at Delphi (Mnaseas Pat. *ap.* sch. = fr. 46 Müller, *FHG* iii. 157) and in Achaea (Paus. 7. 25. 13). Cf. Farnell, iii. 11.

ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεί: 128 of Uranos, *Od.* 6. 42 of Olympus.

118–19. These two lines are ignored by Pl. *Symp.* 178B and Arist. *Metaph.* 984^{a}27 (and various later authors who, however, may be

dependent upon Plato or Aristotle. For the details see Rzach, *editio maior*). They are in all MSS. (including Π^3) and known to Theophilus, Hippolytus, and Stobaeus. 119 at least was also known to the *Iliad* scholiast, Plutarch, Cornutus, Pausanias, and Damascius. The scholiast is generally taken to say that it was athetized by Zeno the Stoic; but I shall argue in an article 'Alcman and Pythagoras' (to appear in *C.Q.*) that the athetesis was of 117 (with 118 if Zeno read it) and presupposes the presence of 119.

So much for the external evidence. The authenticity of the two lines is best considered by taking them separately. 118 is a standard formulaic line which recurs in 794. The initial *ἀθανάτων* after *πάντων* in the middle of the preceding verse is quite Hesiodic (see on 67); on the other hand, so would be *πάντων* alone, cf. *Op.* 563 *Γῆ πάντων μήτηρ*. Similarly *Il.* 14. 246 *Ὠκεανοῦ ὅσπερ γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται*, after which Crates interpolated the line *ἀνδράσιν ἠδὲ θεοῖς, πλείστην δ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἴησιν*; Terpand. 2. 1 *Ζεῦ πάντων ἀρχά, πάντων ἀγήτωρ*. The question therefore turns on the sense. It is clearly possible to describe the earth as the 'seat' of the gods, who dwell in Olympus; cf. [Orph.] *H.* 18. 6–7 (Pluto) *ὃς τριτάτης μοίρης ἔλαχες χθόνα παμβασίλειαν, ἕδρανον ἀθανάτων, θνητῶν στήριγμα κραταιόν*. This fits in with Hesiod's tendency, noted in the introduction to 116–53, to see the elements in his cosmogony as homes for the gods. The difficulty is to reconcile it with 128, where it is the sky that is the gods' *ἕδος ἀσφαλές*. But this difficulty is not avoided by the removal of 118, since the gods must at all events be included in *πάντων* in 117. The answer to it is perhaps that, after all, the gods do have homes both on earth and in heaven, and their Olympian city may be thought of as in either realm. The line is best retained. Cf. also Schwabl, *Wien. St.* 1959, pp. 30 ff.; Stokes, *Phronesis* 8, 1963, pp. 1–4.

119. Tartarus comes in oddly at this point, since it is really on the other side of Chaos from Earth (814). At the same time, since Earth has no lower limit that can be seen or definitely imagined, both Chaos and Tartarus could be considered as something not separate from Earth, but deep inside it and part of it. Cf. 841 *τάρταρα γαίης*. It is possible that Hesiod originally began with the trio Chaos, Earth, Eros, and inserted Tartarus later, when he came to the Titanomachy and realized that an important part of the universe had been omitted from the cosmogony. For afterthoughts of this kind, cf. on 139–53, 154, 450–2.

Τάρταρα: Diaconus takes this to be accusative (*ἡ γῆ ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς τῶν τε οὐρανίων θεῶν τῶν τε ὑποχθονίων*), and he has been followed by Barlaeus, Schoemann, Preller–Robert (i. 39 n. 2), Peppmüller (*Hesiodos*, p. 105), Waser (*Roscher*, v. 125), Philippson (p. 8, n. 1). This interpretation is indeed presupposed by the reading of Theophilus and Stobaeus *μυχὸν* (see below); Jacoby is therefore wrong in saying of it 'was zwar Schoemann für möglich hielt, aber kein antiker Leser' (*Hermes*, 1926, p. 170 = *Kl. Schr.* i. 230). However, 118 is a formula complete in itself, and unlikely to be continued in this way;

and what makes Earth a *ἕδος ἀσφαλές* is its firm upper surface, which supports everything above it. It is better to follow the interpretation of Plut. 374c, Cornutus, Pausanias, and Damascius, and make Tartarus a separate primeval element as in Musaeus B 14 and Ar. *Av.* 693.

The neuter plural form *τάρταρα* is also used in 841 (*τάρταρα γαίης*, see ad loc.); elsewhere Hesiod uses the masculine *τάρταρος* (682, 721, 725, 736 = 807, 822, 868). In form the word is an adjective, cf. *βάρβαρος*, *κάρχαρος*, *μάρμαρος*, *μέρμερος*, etc. (Preller–Robert, i. 61 n.; Waser, *Roscher* v. 126). The ancient connexion with *ταράσσω* (sch. here and 721, sch. *Il.* 8. 13, etc.) is probably right; *τάρταρος* is to *ταράσσω* as *κάρχαρος* to *χαράσσω*. *ταράσσω* is often used in early poetry of troubled waters (*Od.* 5. 291, 304, Archil. 56, Sol. 11, etc.), and the original connotation of *τάρταρος* may have corresponded to this. Plato, *Phaedo* 111E–112A, describes it as a great chasm into which all the subterranean rivers pour and out of which again they flow. Tartarus in fact occurs as the name of two rivers, one in Phthiotis, the other in northern Italy. So Tartarus may once have been the same as the *πηγαί* of earth, sea, and sky mentioned in 736 ff. = 807 ff., though the poet there speaks also of the *πηγαί* of Tartarus itself. A different suggestion in Onians, p. 258, n. 5.

ἠερόεντα: cf. 682, 721, 736 = 807, *Il.* 8. 13, Thgn. 1036, [Orph.] *H.* 56. 10, Maneth. 3. 68, *Or. Sib.* 8. 362. As applied to Tartarus, the adjective probably means 'dark'. Hippolytus quotes with *ἠνεμόεντα*, for which cf. on 742; but the formulaic epithet is certainly right.

μυχῷ: Theophilus and Stobaeus give *μυχόν*. Cf. Cornut. 17 *καὶ τὰ ἠερόεντα Τάρταρα, ἃ δὴ μυχὸν γῆς ὠνόμασεν ὁ προειρημένος ποιητής* (Hesiod). This is a later use, as Anacr. 50. 10, Pherec. B 6, A. *PV* 433, etc.; the epic idiom is *μυχῷ*, cf. 1015, *Il.* 6. 152, *Od.* 3. 263, *h. Aphr.* 263, and often.

χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης: 620, 717, etc. The meaning of the epithet is uncertain; it is not a regular formation from *εὐρύς* and *ὁδός*, though this is doubtless how it was understood in Hesiod's time, cf. *h. Dem.* 16 *χθὼν εὐρυάγυια*. Schulze, pp. 487–8, thinks the original form was *εὐρυεδείης*, comparing 117 above, Simon. 37. 24–25 *εὐρυεδοῦς . . . χθονός*. But he does not explain the change.

120. Ἔρος: the position of Eros here in the very first generation of created powers strongly suggests a quasi-demiurgic function, as in 'Orpheus' (fr. 28, cf. E. *Hyps.* fr. 57. 23, p. 45 Bond, and Ar. *Av.* 700), Pherecydes (B 3, A 11), Parmenides (B 13) and Empedocles (*Φιλότης*, B 17. 20 ff., etc.); cf. A. fr. 44 N. = 125 M. (Aphrodite speaks), E. fr. 898, Pl. *Symp.* 195BC. The high position in the genealogy is also paralleled in Sappho 198, Acusil. B 1, B 3 = *FGrHist* 2 F 6. A corresponding position is occupied by Pothos in the Phoenician cosmology reported by Damasc. *princ.* 125 from Eudemus of Rhodes.

This is the interpretation of Aristotle, *Met.* 984^{b}23 *ὑποπτεύσειε*

δ' ἄν τις Ἡσίοδον πρῶτον ζητῆσαι τὸ τοιοῦτον, κἂν εἴ τις ἄλλος ἔρωτα ἢ ἐπιθυμίαν ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ἔθηκεν ὡς ἀρχήν, οἷον καὶ Παρμενίδης. It is true that Eros is not mentioned again in the *Theogony*, except in a quite different connexion in 201, but he is nevertheless present throughout as the force of generation and reproduction: if he is not named as such, it is only because the formulae describing sexual union refer to φιλότης and Ἀφροδίτη instead. Nor does Hesiod need to portray him in active operation: his mere presence is enough. Compare the good Eris, whom Zeus in *Op.* 19 simply puts into the roots of the earth, there to work as a force in human life. The vase-painter depicting the rape of Helen does not present the mortals as marionettes manipulated by Eros, he simply puts Eros in the picture and leaves it at that: we note his presence, and understand. Cf. Paula Philippson, *Symb. Osl.*, Suppl. vii, p. 13.

Eros was worshipped at Thespiae in the form of a stone fetish, which must have been very ancient (Paus. 9. 27. 1 with Frazer; Waser, *R.E.* vi. 489 f.); and gymnastic and musical contests were held in his honour every four years, the Erotidia (Waser, ib.). It has sometimes been held that it was because of the importance of Eros in the local cult of his time that Hesiod gave him such a high place: e.g. Jacoby, *Hermes*, 1926, p. 166 = *Kl. Schr.* i. 227; O. Kern, *Rel. d. Griechen* i. 251; Friedländer, *G.G.A.* 1931, p. 255; cf. Wilamowitz, *Aus Kydathen* (1880), p. 131. But that would not in itself be a reason for making him one of the first created gods—it would at most justify a place in the generation, say, of Themis or Mnemosyne. We can see from the cases of Zeus and Hecate how Hesiod honoured a god of local or personal importance. Whoever wishes may assume that Eros had elemental status in the Thespian cult (cf. Ziegler, *Roscher*, v. 1501); but Hesiod could be understood just as well if the cult had not existed. Cf. also Hölscher, *Hermes*, 1953, p. 397; von Fritz, *Festschr. Snell*, pp. 30–32.

ὃς κάλλιστος: cf. *Il.* 22. 318 Ἔσπ-ερος ὃς κάλλιστος ἐν οὐρανῷ ἵσταται ἀστήρ. Aristotle, *Met.* 984^{b}29, followed by [Arist.] *De Melisso*, 975^{a}13, quotes the line in the form ἠδ' Ἔρος ὃς πάντεσσι μεταπρέπει ἀθανάτοισι, no doubt by contamination with such verses as *h. Ap.* 315 or 327. The beauty of the god of love is one of his most constant characteristics, even when he represents a cosmogonic force, cf. Ar. *Av.* 696–7. For the ellipse of ἐστί cf. on 275.

121. λυσιμελής: applied to love in 911, Archil. 118, Alcm. 3. 61, Sappho 130, etc. Homer twice uses the word of sleep, each time glossing it λύων μελεδήματα. But the proper meaning is λύων τὰ μέλη: cf. *Od.* 4. 794 = 18. 189 εὕδε δ' ἀνακλινθεῖσα, λύθεν δέ οἱ ἅψεα πάντα, 18. 212 τῶν δ' αὐτοῦ λύτο γούνατ', ἔρῳ δ' ἄρα θυμὸν ἔθελχθεν, E. *Suppl.* 46 νεκύων οἳ καταλείπουσι μέλη | θανάτῳ λυσιμελεῖ θηρσὶν . . . βοράν, Hedylus, *A.P.* 11. 414 λυσιμελοῦς Βάκχου καὶ λυσιμελοῦς Ἀφροδίτης γεννᾶται θυγάτηρ λυσιμελὴς Ποδάγρα, Nonn. *D.* 42. 344 ποθοβλήτῳ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς | λυσιμελὴς Διόνυσος ἐλύετο γυῖα μερίμνῃ. For the bodily weakness caused by love recall also Sappho 31; cf. Onians, p. 187.

τε: δὲ (Z) was conjectured by Peppmüller, and might be compared with *Il.* 3. 337 or *Od.* 21. 12. But there is nothing wrong with τε. Cf. 66.

The phrase *πάντων τε θεῶν πάντων τ' ἀνθρώπων* occurs also in *Il.* 14. 233. The identification of the cosmic force with the god familiar to men is paralleled in Emped. 17. 20–24.

122. δάμναται: cf. *Il.* 14. 198–9, *h. Aphr.* 2 ff., 34 ff., 251, Archil. 118, Thgn. 1388.

νόον καὶ ἐπίφρονα βουλήν: cf. 661 v.l., *Od.* 3. 128, 16. 242.

123. We come to the children of the first elements Chaos and Ge.

Ἔρεβος: the region of darkness as opposed to the realm of light (669 *ἐρέβεσφιν . . . φόωσδε*, cf. *h. Dem.* 335–8, S. *Aj.* 394–5), and thus closely associated with *ζόφος* (*Od.* 12. 81 *πρὸς ζόφον εἰς Ἔρεβος τετραμμένον*, 20. 356, 658–69 below), Hades (*Il.* 8. 368, 16. 327, *Od.* 10. 528, 11. 37, 564) and apparently Tartarus (below, 515, 669).

Νύξ: Night regularly occupies a high place in Greek cosmogonies, cf. on 116; Wilamowitz, *Gl. d. Hell.* i. 258–9, Kirk–Raven, pp. 19–24.

124. Night's children by her brother are given at once, her fatherless children only in 211 ff.; see p. 38. Aither and Hemera are the antitheses of their parents, Hemera corresponding to Nyx and Aither to Erebos. But the essential thing is not that they are opposites (H. Fränkel, *Wege und Formen*, 2nd ed., p. 317, cf. Solmsen, p. 27), but that they are naturally related: incompatible in nature, yet inseparable in thought.

Αἰθήρ: here masculine, as shown by *οὗς* in 125. In Homer *αἰθήρ* is feminine, except *Od.* 19. 540 v.l. It is masculine also in fr. 400. Cf. on 9.

Ἡμέρη: Day is born from Night, and not vice versa, because it represents a more developed state, when the world has a shape and is walked by men. Night–Day is progress, Day–Night is regress. This is why many peoples reckon the day from sunset to sunset. This has been assumed for the Greeks, to explain such slight inconsistencies as the use of *χθιζός* in *Il.* 19. 141; but see Leaf, ad loc. 'Nights and days', *νύκτας τε καὶ ἤματα* etc., is much commoner in Homeric formula than the reverse order; cf. also Sem. 7. 47 *προνὺξ προῆμαρ*, S. *El.* 1365, *OC* 618, Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 264.

Day appears at an earlier stage than the Sun, whose light causes it. So in the first chapter of Genesis. This is a sign of the basic antiquity of these cosmologies; primitive man does not realize that sunlight and daylight are the same.

125. Ἐρέβει: this time the neuter deity turns out to be male (cf. on 116).

126. τοι: commoner in narrative in Hesiod than in Homer, cf. 94, 448, 986, 1004, *Il.* 10. 316, *Od.* 20. 289; Denniston, p. 537.

πρῶτον: probably neuter (cf. 214, 309–13), not masculine (cf. 886, 895); answered by *αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα* in 132.

ἴσον ἑωυτῇ: cf. S. *El.* 87 *γῆς ἰσόμοιρ' ἀήρ*. The principle of symmetry

is conspicuous in Greek cosmologies as in early Greek geography; it is assumed that the great divisions of the world are of equal size and at equal distances apart (cf. 720 ff.); see G. Vlastos, *Class. Phil.* 42, 1947, p. 169.

On the form *ἑωυτῇ* see p. 81.

127. Οὐρανὸν: a sort of pale complement of Ge, and much less important in Greek religion and myth. Zeus is the real sky-god; Uranos only appears in genealogies or in the context of his union with Ge. As a physical element, *οὐρανός* was conceived as a solid roof to the world, *χάλκεος* (*Il.* 17. 425) or *σιδήρεος* (*Od.* 15. 329). I doubt whether it was thought of as hemispherical (e.g. Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* v (2) 173, Kirk–Raven, p. 10): the Greeks were unfamiliar with domes after the Mycenean period, and a dome would not have required the support of an Atlas (517), least of all at its outer edge (518). Rather is the sky as flat as the earth and parallel to it.

ἀστερόεν θ': cf. on 110. The stars are not created until 382; but the epithet is formulaic (470, 685, *Op.* 548, *Il.* 15. 371, etc.), and refers to the present state of things, not the time of his birth. Cf. 468, etc.; Schoemann, p. 480.

ἵνα μιν περὶ πάντα καλύπτοι: cf. *Il.* 17. 243 *ἐπεὶ πολέμοιο νέφος περὶ πάντα καλύπτει*. *πάντα* must be adverbial, 'all over' (cf. sch.^{BT} *Il.* l.c.). A variant *περὶ πᾶσαν ἐέργοι* is given by some MSS. of Cornut. 17, and the hemistich *ἵνα μιν περὶ πᾶσαν ἐέργοι* quoted by sch.^{T} *Il.* 12. 5 probably also refers to this line.

On the frequently proposed equation of Uranos with the Indian Varuna, whose name perhaps means 'Encloser', see J. Gonda, *Mnem.* 1960, pp. 4–5.

128. For Heaven as the (secure) seat of the gods cf. Sol. 1. 21 (*ἄνεμος*) *θεῶν ἕδος αἰπὺν ἱκάνει | οὐρανόν*. Pi. *N.* 6. 3 (for the gods) *ὁ δὲ χάλκεος ἀσφαλὲς αἰὲν ἕδος | μένει οὐρανός*. In Homer the *θεῶν ἕδος* is specifically Olympus (*Il.* 5. 360, 367, 868); its *ἀσφάλεια* is explained in *Od.* 6. 42–46 *οὔτ' ἀνέμοισι τινάσσεται, οὔτε ποτ' ὄμβρῳ | δεύεται, οὔτε χιὼν ἐπιπίλναται*, etc. Schoemann, pp. 454 f., takes the subject of *εἴη* to be the Earth; it is then the roofing-over that makes the Earth a safe place for the gods to live in. This is an attempt to meet the inconsistency between 128 and 117. But as the inconsistency is more apparent than real (see on 118), it is better to keep to the more obvious interpretation.

For the two purpose-clauses depending on the same main clause, cf. *Il.* 3. 163–6, 15. 31–32.

129. οὔρεα μακρά: for the conception of mountains as something separate from Earth herself, cf. 679–80. So in a Kumarbi fragment (*KUB* xxxiii. 105, Güterbock, *Kumarbi*, p. 10): 'Seven times he sent me against the dark Earth . . . and seven times he sent me against the heaven . . . and seven times he sent me against the mountains and rivers.' And so in Hittite treaties, cf. *A.N.E.T.*, pp. 205, 206.

On the personification of mountains in Greek poetry and art see A. Gerber, *Jb. f. cl. Ph.*, Suppl. 13 (1883), pp. 300–15. A collective

plural in a genealogy surprises us; but cf. 212 *φῦλον 'Ονείρων*, and especially 227–9.

θεᾶν: see p. 83. For the corruption *ὅσα* cf. Pl. *Gorg.* 492B 2 v.l.

χαρίεντας ἐναύλους: cf. p. Oxy. 2494 B (b) (= [Hes.] fr. 66) 1 *χαρίεντας ἐπαύ[λους* and Lobel's note.

130. **Νυμφέων**: for the position at the beginning of the line after *θεᾶν* cf. *Il.* 24. 615–16 *ὅθι φασὶ θεάων ἔμμεναι εὐνὰς | Νυμφάων*. That the Nymphs live in the bare mountains, as well as in springs and trees, is often attested; cf. fr. 123. 1 *οὔρειαι Νύμφαι θεαί*, *Od.* 6. 123 *νυμφάων, αἳ ἔχουσ' ὀρέων αἰπεινὰ κάρηνα*, *h. Aphr.* 98 *ἢ νυμφῶν αἳ καλὸν ὄρος τόδε ναιετάουσι*, etc. In A.R. 1. 501 f. Orpheus sings *οὔρεά θ' ὡς ἀνέτειλε καὶ ὡς ποταμοὶ κελάδοντες | αὐτῇσιν νύμφῃσι καὶ ἑρπετὰ πάντ' ἐγένοντο*. Cf. Lawson, pp. 148 ff.

For the repetition of *οὔρεα* cf. *Od.* 10. 1–3 *Αἰολίην δ' ἐς νῆσον ἀφικόμεθ'· ἔνθα δ' ἔναιεν | Αἴολος . . . | πλωτῇ ἐνὶ νήσῳ*, and above on 2.

βησσήεντα: an un-Homeric word, also in *Op.* 389 and 530.

131. **ἀτρύγετον**: the meaning of this word remains uncertain, cf. Frisk s.v. Clericus explains it as 'impossible to dry out', and compares Hsch. *τρυγεῖ· ξηραίνει.*

πέλαγος, an open sheet of water, describes what Earth bore; *Πόντον* in the next line identifies it.

οἴδματι θυΐον: cf. on 109. In *Π*[3] the noun is spelled *υδματι*: the same mistake, resulting from the pronunciation of *οι* as *υ* which lasted for centuries before they both finally became the same as *ι–ει–η* in Byzantine times, may lie behind the variation between *οἴδματα* and *ὕδατα* in the MSS. of A.R. 4. 608, 1391, 1601, D.P. 163, 267.

132. **ἄτερ φιλότητος ἐφιμέρου**: cf. *Sc.* 15. The phrase applies to all Earth's children up to this point: Heaven, the mountains, and the sea. Night too has children by parthenogenesis (*οὔ τινι κοιμηθεῖσα*, 213) as well as others in sexual union (124–5). The basis of the differentiation is obscure. Earth's production of the sea, sky, and mountains could be seen as the sort of asexual reproduction said to be practised by the amoeba; but why is Oceanus not in the same group? And how would this interpretation fit the fatherless children of Night? One relevant factor is that for Earth at least, to begin with, no suitable husband was available. So in the cases of Chaos (123) and Eris (226). Cf. p. 35. Another is that Earth's children by Uranos form a special group connected with the Succession Myth, and her other children had to be clearly distinguished from them.

αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα: answering *πρῶτον μὲν* in 126, and introducing the second main group of Earth's children.

133. **Οὐρανῷ εὐνηθεῖσα**: the marriage of Earth and Sky is a very common mythological motif. Cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, v. 282 and on Apld. 1. 1. 1. The rain that fertilizes the earth and makes things grow is seen as the seed of heaven; cf. A. fr. 44 N. = 125 M., E. fr. 898, Lucr. 1. 250, 2. 992, Virg. *E.* 7. 60, *G.* 2. 324 ff., Hor. *Epod.* 13. 2, *Pervig. Ven.* 8 ff. So in Eleusinian ritual, according to Procl. *in Tim.* iii. 176. 28 (though see G. E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian*

Mysteries, 1961, p. 270). To this constantly re-enacted union there corresponds the myth that tells of an original union in the distant past, in more strongly personified terms and with particular gods as its fruit. Here, as usual, myth and ritual exist side by side: in this case, the ritual is performed by Nature herself, though possibly encouraged by a parallel human act (cf. Mylonas, pp. 311 ff.).

The list of children that follows as far as 138, six male and six female (cf. p. 36), forms the group to which Uranos gives the name of Titans in 207; the Cyclopes and Hundred-Handers (139–53) cannot be included, since they help Zeus against the Titans in the Titanomachy (cf. especially 663). The heterogeneity of the list is striking. Beside the dangerous ogres Kronos and Iapetos (cf. on 18), we find the relatively colourless figures Koios, Kreios, Hyperion, Theia; the gentle Oceanus, who encourages his daughter Styx to help Zeus against the Titans (398); Zeus' mother Rhea, who saves him from Kronos, and can never have joined battle against him; and the venerable goddesses Themis and Mnemosyne, whom Zeus marries after he has consigned the Titans to Tartarus. This, with the fact that lists given by other sources (Orph. fr. 114, Apld. 1. 1. 3, Hyg. *fab. praef.* 3, etc.; complete synopsis in *R.E.* viA 1505–8) vary in number and composition, indicates that the identification of the Titans with this particular group of gods is secondary: originally they must have been a collective body (like the Muses, Nereids, etc.: p. 32) without individual names and of indefinite number. It is this collective body that we are to think of in connexion with the Titanomachy.

The essential characteristics of the Titans are that they represent an older generation of gods, 'the former gods' (424, 486, with note), and that they are no longer active in the world, but dwell in Tartarus (729 ff., 814; cf. *Il.* 14. 279 *θεοὺς . . . τοὺς ὑποταρταρίους, οἳ Τιτῆνες καλέονται*, [Orph.] *H.* 37. 2–3, etc.). A group known as the 'former gods' is also found in the Hittite pantheon, and the myth of the defeat and imprisonment of the Titans by Zeus is paralleled in *Enûma Eliš* (see *Gnomon*, 1963, p. 11).

So it is probable that the Titans were taken over from the Orient as part of the Succession Myth, or else that they were gods native to Mycenean Greece but similar enough to the 'older gods' of the Near East to be identified with them. The name Titan is obscure; the likeliest connexion is with (Hsch.) *τιτῆναι· βασιλίδες. ⟨Αἰσχύλος Φρυξὶν⟩ ἢ Ἕκτορος λύτροις* (fr. 272 N. = 258 M.). Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* v (2). 181, suggests that it is a Thracian word meaning simply 'god': Thrace herself was said to be a Titan nymph and wife of Kronos (St. Byz. s.v.), and a Thracian deity *Τιτῖς* (gen. *-ῖδος*) is known from Choeroboscus (*Gramm. Gr.* iv. i. 328. 12, Cramer, *An. Par.* iii. 295. 34). Cf. Strab. vii, fr. 40. Pohlenz, *N. Jb.* 1916, p. 577, suggests that *τιτάν* was originally an epithet, since it is often conjoined with *θεός* (729 below, *Il.* 14. 278, *h. Ap.* 335, A. *PV* 427, S. *OC* 56, *al.*).

Traces of a cult of the Titans in historical times are few and doubtful. A festival Titania is mentioned by Theodosius, *Gramm.* 69. 19

Goettling, and Nicander fr. 4 spoke of the Titans as assisting men when called upon (cf. *Paroem. Gr.* i. 314). There can be no certainty that they were ever worshipped: they may have existed from the beginning as 'the former gods' or 'the gods of the underworld', a mythological antithesis to the gods of the present and of the upper world.

Much other material of doubtful relevance has been used in attempts to establish the nature of the Titans. See especially Kaibel, *N.G.G.* 1901, pp. 488–517, who makes them priapic deities, with some ancient support, though there is no trace of this aspect in early literature and not much in later; Preller–Robert, i. 44, n. 3; E. Meyer, *Kl. Schr.* ii. 38–42; Pohlenz, *N. Jb.* 1916, pp. 575–90; K. Bapp and M. Mayer, *Roscher*, v. 987–1019; Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* v (2). 177–83; E. Wüst, *R.E.* viA 1491–1508; G. Bonfante, *A.J.A.* 1946, pp. 256–7.

So much for the Titans as a group. On Hesiod's individual members, see below. His list is arranged so that Kronos comes last (see on 137), but otherwise the sons come first and the daughters afterwards. This precedence of male over female is seen again in 233–9, 337–70, but reversed in 453–8, and in the list of Titans in Orph. fr. 114.

Ὠκεανὸν: the great river that flows round the rim of the world (790–1, cf. *Il.* 18. 607, *Sc.* 314–17). He is father of all other rivers and springs (337 ff., *Il.* 21. 195–7), and must therefore be himself a freshwater stream, quite distinct from the sea, though later equated with it. In Homer he is the origin of all things, or all the gods (*Il.* 14. 201, 246 [±246a]), and all the genealogies make him very ancient. His name is non-Greek; he is also called *Ὠγηνός* (Pherec. B 2), *Ὤγενος* (Lyc. 231), or *Ὠγήν* (Hsch.), which seems to have been interpreted as meaning in fact 'very ancient', like the similar-sounding *ὠγύγιος* (806 n.); cf. St. Byz. *Ὤγενος ἀρχαῖος θεός, ὅθεν ὠγενίδαι καὶ ὠγένιοι ἀρχαῖοι*, and Hsch. *ὠγένιον· παλαιόν*, though in Parthenius fr. 5 Diehl, *ὠγενίης Στυγὸς ὕδωρ*, the meaning may be simply 'daughter of Ogenos'. Oceanus might be a Minoan word, since a Cretan river of the name is attested by Hesychius; or Clericus and many modern scholars may be right in seeking its origin further east (cf. Gisinger, *R.E.* xvii. 2309; Schwabl, *R.E.* Suppl. ix. 1444). In particular it has been connected with Akkadian *uginna*, 'ring', and it was certainly a Babylonian and Egyptian concept that the earth was surrounded by water. Cf. A. Lesky, *Thalatta*, p. 64; Hölscher, *Hermes*, 1953, p. 385. But there can at present be no certainty.

Hesiod perhaps puts Oceanus here because of his antiquity. But he never made a good Titan; he assisted Zeus in the Titanomachy (398, cf. above); he was a safe refuge for Hera when Kronos was defeated (*Il.* 14. 200–4); in Aeschylus' *Prometheus* he tries to reconcile Prometheus with Zeus; and Orph. fr. 135 and Apld. 1. 1. 4 explicitly exclude him from the assault on Uranos. In *Il.* 20. 7 too he alone remains aloof from what the other gods are doing.

134. Cf. Orph. fr. 114. 7–8.

Κοῖον: a very obscure figure, known only as father of Leto (404, cf. *h. Ap.* 62 cj., Pind. fr. 33d3). It was probably only in this connexion

that Hesiod knew of him. His connexion with the island of Cos (Herondas 2. 98, Tac. *A.* 12. 61) is probably due merely to later speculation. Cf. on 136.

Κρεῖον: this is the spelling of the MSS. (including Π^3) and citations (Plutarch, Hippolytus, Cyrillus; cf. Procl. *in Tim.* iii. 184. 13 = Orph. fr. 114. 7 (*Κροῖον* MSS.) and iii. 189. 4). But in 375, while most MSS. still give *κρείω*, QS, and K a.c., give *κρίω* or *κριῶ*. Paus. 7. 27. 11 gives the Titan's name as *Κριός*, and so *Et. Gud. Κρῖος· ὄνομα Τιτᾶνος, παρὰ τὸ κεκρίσθαι. γράφεται δὲ διὰ τοῦ ἰῶτα. προπερισπᾶται δὲ πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν τοῦ κριός· ὁ δὲ Ἀρίσταρχος καὶ τὸ κύριον ὀξύνει.* However, it appears from what follows that the decision is not based on manuscript evidence, but on an empirical rule (to which exceptions are noted) that in masculine disyllables the spelling *ει* is avoided. From the scholia, where Zeno is reported to have interpreted the name as signifying *τὸ βασιλικὸν καὶ ἡγεμονικόν* (fr. 100 Arnim), it has been inferred that he read *Κρεῖον*, but the unsoundness of the argument is shown by Cornut. p. 30. 14 ff. Lang *Κρῖος δὲ καθ' ὃν τὰ μὲν ἄρχει καὶ δυναστεύει τῶν πραγμάτων . . . ἐντεῦθεν τάχα καὶ τοῦ ἐν τοῖς ποιμνίοις κριοῦ προσαγορευομένου*, and similar indifference in Diac. p. 308. 9, 324. 22; *Et. Gud.* 347. 3 ff. The spelling *Κρεῖος* is also attested on an Imbrian inscription, *IG* 12(8) 74, but is immediately followed by *Ὑπερείων* and *Εἰαπετός*. The recognition of the name in Alcm. fr. 5 (49) i. 1 (]*κρι*[) is very speculative. *Κρεῖος* is attested as a geographical name (Call. *H.* 5. 40), *Κρῖος* or *Κριός* both as the name of two rivers (Paus. 7. 27. 11) and as a personal name (Hdt. 6. 50 *al.*, Paus. 3. 13. 3, 10. 6. 6; spelled *Κρεῖος*, however, in *IG* 5 (1) 488 [*s.* ii A.D.?]).

There seems no strong reason to depart from the *Κρεῖον* of the direct tradition, even if Kirchner (*Attica et Peloponnesiaca*, 1890, pp. 42 f.) is right in thinking that the Titan is the same as the Krios named by Polemon *ap.* sch. Ar. *Av.* 646 as the eponym of the Attic deme Krioa. The *ι* in that case might be an Atticism as in *Χίρων, χίλιοι, ἱμάτιον* (cf. Wackernagel, *Kl. Schr.* ii. 1022 f.).

Kreios is an even dimmer figure than Koios. Nothing can be affirmed with any confidence about his identity or nature.

Ὑπερίονα: Hyperion occurs only in connexion with the Sun. He is his father (374, 1011, *Od.* 12. 176, *h. Dem.* 26, 74, Stes. 8. 1), and it is for this reason that Hesiod makes him a Titan. Elsewhere Hyperion is an epithet of the Sun: *Il.* 8. 480, 19. 398, *Od.* 1. 8, 24, 12. 133, 263, 346, 374, *h. Ap.* 369. Cf. Usener, *Götternamen*, 2nd ed., pp. 19–25.

Ἰαπετόν: the most Titanic figure after Kronos, see on 18. But even he is only important in mythology on account of his sons. The name appears to be non-Greek, and many scholars from the Renaissance to the present day have maintained his identity with the Biblical Japheth (who is rendered *Ἰαπετός* in the Septuagint). Points of resemblance are:

(*a*) The name itself. The similarity is closer if we assume that the long iota of Iapetos is due to metrical lengthening.

(*b*) Iapetos' brother castrates his father; some allege that Japheth's brother Ham did the same to his father Noah, but the story as we have it (Gen. ix. 21 ff.) suggests a gentler prank.

(*c*) Both are indirectly connected with a deluge, Japheth through his father Noah, Iapetos through his grandson Deucalion.

(*d*) Japheth is the ancestor of the peoples in the north and north-west, including Asia Minor, while on the other hand Iapetos is associated (with Kronos and Rhea) with Asiatic gods (St. Byz. s.v. *Ἄδανα*), marries Asia in Lyc. 1283, Apld. i. 2. 3, and was the father of Anchiale, who founded the Cilician town of that name (Athenodorus 746 F 1). But it may be that here Iapetos is merely a Hellenistic interpretation of the Semitic Japheth. The identification remains a possibility, but hardly more.

135. **Θείαν τε Ῥείαν τε**: the assonance of adjacent items is a common feature of Hesiod's catalogues; cf. Koios–Kreios above, and 248, 249, 251, 257, 258, 353; Rzach, *R.E.* viii. 1199 f., Dornseiff, p. 42. Rhyming words and names suggest each other easily, and this is perhaps enough to account for this tendency in Hesiod, especially where he is probably inventing names, as in the catalogue of Nereids. But because such rhymes come easily, it may happen that the unsought effect is attributed to a spirit speaking through the man (cf. on 831); hence rhyme comes to be regarded as a powerful aid in summoning spirits, and plays an important part in spells and incantations among many peoples. Rhyming spells had a long history in Latin before rhyming poetry developed. It may be that assonance of this kind had sacral associations long before Hesiod. Note the amount of rhyme in his hymn to Zeus, *Op.* 1–8. Assonant pairs of gods are particularly common everywhere; the priest in the *Birds* (865 ff.) prays *καὶ πελεκᾶντι καὶ πελεκίνῳ*, among others (and surely *καὶ ἐλεᾷ καὶ ἐλασᾷ* should stand together?), and we may think also of Gog and Magog, the Babylonian Laḫmu and Laḫâmu and their children Anšar and Kišar, the brothers Ẽnigorio and Ẽnigohatgea in Iroquois myth, the Japanese progenitors Izanagi and Izanami, and many others.

Eust. 978. 56 cites *Θείη* from the *Theogony*. The MSS. unanimously give the form in *ᾱ* here and again in 371 (cf. *h. Dem.* 64 *Θέας ὕπερ* cod., *θεὰν σύ περ* Ludwich). Rhea, however, they elsewhere spell *Ῥείη* or *Ῥέη* (453, 467, 625, 634, cf. *h. Dem.* 442, *Ap.* 93, etc.; so Orph. fr. 114. 6 in the list of Titans, and K here). *Ῥείας* is explicitly attested in *Il.* 14. 203 by Aristophanes and Aristarchus, the vulgate, however, giving *Ῥείης*. In *Il.* 15. 187 the vulgate is *Ῥέα*.

I conclude: (*a*) *Θείᾱ* is the only well-attested early spelling for Theia; it was perhaps influenced by the analogy of *θεά*. Both *θεή* (first in *h. Dem.* 183, 279, commoner in Hellenistic and imperial poetry) and *Θείη* ([Orph.] *εὐχή* 19) are later developments. (*b*) Both *Ῥε(ι)α* and *Ῥε(ι)η* occur; Hesiod normally uses the latter, but here uses the former by analogy with *Θείᾱ*.

Theia is invoked by Pindar, *Isth.* 5. 1 ff., but it is doubtful whether

he found her in Aeginetan cult, see Wilamowitz, *Pindaros*, pp. 201 ff. Rhea is by far the more important of the two.

Θέμιν τε Μνημοσύνην τε: cf. on 133. Both goddesses are put here merely because of their antiquity. On Mnemosyne cf. 54 n.; on the lengthening of *τε* in thesis, p. 97.

136. **Φοίβην**: the name probably has its origin in an epithet, like *Φοῖβος*, the goddess being, as Wilamowitz says, 'eine leere Füllfigur' (*Kl. Schr.* v (2). 170). She is mother of Leto. Leto herself was old enough to be a Titan, *qua* mother of the great god Apollo; cf. her association with Iapetos and Kronos in 18. But she had a father, Koios: Koios is therefore the Titan. A mother had now to be supplied, and the name Phoibe served. Aeschylus uses it similarly in *Eum.* 7, and incidentally derives *Φοῖβος* from it.

Τηθύν: Oceanus' traditional consort, at a later period identified with the sea (first in Lyc. 1069). Her original significance must be sought behind the myth alluded to in *Il.* 14. 200–7, according to which she was the mother of the gods, long estranged from her husband. One would guess the reference to be to a 'separation of the waters', sc. the upper and lower waters, a separation corresponding to that of heaven and earth. Oceanus and Tethys would in this case correspond to Apsû and Tiâmat in the Babylonian cosmology, the male and female waters which were originally united (*En. El.* 1. 1 ff.). But by Hesiod's time the myth may have been almost forgotten, and Tethys remembered only as the name of Oceanus' wife.

ἐρατεινήν: cf. 909. In Homer the word is used twenty-two times, twenty-one of which refer to places and only one (*Od.* 4. 13) to a person.

137. **τοὺς δὲ μέθ' ὁπλότατος**: cf. fr. 26. 31, *Cypr.* fr. 7. 1, *Carm. Naupact.* fr. 1. 1. The last-born is given a separate sentence, as in *Od.* 11. 287, fr. 23(a). 27, and ll.cc., just as in other ways the final member of a list often receives special emphasis, or the important member is placed last so as not to interrupt the list too much, cf. 79, 225, 231, 262, 361, 457, 511.

Kronos is naturally made the youngest, because it is he who is to perform the brave deed which no one else can do, and so become king. Achievement of this order by the youngest of a number of brothers is a favourite motif in folk-lore; e.g. Hdt. 4. 5, 8. 137; Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index*, v. 6–8. Zeus too is the youngest of his generation.

As a deity Kronos presents a similar problem to the Titans. His name is unexplained and almost certainly non-Greek. He was, first and foremost, Zeus' father, and had been so for a long period, as the formulaic epithets *Κρονίδης*, *Κρονίων*, *Κρόνου πάις* (*ἀγκυλομήτεω*) show. Cf. p. 36. As Zeus was the most famous god, so Kronos was the most famous 'older god'; and as Zeus' history could not be dissociated from that of the younger gods in general, so Kronos' could not be dissociated from that of the Titans. But while the Titans were dark, grim figures imprisoned below the earth, Kronos had a benevolent side to him. Hesiod himself associates him with the Golden Age (*Op.* 111) and, if the verse is genuine, allows him to rule in the Isles of the

Blest (*Op.* 169). Cf. Pi. *O.* 2. 70. Zeus' usurpation, so far from being a deliverance from tyranny, represented the beginning of the hard life that we now endure. So Aeschylus' *Prometheus*, and the same view is implied in Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 16. 7 *ἐθρύλουν ὡς ἡ Πεισιστράτου τυραννὶς ὁ ἐπὶ Κρόνου βίος εἴη· συνέβη γὰρ ὕστερον, διαδεξαμένων τῶν υἱέων, πολλῷ γενέσθαι τραχυτέραν τὴν ἀρχήν*. But this idea can be understood as the natural product of the two separate notions, (1) that before Zeus, Kronos was king, and (2) that before the present state of the world there was a much happier one.

The Attic–Ionic Kronia seem to have been a happy festival of high summer, in the interval between reaping and ploughing. Philochorus (328 F 97) wrote that Cecrops had instituted the cult of Kronos and Rhea, *instituisseque ut patres familiarum frugibus et fructibus iam coactis passim cum seruis uescerentur, cum quibus patientiam laboris in colendo rure tolerauerant*. From this, and the fact that Kronos' attribute is the sickle, it has been inferred that he was a god of harvest. So Farnell, i. 25; Usener, *Götternamen*, 26 f.; Pohlenz, *N. Jb.* 1916, pp. 549 ff.; Nilsson, *B.S.A.* 1951, pp. 122–4 = *Op. Sel.* iii. 215–9; and others. Neither argument is conclusive. The sickle belongs to the Succession Myth, and may have been taken over with it, see on 175. The Kronia were held in Athens in the month Hekatombaion (originally called Kronion), i.e. too late for the harvest (Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* v (2). 158–60): in Samos and Perinthos the month Kronion corresponded to Attic Skirophorion (May–June, harvest time), but in Magnesia on the Meander it came much later in the year (*SIG* 589. 14 f. *ἀρχομένου σπόρου μηνὸς Κρονίωνος*, probably October–November). See also Deubner, *Attische Feste*, pp. 152–5. There is no evidence that Saturnus, whom the Romans early equated with Kronos (probably because the Kronia resembled the Saturnalia), was a harvest-god either, until etymologizing speculation made him one.

In sum, there is no real evidence on Kronos' original nature. His visible characteristics and attributes all derive from his position as father and predecessor of Zeus; that position might itself imply some similarity to Zeus, but more than that one cannot say. In particular it is mistaken to see in the Succession Myth the reflection of a historical displacement of Kronos-cult by Zeus-cult. Cf. pp. 29–30.

For further discussion see especially M. Mayer, *Roscher*, ii. 1452–1573; Preller–Robert, i. 51–54; Farnell, i. 23–34; Pohlenz, *N. Jb.* 1916, pp. 549–75, and *R.E.* xi. 1982–2018; Cook, *Zeus*, ii. 548–58; Kern, *Religion der Griechen*, i. 41–43; Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* v (2), 157–77; Jacoby, *FGrHist* iiib (suppl.) (2), 297–301.

138. **δεινότατος παίδων**: I take this to mean 'most fearful of children' and not 'most fearful of the children', for in 155, where the phrase recurs, it appears to be applied to all Uranos' children, cf. ad loc. In 234, admittedly, *πρεσβύτατον παίδων* means 'eldest of his children', and similarly in 478.

ἦχθηρε: Aristarchus (on *Il.* 17. 270) preferred the form without the temporal augment. Schoemann, p. 480, suggests that Hesiod here

anticipates: Kronos hates his father because of the behaviour described in 156 ff. This is probably right, especially as in Hesiod's original draft (see next note) that passage probably followed close on this, so that Kronos' hatred would have been explained at once.

139–53. To the Titan children are now appended two further groups of children of Earth and Heaven, the Cyclopes and the Hundred-Handers. Their appearance here is hard to reconcile with the narrative that follows. All the children are 'concealed' by Uranos (157). Gaia incites them to retaliate, and because of their act they receive the name of Titans (207)—still, as it seems, all of Uranos' children. But we have seen (on 133) that the Titans cannot include the Cyclopes and Hundred-Handers, and indeed are distinguished from the latter (663, 668–9). The youngest child who is the hero of the story is the youngest only of the Titans, not of the total eighteen. Further, the similarity of 155 to 138 suggests an attempt to resume a thread broken off. Arthur Meyer accordingly concluded that 139–53 was an interpolation (*De comp. Theog. Hes.*, p. 60). But the section is indispensable. The Cyclopes and Hundred-Handers play an important part later on, and their birth and nature must be explained. We must therefore, I think, accept the solution of H. Buse (*Quaestiones Hesiodeae et Orphicae*, pp. 27–28), that Hesiod originally wrote the castration narrative immediately after the list of Titans and with reference to them alone. When he came to the Titanomachy, and found that the Cyclopes and Hundred-Handers had not been prepared for, he inserted 139–53, not realizing the difficulty that this caused in the following narrative. This hypothesis perhaps explains another difficulty too. Zeus releases both the Cyclopes (501) and the Hundred-Handers (617) from bondage, and this is why they assist him. In each place it is mentioned, as if the story had already been told, that they were imprisoned by their father. This can only be understood from the text of the poem if we assume that they were shut up together with the Titans, but that only the Titans were released by the castration of Uranos. Hesiod might have designed such a development in order to prepare for the release by Zeus, but then he would have said explicitly, 'and so the Titans were freed: but the Cyclopes and Hundred-Handers were not freed yet, and remained below the earth'. As it is, he began by telling simply how the Titans were 'concealed', and how they were released. Then, by adding the Cyclopes and Hundred-Handers where he did at the beginning of the story, he thought he had satisfactorily explained who they were and how they were imprisoned—to be released later by Zeus. He did not reflect that the castration which liberated the Titans would naturally also liberate anyone else concealed with them.

The difficulty is dealt with in the rationalizing version of Apollodorus by making the brothers be bound twice: first bound by Uranos and released by the Titans, then bound again by Kronos and released by Zeus (1. 1. 2, 1. 1. 5, 1. 2. 1).

I think it likely that Hesiod added 155–6 at the same time as 139–53; see on 154.

139. **Κύκλωπας**: for Hesiod these are simply one-eyed craftsmen who made Zeus' thunder in gratitude for their release (501–6; Hephaestus had not yet been born). They have little in common with the Cyclopes of the *Odyssey*, who are a race of shepherds dwelling in the world of men, one of them at least being the son of Poseidon and a sea-nymph; the story of his blinding presupposes that he is one-eyed like Hesiod's Cyclopes, though this is not explicitly stated. Tyrtaeus knows the Cyclopes as a byword for size and strength (9. 3), and the building of great fortifications such as those at Mycenae was attributed to them. In having only one eye, and in being hairy all over, they resemble the Arimaspi described in Aristeas' poem (cf. J. D. P. Bolton, *Aristeas of Proconnesus*, p. 194, n. 20). There was an altar to them on the Isthmus, in the area sacred to Poseidon (Paus. 2. 2. 1), but otherwise they have no cult. See further K. Meuli, *Odyssee u. Argonautika*, pp. 75 ff.

ὑπέρβιον ἦτορ ἔχοντας: cf. 898. *b* gives *ὕβριν* for *ἦτορ*, a reminiscence of the Homeric formula in *Od.* 1. 368, 16. 410; the same variants occur in *Od.* 4. 321. This feature of the Cyclopes' character is seen in the *Odyssey* too, e.g. 9. 275 f. *οὐ γὰρ Κύκλωπες Διὸς αἰγιόχου ἀλέγουσιν | οὐδὲ θεῶν μακάρων, ἐπεὶ ἦ πολὺ φέρτεροί εἰμεν.*

140. The Cyclopes make thunder, so Hesiod gives them names suggested by thunder. Zeus' weapon is regularly described in three words: *βροντή*, *στεροπή*, and *κεραυνός* (504–5, 690–1, 707, 845–6, etc.). These really represent three different aspects of the same phenomenon: *βροντή* is what you hear, *στεροπή* is what you see, and *κεραυνός* is what hits you. But because there are three separate words, the unsophisticated mind thinks of three separate things.

Thunder as the weapon of the Sky-god is a widespread conception; see C. Blinkenberg, *The Thunderweapon in Religion and Folklore*, Cambridge, 1911.

Βρόντην: probably named in fr. 54(a). 2.

Ἄργην: from *ἀργής*, a formulaic epithet of *κεραυνός*. But while the genitive of *ἀργής* is *ἀργῆτος*, that of *Ἄργης* is *Ἄργεω* (Pherec. Ath. 3 F 35a).

ὀβριμόθυμον: not in Homer. The pattern of the verse, made up of three proper names of which the last is qualified by an epithet, is a common one; e.g. 18, 227, 246, 250, 255, 276, 338–40, 342–3, 345, 353–4, 358–9, 714, 902, 909, 976, and so in catalogic passages in Homer and later epic. Cf. Wackernagel, *Kl. Schr.*, p. 194.

141. The line recurs as Orph. fr. 179, where, however, Proclus gives *ἔπορον* instead of *ἔδοσαν*. The variation is of no significance; cf. *Od.* 13. 135 *κάτθεσαν εἰν Ἰθάκῃ ἔδοσαν δέ μοι ἀγλαὰ δῶρα*, but 16. 230 *κάτθεσαν εἰν Ἰθάκῃ ἔπορον δέ μοι ἀγλαὰ δῶρα.*

The relative clause explains the names, as in 252 *Κυμοδόκη θ' ἣ κύματ' . . . πρηΰνει*, cf. 231 f., 346 f., 901 ff., *Op.* 253 f., *Il.* 13. 299 f., 19. 91.

142. Crates substituted for this line the verse *οἱ δ' ἐξ ἀθανάτων θνητοὶ τράφεν αὐδήεντες*, in order to reconcile the *Theogony* with the *Catalogue* (fr. 52, cf. 54(a)), where the Cyclopes were destroyed by Apollo. Goettling, Paley, and others thought that Crates found his alternative line in some different 'recension' of the *Theogony*; Schoemann, p. 534, thinks it came from the *Catalogue*. Jacoby is surely right in thinking that Crates made it up himself. So already Wilamowitz, *Isyllos*, p. 79.

οἱ δ' ἤτοι: preferable here to *οἳ δή τοι*, because we have had a relative *οἵ* in 141, and now expect a new sentence with *οἱ δέ*. W. Bühler, *Die Europa des Moschos*, pp. 228–30, has a detailed excursus on *δ' ἤτοι* and *δή τοι* in epic. I do not know why he asserts there and p. 131, n. 6 that *οἵ* here is relative, even on his assumption (after Goettling) that 141 is spurious; in Mosch. 84, which is influenced by Hesiod, he argues for *δ' ἤτοι*.

θεοῖς ἐναλίγκιοι: Hesiod does not mean that they are not themselves gods, only that in most respects their physique is like that of an ordinary god, i.e. like that of a perfect man (*Od.* 19. 267 *ἠ' 'Ὀδυσῆ' ὅν φασι θεοῖς ἐναλίγκιον εἶναι*). Homer's Cyclopes, on the other hand, are not gods, but uncivilized men (*Od.* 6. 5, 9. 106 ff., 187), even if 'near' the gods like the Giants and Phaeacians (7. 205–6).

143. Cf. Aristeas fr. 5. 1 *ὀφθαλμὸν δ' ἓν' ἕκαστος ἔχει χαρίεντι μετώπῳ*.

μοῦνος: 'only one', as in *Op.* 11, cf. *Il.* 24. 453. *οἶος* is used similarly in fr. 275. 1, *Il.* 9. 638, *Od.* 14. 244. This sense of *μόνος* is common in compounds, as *μονόφθαλμος*, *μονοσάνδαλος*, etc.

ἐνέκειτο: so most MSS. here and in 145; for the variant *ἐπέκειτο* cf. Theocr. 11. 33 (Cyclops) *εἷς δ' ὀφθαλμὸς ἔπεστι* (sc. *μετώπῳ*: *ὔπεστι* Winsem, sc. *ὀφρύι*), Apld. 1. 1. 2 *ὧν ἕκαστος εἶχεν ἕνα ὀφθαλμὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου*, Luc. *Dial. Mar.* 1. 1 *ὅ τε ὀφθαλμὸς ἐπιπρέπει τῷ μετώπῳ* (sc. *Πολυφήμου*).

144–5. These lines have been suspected of being an alternative to the preceding two. It may be so; the existence of alternative versions in epic texts is discussed on 590–1. But the standard type of epic etymology is precisely this: 'And they call . . . because . . .', even if the reason is something already mentioned, cf. 195 ff., 233 ff. A later poet would have avoided the virtual repetition of 143 after such a short interval, but there are parallels in Hesiod, cf. on 67.

οὕνεκ': the conjunction most frequently used in explaining a name, cf. 196, 235, fr. 233. 2, 235. 2; *Il.* 7. 140, 9. 562, *Od.* 18. 7, *h. Ap.* 373, 387, *Aphr.* 198. Elsewhere *ὅτι* is used, as 198–200, *Op.* 81, *h.* xix. 47 (cf. on 281).

ἄρα: cf. 281, *Il.* 7. 140, 9. 562. For *οὕνεκ' ἄρά σφεων* cf. *Od.* 8. 480. On the accentuation see the Excursus, p. 440.

σφεων: with *μετώπῳ*.

ἓεις: this strange form of *εἷς* recurs in late verse (*A.P.* 7. 341. 4, *Epigr. Gr.* 985. 7; restored by Graefe in Paul. Sil. *Amb.* 58), and is given by pap. Bodmer 1 in *Il.* 5. 603, where it had been conjectured by

Nauck (cf. Merkelbach, *Gnomon*, 1955, p. 271). He also conjectured it in *Il.* 20. 98, and Barnes did so in 11. 35. Cf. Nauck, *Mélanges gréco-romains*, iv. 491 f. The form is perhaps an analogical formation after ἐείκοσι. Cf. Solmsen, *Unters. z. gr. Laut- und Verslehre*, p. 254; Ehrlich, *Rh. Mus.* 63, 1908, p. 124. Another possibility is that it represents ἐείς, abstracted from the stereotyped phrase οὐδὲ εἷς, like Alcaeus' and Democritus' δέν from μηδέν. A smooth breathing is given by KQ, the Hauniensis (codex unicus) in Hdn. ii. 924. 28–29 L., and Barocc. 50 (codex unicus, *s.* x) in Theognostus.

146. Sense: their work bore evidence of strength and skill.

ἶσχυς: un-Homeric, but again in 153 and 823.

μηχαναὶ: also un-Homeric, though presupposed by μηχανάω, κακομήχανος.

147. The Hundred-Handers stand out as individuals much more than the Cyclopes. When they are mentioned, it is by their individual names (617–18, 714, 734, 817); Hesiod has no collective name for them, and in 669 he has to call them 'the gods whom Zeus brought up from the dark'. Ἑκατόγχειρες is a label of the mythographers (Apld. 1. 1. 1, Palaeph. 19, etc.; it is not clear from Phld. π. εὐσ. 60. 15 that Acusilaus used the term (2 F 8)); though the adjective ἑκατόγχειρος is applied to Briareos-Aigaion in Homer (*Il.* 1. 402, cf. Pi. fr. 52 i(A). 21). In some myths only one Hundred-Hander appears: *Il.* 1. 401 ff., *Titanom.* fr. 2, Virg. *A.* 10. 565; and one may observe that in other versions of the myth of the helper who must be fetched in order to win a long-drawn-out war, a single hero is involved (Heracles in the Gigantomachy, Philoctetes in the Trojan War).

It is precisely the Hundred-Handers' hundred hands that make them such useful allies in battle. Some such extraordinary endowment is characteristic of the helper in this kind of myth; see Meuli, *Odyssee u. Argon.*, pp. 2 ff.

148. **τε καὶ**: τε is added by Gerhard, *Lectiones Apollonianae*, p. 160, probably rightly, though there do seem to be cases of καί standing unshortened in thesis before an original vowel, and particularly in the third thesis: below, 250 codd., fr. 193. 20, *h. Dem.* 424, *Od.* 19. 174 (s.v.l.), *Il.* 13. 316 (om. papp. et. codd. aliqui); in the fourth thesis, *Il.* 24. 641. In other cases it is possible to add τε, as *h. Aphr.* 13, Arat. 534. Cf. sch.^{A} *Il.* 3. 227 κεφαλήν τε καὶ εὐρέας ὤμους· οὕτως σὺν τῷ τε ἡ Ἀριστάρχου καὶ ἡ Ἀριστοφάνους, καί ἐστιν εὐφραδέστερον.

οὐκ ὀνομαστοί: cf. *Od.* 19. 260, etc.; below, 310 οὔ τι φατειός, Latin *nefandus*, etc. One names a god in order to summon him; by the same token, a fearful creature must not be named, in case he is thereby conjured up. 'Talk of the Devil, and he will appear.' (See H. Güntert, *Von der Sprache der Götter u. Geister*, 1921, pp. 12 ff.) This is the original point of this and similar expressions; but the belief has faded, as is shown by the fact that the names are given in the very next line.

149. **Κόττος**. a Thracian name, like that of the goddess Kotys or

Kotyto or Kotto. It was borne by various Thracian princes; see Nisbet on Cic. *Pis.* 84.

Βριάρεως: much the most eminent of the three brothers. In 617 and 734 he is called *'Οβριάρεως*. A similar variation occurs in *Βριμώ*~*'Οβριμώ*, *βριμός*~*ὄβριμος*. (*'Ιλεύς*~*'Οϊλεύς*, compared by Hdn. *ap.* Eust. 650. 46, *Et. magn.* 346. 38, is different: the *o* there is a vocalization of *ϝ*, as in *"Οαξος* = Cret. *Ϝάξος*.) The name is probably formed from *βριαρός* 'strong', *ὀ-* being an old prepositional prefix; see Boisacq s.v. *ὀ-* and *ὄβριμος*. In *Il.* 1. 403 Briareos is said to be the gods' name for him, the human name being Aigaion. (On the language of the gods, see on 831.) In the *Titanomachy* (fr. 2), Aigaion is a son of Ge and Pontos, lives in the sea, and fights on the side of the Titans (cf. Virg. *A.* 10. 565). In the *Iliad* too he seems to live in the sea, for it was Thetis who fetched him to overawe the other gods when they tried to tie Zeus up; though Zenodotus' text of 404a makes him (now at any rate) a denizen of Tartarus (cf. on 734–5). The scholia describe him as a *θαλάσσιος δαίμων* and son of Poseidon (cf. below, 817–19). Solinus 11. 16 says that Briareos was worshipped at Carystus, and Aigaion at Chalcis; an Aigaion was known as the eponymous ruler of Carystus–Aigaie (cf. sch. A.R. 1. 1165, St. Byz. s.v. *Κάρυστος*, Eust. 281. 3), and Briareos was father of Euboea herself (Hsch. s.v. *Τιτανίδα*).

Γύγης: this, and not *Γύης*, is the correct form. It is given by all the MSS. in 734 (with Π^{19} Π^{30}) and 817, by all except S here, by Π^{19} and all except Vat. 1332 in 714, and by *b* in 618; further by sch. A.R. 1. 1165, sch. Pl. *Lg.* 795c, Palaeph. 19, Athenag. 18. 4 (*γυνη* cod.), Greg. *c. Iul.* 1. 115 (*Patrol. Gr.* 35. 653), *Suda* iv. 594. 23 A., Tz. *Theog.* 64, 278; Ov. *F.* 4. 593, *Am.* 2. 1. 12, Hyg. *fab. praef.* 3, Hor. *C.* 2. 17. 14, 3. 4. 69, Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 167, 1139 (in the last four places written *gigas*, which is possible in the Horace passages, though *Gyges* (or *Gygas*?) is supported by Ovid, ll. cc.). It is explicitly attested by Herodian ii. 678. 27 L. *Γύγης Γύγου καὶ Γύγητος ἐπὶ τοῦ γίγαντος· ὅτε δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Λυδίας λέγεται, σπονδειακόν ἐστι καὶ ἰσοσυλλάβως κλίνεται*, and 639. 16. Cf. sch. Nic. *Th.* 633 *παραὶ Γύγαό τε σῆμα· ἤτοι Γύγου τοῦ βασιλέως . . . ἢ τὴν Γυγαίαν λίμνην λέγει ἀπὸ Γύγου τοῦ ἑκατογχείρου.* (Gyges the king has a short first syllable in Alex. Aetol. fr. 9. 6, but Herodian's rule is normally observed.)

This form should therefore be preferred in Hesiod, and in Apld. 1. 1. 1 and Ov. *Tr.* 4. 7. 18, where the form without the second *g* occurs as a variant. *Γύης* perhaps results, as Welcker says, from association with *γυῖον*, *ἀμφιγυήεις*. It is nowhere attested without variant, and I do not know why Rzach preferred it in face of the overwhelming evidence for *Γύγης*. Jacoby, ad loc., rightly decides for the latter, though his material is neither full nor accurate.

The name is reminiscent of *'Ωγύγης*; cf. also Hsch. *Γυγᾶ· Ἀθηνᾶ ἐγχώριος*, and *γυγαί· †πάμποι* (*πάπποι* Perger; cf. van Windekens, *Arch. f. Orientforschung*, 18, 1957/8, pp. 366 f.).

ὑπερήφανα: Homer has only *ὑπερηφανέων* (*Il.* 11. 694).

150–2. The lines are repeated in 671–3 (with a variation in the second line); cf. *Op.* 148–9, *Sc.* 75–76.

ἀπ' ὤμων ἀίσσοντο: cf. *Il.* 23. 627 f. *οὐδ' ἔτι χεῖρες | ὤμων ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἀπαίσσονται ἐλαφραί* (v.l. *ἐπαίσσονται*). Emped. 29. 1 *οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ νώτοιο δύο κλάδοι ἀίσσονται.* The verb implies agile movement; cf. S. *Aj.* 40 *καὶ πρὸς τί δυσλόγιστον ὧδ' ἦξεν χέρα;*

ἄπλαστοι: this is usually taken to be equivalent to *ἀπέλαστοι*, 'not to be approached'. This interpretation may be as old as Aeschylus, if he wrote *οὐδὲ πρόσπλαστοι ξένοις* in *PV* 716 and *οὐ πλαστοῖσι φυσιάμασιν* in *Eum.* 53; but Elmsley was probably right in writing *πρόσπλατοι* and *πλατοῖσι*. The corruption is a common one, cf. S. *Aj.* 256, etc. *πελαστός* is from *πελάζω*, which is from *πέλας*, and *ἄπλαστος* for *ἀπέλαστος* is no more possible than *πλάς* for *πέλας*. I see no reason for distinguishing the word from the well-attested *ἄπλαστος* (*πλάσσω*): it will mean 'not to be copied by artists', with the same point as *ἄρρητος*. To make an image of such a creature might fetch it as effectively as uttering its name.

The variant *ἄπλατοι* (given by C in *Op.* 148) is not an epic form.

ἐξ ὤμων: the early Greeks found it natural (as we do) to speak of a man's head as being on his shoulders: *Il.* 2. 259, 17. 126, cf. Arat. 77. The usage was later remarked upon: sch.T *Il.* 2. 259 *σὺν τῷ αὐχένι κάρη λέγεται.*

ἐπέφυκον: Homer has similar forms, *ἐπέπληγον* (*Il.* 5. 504), *ἐμέμηκον* (*Od.* 9. 439). They are analogous to the Aeolic thematic perfects, *κεκλήγοντες*, etc. (Monro, § 27; cf. Strunk, op. cit. (p. 79, n. 1), pp. 104 ff.).

ἐπὶ στιβαροῖσι μέλεσσιν: they did not have one pair of shoulders with fifty heads growing out of it, but fifty pairs corresponding to and as it were 'on' their hundred arms. In *Op.* 149 = *Sc.* 76 the phrase is unintelligible, for there it is the arms themselves that are *ἐπὶ στιβαροῖσι μέλεσσι*, and while *μέλεα* can mean the body as a whole, it cannot mean the body as distinct from the arms. *Sc.* 75–76 is probably an interpolation; Wilamowitz may well be right in excising *Op.* 148–9 too (though cf. on 555).

153. The line is a somewhat lame reflection of 146; but Hesiod may have been responsible for it. For the omission of *ἦν* cf. *Il.* 4. 327 *εὗρε . . . ἑσταότ'· ἀμφὶ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι μήστωρες ἀυτῆς*, *Od.* 5. 234 *δῶκε μέν οἱ πέλεκυν . . . χάλκεον ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἀκαχμένον· αὐτὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ στειλειὸν περικαλλὲς ἐλάινον, εὖ ἐναρηρός*, and on 155.

ἄπλητος: 315, 709, *h. Dem.* 83, Sem. 7. 34, *Sc.* 147, 230 (v.l.), 250, 268; un-Homeric. *LSJ* says that *ἄπλητος* is the same as *ἄπλατος*. But this fits few of the contexts in which it occurs, and it is better to suppose that it is often equivalent to *ἄπλετος*, as in later epic. So here; cf. [Orph.] *A.* 25 *ἄπλετον ἰσχύν.*

154–210. The castration of Uranos. Primitive man wonders why the sky stays so high and does not rather fall down upon the earth. He often answers the question by saying that originally the sky did

lie on or close to the earth, and that it was afterwards raised, for one reason or another, to its present station. Variant forms of this myth from many parts of the world have been collected by H. Staudacher, *Die Trennung von Himmel und Erde*, Tübingen, 1942. Sometimes the sky is simply raised by pushing, or takes itself off of its own accord. Sometimes there is a physical link which must be severed, for example a tree or a navel-string; the motif is most familiar to us, perhaps, in the pantomime story of Jack and the beanstalk. In the Hesiodic myth, Heaven and Earth are personified; their original proximity is a sexual union (cf. on 133), and it is an act of castration that severs the bond between them once and for all. There is a striking and often compared parallel in the Polynesian myth of Rangi and Papa, Heaven and Earth, who clung together while mankind multiplied in darkness; in one of the several versions recorded, the separation is achieved by cutting through Rangi's arms (Staudacher, p. 36).

But this separation myth has been combined with the first stage of the Oriental Succession Myth. The combination seems also to be implicit in the Hittite version: Anu, Heaven, once lived among the gods, but when castrated by Kumarbi he flew up to heaven. It is hard to make any sense of this except by intepreting it in the light of Hesiod; and that the separation of earth and sky was known to Hurrian mythology is proved by the reference in *Ullikummi*, III. iii. 42 (though that is evidently a different version). It is also Babylonian, but not part of the Succession Myth in *Enûma Eliš*. There are nevertheless some remarkable similarities between *Enûma Eliš* and this part of the *Theogony*; see on 155 and 167.

The castration leads to the birth of the Erinyes, Giants, and Meliai; for a god never loses a limb, or bleeds, without life springing up from the spot. The same apparently happens when Kumarbi spits out what he can of Anu's genitals, and they fall on Mt. Kanzura. But in Hesiod there is a delightful sequel in the birth of Aphrodite, an episode which has a certain dream-like quality in the absence of any fixed viewpoint or any definite time-scale, and in the continuous, fluid but irreversible change which transforms an ugly scene into one of beauty. This is no accident. In dreams the mind is faced with a number of thoughts or images which must be worked together in some sort of relation or series. It moves quite freely, creating a fantasy in which they can all be associated. Hesiod, or whoever invented the myth in this form, is doing the same. Aphrodite is formed in foam to explain her name. But she is born in Cyprus, so the foam drifts towards Cyprus; and she is also Cytherea, so it drifts past Cythera.

It is less obvious why the foam forms round the genitals of Uranos. The association *φιλομμειδής–μήδεα* (200) must be secondary. The probable answer is that Aphrodite's cult title *Οὐρανία* suggested that she was Uranos' daughter (Schoemann, Sittl; Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* v (2), 174, n. 1, *Glaube d. Hell.* i. 95). Given this, it only remains to link the castrated Uranos somehow with floating foam. The obvious solution is that his genitals are thrown away and fall in the sea, and the foam

forms round them. There may be an allusion to *τὸ ἀφρῶδες τοῦ σπέρματος* (cf. Diog. Apoll. A 24, B 6; Hippocr. vii. 470; Opp. *H.* 1. 518; Orph. fr. 183; Nonn. *D.* 13. 179); the myth is so interpreted by Cornut. 24, Nonn. *D.* 13. 439.

This is an excellent example of how a complex aetiological myth is created. There is a curious artistic monument to it in a terracotta figurine found at Perachora and dated 675–650. It represents a bearded female figure rising from what appears to be the genital sac. See H. Payne, *Perachora*, i. 231–2. On the significance of this and on the whole section of the *Theogony*, see W. Sale, *T.A.P.A.* 92, 1961, pp. 508–21.

154. **γὰρ**: Gaia bore the Titans, including Kronos, who was most fearsome. And she bore the Cyclopes, who were one-eyed and very strong. And the Hundred-Handers, who were terrible and strong. For (in fact) all the children of Gaia and Uranos were most fearsome children. This seems to be the point of *γάρ* as the text stands. Before the insertion of 139–53 it must have introduced the explanation of Kronos' hatred for his father (see on 138). But it is unlikely that in the original draft 138 was so closely followed by a line as similar as 155, and it is tempting to guess that 155–6 (which were excised by Muetzell, pp. 415 f.) were also added when Hesiod revised the passage. *ὅσσοι* would then originally have been picked up by *πάντας* in the following line (now 157), as 183 f. *ὅσσαι γὰρ ῥαθάμιγγες . . . πάσας δέξατο Γαῖα*, 421 f. *ὅσσοι γὰρ . . . τούτων ἔχει αἶσαν ἁπάντων*, Call. *H.* 5. 1 *ὅσσαι λωτροχόοι τᾶς Παλλάδος, ἔξιτε πᾶσαι*, A.R. 4. 1516 f. *ὅσσαι κυανέου στάγες αἵματος οὐδας ἵκοντο, αἳ πᾶσαι κείνων ὀφίων γένος ἐβλάστησαν.*

n has *δὲ* for *γὰρ*, perhaps a gloss meaning 'translate as if it were *δὲ*'. So in 161 *γὰρ* is written above *δὲ* in L, and in 416 *δη* above *νυν* in the same MS. For variation between *γάρ* and *δέ* see Tucker in his apparatus to A. *Cho.* 32; Pearson in his index to Sophocles s.vv. Another example is Musae. 177.

155. **δεινότατοι παίδων**: for the predicative nominative standing alone without the verb 'to be', but followed by a supplementary clause, cf. *Il.* 10. 437 *λευκότεροι χιόνος, θείειν δ' ἀνέμοισιν ὁμοῖοι*, 1. 231 *δημοβόρος βασιλεύς, ἐπεὶ οὐτιδανοῖσιν ἀνάσσεις*, *Od.* 1. 51 *νῆσος δενδρήεσσα, θεὰ δ' ἐν δώματα ναίει*, and above 40 n., 121.

It was because of the children's fearsome nature that Uranos hated them and tried to suppress them. So in *Enûma Eliš* the children of the primeval pair Apsû and Tiâmat 'disturbed Tiâmat *as they surged back and forth*. Yea, they troubled the mood (lit.: belly) of Tiâmat, By their *hilarity* in the Abode of Heaven. Apsû could not lessen their clamour, And Tiâmat was speechless at their [*ways*] . . . Apsû opening his mouth Said unto *resplendent* Tiâmat, Their ways are verily loathsome unto me, By day I find no relief, nor repose by night. I will destroy, I will wreck their ways.' (i. 22–26 and 35–39, transl. Speiser in *A.N.E.T.*, p. 61. The translation of the words italicized is uncertain.)

156. **ἐξ ἀρχῆς**: cf. *Od.* 11. 436 ff. *ἦ μάλα δὴ γόνον Ἀτρέος εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς | ἐκπάγλως ἤχθηρε . . . | ἐξ ἀρχῆς*. See also on 45.

157. **ἀποκρύπτασκε . . . ἀνίεσκε**: for *-σκε* ending each hemistich cf. fr. 67 (b) *ὅττι κε χερσὶ λάβεσκεν, ἀείδελα πάντα τίθεσκεν*. Accumulation of forms in *-σκε* also in fr. 204. 125–8, *Od.* 11. 586–7, 596–9, *h. Dem.* 237–41.

The form *ἀποκρύπτασκε* is confirmed by *Il.* 8. 272, though the variant *-εσκε* occurs in *h. Dem.* 239. It implies **κρυπτάζω*, cf. *ῥίπτασκον* (*Il.* 15. 23) ~ *ῥιπτάζω*, *ἰσάσκετο* (*Il.* 24. 607) ~ *ἰσάζομαι*, and *κρυπτάδιος*. Chantraine, i. 323; E. Risch, *Wortbildung der hom. Sprache* (1937), p. 240. *ἀπεκρύπτασκε* (*n*) can be ruled out, as the tense *-σκον* never has the augment (even in Herodotus), with the exception of *παρεκέσκετο Od.* 14. 521, *ἐμισγέσκοντο Od.* 20. 7, *ἀπεστίλβεσκε* Dion. Bass. fr. 24 recto 15. Cf. *Et. magn.* 295. 13, Schwyzer, i. 652.

κρύπτειν often means 'put away out of sight', without the association of concealment from someone else.

ἐς φάος: often used in connexion with birth, cf. *Il.* 16. 188, 19. 103, 118, *h. Ap.* 119, *Herm.* 12.

οὐκ ἀνίεσκε: 'did not let them come up'. Cf. 669. The form *ἀνίεσκε* is confirmed against *ἀνίησκε* by A.R. 3. 274, 4. 622, 799.

158. **γαίης ἐν κευθμῶνι**: the phrase goes with *ἀποκρύπτασκε* by a hyperbaton not uncommon in Hesiod; cf. 972–3, *Op.* 144–5, 405–6, 437–8, 559–60, 819–20; *Il.* 2. 333–5, *Od.* 9. 468–9; A. Wifstrand, *Krit. u. exeg. Bemerkungen zu Apoll. Rhod.* (Bull. de la soc. roy. de lettres de Lund, 1928–9), p. 83. *γαίης ἐν κευθμῶνι* is used in fr. 204. 130 of a snake's mountain lair. Here it is conveniently ambiguous. The story must have been that the Titans were kept in Gaia's womb by Uranos' unremitting embrace: that is why she is so distressed (159–60), and why castration solves the problem. But if this is what Hesiod means, it is a shy way of saying it. He seems deliberately to have employed less explicitly personified terms at this point, mindful perhaps that Zeus has to release the Cyclopes and Hundred-Handers from the same confinement, and in their case it must be merely an infernal prison and not the womb of a personified Gaia. In 501 ff. and 617 ff. he can express this freely; here he must use an expression which fits both the story of the Titans and the story of their brothers. So possibly this line too belongs to the revision.

Staudacher argues that originally the children must have been not kept in or under the earth, but cramped between it and heaven. This is the only place they could have been in to do the castration, and it is the usual situation in the other versions of the separation myth.

κακῷ δ' ἐπετέρπετο ἔργῳ: paradox, as in *Op.* 57–58 *δώσω κακόν, ᾧ κεν ἅπαντες | τέρπωνται κατὰ θυμόν, ἑὸν κακὸν ἀμφαγαπῶντες*, *Od.* 15. 399 f. *κήδεσιν ἀλλήλων τερπώμεθα λευγαλέοισι | μνωομένω· μετὰ γάρ τε καὶ ἄλγεσι τέρπεται ἀνήρ*.

159. **Οὐρανός**: the position of the subject at the end of the sentence and the beginning of the verse is strongly emphatic, and points the antithesis between Uranos' pleasure and Gaia's pain. Gaia's suffering

is not mentioned for its own sake. It leads her to devise, propose, and arrange the castration which is to take place. This elaborate preparation is characteristic of epic narrative technique. 'Der Zustimmung geht ein Vorschlag, der Tat eine Beratung, der Ausführung ein Befehl, eine Ankündigung voraus.' Arend, op. cit. (on 102), p. 9.

στοναχίζετο: *στεν-* is a variant here, in 843 and 858, and often elsewhere. *στοναχίζω* (*στοναχή*) is probably the original form, *στεναχίζω* being written by analogy with *στενάχω*. See the lucid discussion of Buttmann, *Lexilogus*, pp. 498–500. The confusion is ancient, cf. Schulze, p. 488 n. 2.

Γαῖα πελώρη: a regular formula in the *Theogony*, cf. 173, 479, 821, 858; Thgn. 9; *πελώρη* (. . .) *Γαῖα* 505, 731, 861.

160. στεινομένη: so in *Il.* 21. 220, of Scamander crowded with corpses.

δὲ: Rzach's statement that the MSS. have *τε* is a curious error; they are unanimous in having *δὲ*.

κακὴν ἐπεφράσσατο: Goettling has generally been followed in writing *κακήν τ' ἐφράσσατο*, as *Od.* 4. 529 *δολίην ἐφράσσατο τέχνην* (Nonn. *D.* 37. 351, 8. 38). The conjecture is attractive, but not necessary; *δολίην κακήν* can stand without *τε*, and for the compound verb cf. *Od.* 15. 444 *ὑμῖν δ' ἐπιφράσσετ' ὄλεθρον*. For the correption *ἐπῐ́φρ.* cf. also *Op.* 655 *προπεφραδμένα*. For *δολίην τέχνην* cf. 540, 547, 555, 560, *h. Herm.* 76, *Od.* 4. 529 above; for *κακὴν τέχνην* 770; for the combination *Il.* 15. 14 *κακότεχνος . . . σὸς δόλος*.

τέχνην: 'trick', as in 540, 555, *Od.* 4. 529; cf. 547, 560, 770.

161. γένος: cf. [Orph.] *L.* 408 *ἐκ γαίης δὲ λίθων πάντων γένος*, Lucr. 2. 374 *concharumque genus*. We would say 'order' or 'element'. The term suggests that notion of metals being *born* which we meet in *Il.* 2. 857 *ἐξ Ἀλύβης ὅθι τ' ἀργύρου ἐστὶ γενέθλη*, [Hes.] fr. 287 *ἐν τοῖς Μεγάλοις Ἔργοις ἀργύριον τῆς Γῆς γενεαλογεῖ*, A. *PV* 301 *τὴν σιδηρομήτορα . . . αἶαν*, *Aetna* 277 *argenti semen*, sch. A.R. 1. 1323 (Hsch. s.v. *Χάλυβοι*) *ὅπου ὁ σίδηρος γίνεται*, *Suda* s.v. *Χαλύβοις· ἔθνος Σκυθίας, ἔνθεν ὁ σίδηρος τίκτεται*, Nonn. *D.* 42. 494 *ὅλβον . . . ὅσον . . . χρυσοφαεῖς ὠδῖνες ἐμαιώσαντο μετάλλων*. Similarly of stones in [Orph.] *L.* 407–12. According to a slightly different idea, metals grow like plants: Aristeas (fr. 6) *ap.* Paus. 1. 24. 6 *τὸν δὲ χρυσόν, ὃν φυλάσσουσιν οἱ γρῦπες, ἀνιέναι τὴν γῆν*, Pl. *Crat.* 403A *ὅτι ἐκ τῆς γῆς κάτωθεν ἀνίεται ὁ πλοῦτος*, Call. fr. 110. 49 (*σίδηρον*) *γειόθεν ἀντέλλοντα, κακὸν φυτόν* (Pfeiffer, ad loc., does not distinguish between the two different conceptions), D.P. 317, 328.

ἀδάμαντος: this legendary metal shares with iron the epithet *πολιός* and the quality of great hardness (cf. 239, *Op.* 147). Heracles' helmet and part of his shield are made from it, *Sc.* 137, 231. It is not mentioned in Homer, and never seems to be available to ordinary mortals. It may be a pre-Iron Age word for iron, coined at a time when iron was known only by rumour, and maintaining itself as the metal of the gods, never being identified with *σίδηρος*.

162. δρέπανον: see on 175.

163. φίλον τετιημένη ἦτορ: *Od.* 4. 804, *al.*

164. αἴ κ' ἐθέλητε | πείθεσθαι: this can be taken alone, meaning 'I wonder whether you would like to . . .'. Cf. *Il.* 7. 394 *καὶ δὲ τόδ' ἠνώγευν εἰπεῖν ἔπος· αἴ κ' ἐθέλητε | παύσασθαι πολέμοιο δυσηχέος*, 21. 487 *εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις πολέμοιο δαήμεναι, h. Ap.* 51 *Δῆλ', εἰ γάρ κ' ἐθέλῃς ἕδος ἔμμεναι υἷος ἐμοῖο*. Or *πείθεσθαι* can be taken as imperative, *αἴ κ' ἐθέλητε* being 'if you please' (so punctuated in some MSS.), cf. *Il.* 19. 147 *δῶρα μέν, αἴ κ' ἐθέλῃσθα, παρασχέμεν ὡς ἐπιεικές, | ἥ τ' ἐχέμεν παρὰ σοί*. Or the whole phrase may be taken as the protasis to *πατρός . . . λώβην*.

The form *αἴ* is only used in epic in the stereotyped combinations *αἴ κε* and *αἴ γάρ*. It is Aeolic (also W. Greek and Boeotian, but there with *κα*, not *κε*).

165. πείθεσθαι: 'do what I say'. She has not yet explained what is to be done with the sickle she has shown them. So *Il.* 1. 259, 274.

πατρός: *-ερ-* stems always have genitive in *-ρος*, not *-ερος*, in Hesiod, except for *Δημήτερος* five times in the *Works and Days* (Rzach, *Dialekt d. Hes.*, pp. 411 f.). In Homer and the hymns, *πατρός* occurs 139 times and *πατέρος* twice; in only one place is a variant recorded by Allen or Ludwich.

τεισαίμεθα λώβην: cf. *Il.* 11. 142 *οὗ πατρὸς ἀεικέα τείσετε λώβην*, 19. 208 *ἐπὴν τεισαίμεθα λώβην*.

166. πρότερος: an almost juristic use, meaning not so much 'he did it before you did' as 'he did it when you had done nothing', 'he started it'. Cf. *Il.* 3. 351 *Ζεῦ ἄνα, δὸς τείσασθαι, ὅ με πρότερος κάκ' ἔοργεν*, 4. 271 *ἐπεὶ πρότεροι ὑπὲρ ὅρκια δηλήσαντο*, *Od.* 20. 394 *πρότεροι γὰρ ἀεικέα μηχανόωντο*, Thuc. 1. 123, etc.

ἀεικέα μήσατο ἔργα: cf. *Il.* 22. 395 *ἀεικέα μήδετο ἔργα*.

167. On the shape of the verse, *ὣς φάτο* followed by a short sentence extending to the bucolic diaeresis and then another running into the next line, cf. Bühler, op. cit. (on 142), p. 198.

τοὺς δ' ἄρα πάντας ἕλεν δέος: cf. *Od.* 24. 450, 533. KQV give *ἕλε*, a possible reading before *δ(ϝ)έος*. But omission and false addition of the movable nu is so common at all periods of the transmission—it occurs even in early verse inscriptions—that it would be unsafe to treat this as a genuine archaic survival in the tradition.

δέος roots you to the spot; *φόβος* puts you to flight. Cf. J. Gruber, *Über einige abstrakte Begriffe des frühen Griechischen*, Meisenheim, 1963, pp. 15–28.

οὐδέ τις αὐτῶν | φθέγξατο: the awed silence that follows a speech which announces or creates a new and awkward situation is a typical device of epic narrative. Finally someone speaks, and the story proceeds. Cf. *Il.* 7. 398–9, 8. 28–30, 9. 29–31, 430–2, 693–5, *Od.* 7. 154–5, 16. 393–4, 20. 320–1, and for later epic Bühler, op. cit., pp. 64 f. It is noteworthy that the same device is used in *Enûma Eliš* in the episode that corresponds to this, when the young gods learn of Apsû's intention to destroy them: 'When the gods heard, they were astir, Lapsed into silence and remained speechless. Ea the all-wise saw through their

scheme (sc. Apsû's and Tiâmat's), A master design against it he devised and set up.' (i. 57–60, transl. Speiser. Ea fetters Apsû and slays him.)

168. **μέγας**: so in 473, 495. The epithet is applied in turn to Uranos (176), Kronos and Zeus. *μέγα*, if right, would qualify *θαρσήσας* (cf. 173); but it is probably a mere mistake.

169. **αἶψ' αὖτις**: *αἶψα* is not seriously incompatible with the delay in speaking, cf. *Od.* 16. 220–1 *καί νύ κ' ὀδυρομένοισιν ἔδυ φάος ἠελίοιο, | εἰ μὴ Τηλέμαχος προσεφώνεεν ὃν πατέρ' αἶψα. αἶψ'* and *ἆψ* are frequently variants, see *C.R.* 1963, p. 11. *αἶψ'* is supported by 654 (v.l.), *Il.* 5. 242, 9. 201, etc.; *ἆψ* is not used with verbs of speaking in Homer (though *ἄψορρον* is twice, *Od.* 9. 282 and 501).

170–2. Kronos' speech echoes in thought and language the speech of Gaia to which it is a reply. See pp. 74 f.

170. Cf. *Il.* 10. 303 *τίς κέν μοι τόδε ἔργον ὑποσχόμενος τελέσειεν;* and *Od.* 15. 195.

171. **δυσωνύμου**: not 'wrongly called by the name of father' (Paley) but in the sense of *οὐκ ὀνομαστός* (148 n.), as the other epic occurrences of the word show: *Il.* 6. 255, 12. 116, *Od.* 19. 571, *h. Ap.* 368.

173. **μέγα**: Triclinius' *μετὰ* is *facilior lectio*. *μετὰ φρεσί*, *ἐνὶ φρεσί* and *φρεσί* are metrical alternatives in this kind of context, cf. (*a*) *Il.* 13. 609, *Od.* 8. 368, *h. Aphr.* 72, (*b*) *Il.* 16. 530, *Od.* 1. 420, *h. Aphr.* 223. For the position of *μέγα* after the initial verb cf. 694, *Il.* 11. 340, 15. 321, 22. 407, etc.; before *φρεσί*, P. Harris 3. 5]*ε μέγα φρε*[*σί*, Q.S. 6. 124 *ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ κεχάροντο μέγα φρεσὶ Τρώιοι υἷες*.

174. **εἷσε . . . λόχῳ**: cf. *Il.* 6. 189, *Od.* 4. 531 *εἷσε λόχον*. This place of ambush must be on the surface of the earth, cf. 181 ff. and above on 158. How this is to be reconciled with Kronos' confinement *γαίης ἐν κευθμῶνι* is not clear.

χερσὶν: so S, the other MSS. having *χειρὶ*. Cf. A.R. 3. 1388 *ἅρπην . . . χερσὶ μεμαρπώς*. Manuscript variation between *χερσί* and *χειρί* is very common: 482, *Sc.* 199, 214, *Il.* 10. 461, 14. 176, 16. 117, 22. 77, 23. 565, 568, 583, 761, *Od.* 2. 37, 3. 51, 443, 11. 359, 13. 57, 225, 15. 120, 124, 130, 21. 59, Arat. 97, [Orph.] *A.* 398, 729. Decision between the two is often impossible.

175. **ἅρπην**: the epithet *καρχαρόδους* shows that Hesiod thought of Kronos' weapon as a simple agricultural sickle. Cf. A.R. 4. 984 ff. Ancient reaping sickles were often toothed; cf. Daremberg–Saglio s.v. *Falx*, Nilsson, *Op. Sel.* iii. 215–19. A toothed sickle was also used by Iolaus, assisting Heracles against the hydra (Q.S. 6. 215 ff.; already on two geometric fibulae, *A.J.A.* 1911, pp. 3, 5; R. Hampe, *Frühe griechische Sagenbilder in Böotien* (1936), pl. 2, 8; see also Nilsson, l.c.; E. *Ion* 192 gives the weapon to Heracles himself). Perseus uses a *ἅρπη* to decapitate Medusa (Pherec. Ath. 3 F 11, Lyc. 840, Apld. 2. 4. 2, Nonn. *D.* 47. 503–4). Zeus employs it against Typhon in the version of Apld. 1. 6. 3, and Hermes against Argos (Ov. *M.* 1. 717, Luc. 9. 662; on a gem, *Roscher*, ii. 275). A maenad attacks Orpheus with a toothed sickle in Gerhard, *Auserlesene gr. Vasenbilder*, p. 156.

In short, it is the normal weapon in Greek mythology for the amputation of monsters, and a very suitable one for the job.[1]

In view of this, it is wrong to infer from Kronos' association with the implement that he is in origin a harvest-god (cf. on 137). One would then have to assume the same of Perseus, Iolaus, etc. (Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* v (2), 160), unless one supposed that the use of the sickle in all these stories was transferred from the story of Kronos, which is highly improbable.

It is also wrong to assume that the weapon must in origin be the Oriental scimitar (which Herodotus calls *δρέπανον*): Aly on 162, Staudacher, pp. 69–71. It is indeed Oriental, but it is actually a sickle. A well-known Assyrian relief in the British Museum shows a god pursuing a griffin, with thunderbolts in each hand, and a sickle or pruning-hook (now hardly if at all visible on the original) slung below one shoulder. It is a popular weapon for a god attacking a foe in Babylonian–Assyrian art, and a common royal attribute in the ancient Near East; see C. Hopkins, *A.J.A.* 1934, p. 348. In the Hurrian–Hittite *Song of Ullikummi* (III. iii. 52) reference is made to the copper 'cutter' with which Earth and Heaven were separated: this would correspond to the castration of Uranos in the Greek myth. The same implement is brought out to cut through the feet of the stone monster Ullikummi. Unfortunately its nature is not more precisely known. Cf. Meriggi, *Athenaeum*, 1953, p. 153, n. 104. Nevertheless, it seems likely that the sickle was an ancient feature of the Succession Myth and of the ritual which must originally have been associated with it, and its appearance in the Greek version does not prove that it was a special attribute of the god Kronos.

καρχαρόδοντα: see above. Elsewhere in early Greek epic the epithet is applied only to dogs: *Op.* 604, 796, *Sc.* 303, *Il.* 10. 360, 13. 198.

ὑπεθήκατο: *ἐθήκατο* for *ἔθετο* is not uncommon, cf. *Il.* 10. 31, 14. 187, *Sc.* 128, Thgn. 1150, Hdt. 1. 26, 4. 65, 6. 108, *al.*; Kühner–Blass, ii. 196.

176. **νύκτ' ἐπάγων**: day is said to be 'brought on' by Zeus, *Od.* 18. 137 *οἷον ἐπ' ἦμαρ ἄγῃσι πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε*, Archil. 68 *ὁκοίην Ζεὺς ἐφ' ἡμέρην ἄγῃ*, orac. *ap.* Hdt. 8. 77. 2 *τότ' ἐλεύθερον Ἑλλάδος ἦμαρ | εὐρύοπα Κρονίδης ἐπάγει καὶ πότνια Νίκη*. Night can be 'brought on' by the setting or eclipsed sun: *Il.* 8. 485 *ἐν δ' ἔπεσ' Ὠκεανῷ λαμπρὸν φάος ἠελίοιο, | ἕλκον νύκτα μέλαιναν ἐπὶ ζείδωρον ἄρουραν*, A.R. 4. 1286 *ἠὲ καὶ ἠέλιος μέσῳ ἤματι νύκτ' ἐπάγῃσιν | οὐρανόθεν*. Similarly here it is brought on by Uranos' approach to Earth. (The sun does not yet exist; cf. on 124.) The firmament is conceived as something essentially dark (cf. *οὐρανὸς ἀστερόεις*, [Orph.] *H.* 4. 7 *κυανόχρως*); the light of day belongs not to it but to the *αἰθήρ*.

μέγας: see on 168.

[1] Cf. Preller–Robert, i. 53. The harpe was used in whaling (Opp. *H.* 5. 257) and hunting ([Opp.] *C.* 1. 92). For assimilation of beheading to reaping and vice versa, cf. Onians, pp. 113 f.

177. **ἐπέσχετο**: in view of *ἀμφὶ Γαίῃ* this probably means 'spread himself out' (cf. *Il.* 21. 407 *ἑπτὰ δ' ἐπέσχε πέλεθρα*), not as in *Od.* 22. 15 *ἐπισχόμενος βάλεν ἰῷ*.

178. **λοχέοιο**: a curious and unique equivalent of *λόχοιο*. Cf. *σωρεός* = *σωρός*, and, should they be genuine, *εἰρέα* = *εἶρα* in 804 (but see ad loc.), *κήλεα* = *κᾶλα* in fr. 314 (but see *C.Q.* 1961, p. 140). Ahrens conjectured *ἐκ λεχρίοιο*, comparing Antim. 44 *λέχρις δὲ δρεπάνῳ τέμνων ἀπὸ μήδεα πατρός*: Paley more plausibly *λόκχοιο*, on the model of fr. 271–2 *σκύπφον*, Thgn. 1099 *βρόχον*, Pi. *O.* 6. 24 *ὄκχον* (cf. Call. fr. 355–6 with Pfeiffer). But Aristonicus at least read *λοχέοιο* (and recommended *λοχεοῖο*), see p. 82.

πάις: for the prosody cf. 746, *Op.* 376, *Il.* 22. 492; so *πάϊ Od.* 24. 192.

179. **σκαιῇ, δεξιτερῇ δὲ**: *Il.* 1. 501, 21. 490. Bühler, op. cit. (on 142), p. 168, shows that in Greek epic the left hand is regularly mentioned before the right. The action of the right hand is naturally in most situations the more important and decisive. Bühler has overlooked two Homeric exceptions to his rule: *Il.* 18. 476 f., *Od.* 19. 480 f.

180. **φίλου δ' ἀπὸ μήδεα πατρὸς**: note the similarity of 398 *φίλου διὰ μήδεα πατρός*, where *μήδεα* has a different sense. On *μήδεα* 'genitals' cf. pp. 85 f.

181. **ἧμησε**: cf. *Od.* 21. 300 *ἀπ' οὔατα νηλέι χαλκῷ | ῥῖνάς τ' ἀμήσαντες*, S. *Aj.* 238 *τοῦ μὲν κεφαλὴν καὶ γλῶσσαν ἄκραν ῥιπτεῖ θερίσας*, Archil. 138 Bgk. *ἵνας δὲ μεδέων ἀπέθρισεν* (for even if *θρίζω* is not a syncopated form of *θερίζω*, it was no doubt so understood). Here the verb is especially natural, according as it does with the implement used.

πάλιν: 'backwards', as probably in A. *Cho.* 98–99 *πάλιν | δικοῦσα τεῦχος ἀστρόφοισιν ὄμμασιν*. See next note.

182. **ἐξοπίσω**: Deucalion and Pyrrha must throw behind them the stones which turn into men and women (Acusil. 2 F 35, Ov. *M.* 1. 383). Odysseus must throw Leucothea's veil behind him when he has reached land (*Od.* 5. 350). Orpheus must not look back when he leaves Hades. For a miracle is to happen, which cannot take place if anyone is watching. The stones will become alive; Leucothea will rise out of the waters to take her veil (like the hand that catches the sword Excalibur); Eurydice will become a living woman instead of a dead one; and from Uranos' genitals gods and goddesses will be born.

There may also be another point. *καθάρματα* are disposed of by being thrown behind one or with averted eyes (A. *Cho.* 98 f.; cf. Wecklein, ad loc., 'auch in Deutschland findet sich die Sitte, daß man Unglück bedeutende Dinge hinter sich über das Haus weg wirft, ohne umzuschauen'). The reason is perhaps that if you see where the pollution falls, you know that it is a polluted spot: the only way to avoid a lasting pollution is to send it out of sight. Averted eyes are also recommended for sacrifices to chthonic spirits (*Od.* 10. 528, S. *OC* 490, etc.), so that they can come unseen to receive them (Ov. *F.* 5. 439 *umbra putatur colligere et nullo terga uidente sequi*). See Rohde,

Psyche, pp. 325 f., Usener, *Kl. Schr.* iv. 455, E. Samter, *Volkskunde im altsprachl. Unterricht*, Teil 1: *Homer*, 1923, pp. 80–85, Pease on Cic. *Div.* 1. 49, Frazer on Ov. *F.* 6. 164, Gow on Theocr. 24. 96.

ἐτώσια: 'without effect'. The word is more normally used of ill-aimed weapons, cf. *Il.* 14. 407 = 22. 292 *βέλος ὡκὺ ἐτώσιον ἔκφυγε χειρός*.

183. Birth from shed blood is a common motif in myth; cf. Alc. fr. 441, Acusil. 2 F 4, 14 (Hes. fr. 367), A. *Suppl.* 265 f., A.R. 2. 1209–13, 3. 851 ff., 4. 1513 ff., fr. 4, Nic. *Th.* 8 ff., Nic.? *ap.* Ath. 282F, Ov. *M.* 1. 156 ff.; Momolina Marconi, *Acme*, v (1952), p. 566, n. 14; Parsons, *Journ. of Amer. Folk-Lore*, xxxi. 257; Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index*, v. 396. Diogenes of Apollonia (64 A 24, B 6) considered semen to be the foam of the blood.

184. πάσας: picking up *ὅσσαι*, cf. on 154.

δέξατο: *ἐδέξατο* would be possible (*πάσᾱς*, p. 85), but the better attested reading is also *lectio difficilior*. There is a similar variation in D.P. 792 *τὸν μὲν (ἐ)δέξατο γαῖα*.

περιπλομένων δ' ἐνιαυτῶν: the dative singular given by *Et. Gud.* s.v. *'Ερινύες* is against the usage of early epic (though [Opp.] *C.* 2. 206 has *περιπλομένῃσι σελήναις θηλυτέρη τίκτει*). A singular, whether dative or genitive, was perhaps read by Mombritius, who renders the phrase *hic longus sibi uertitur annus*. For variation between singular and plural see on 493. Both are used indifferently in this context; cf. *Sc.* 87 *τάχα δ' ἄμμες ἐπιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν | γεινόμεθ'*, *Od.* 11. 248 *περιπλομένου δ' ἐνιαυτοῦ | τέξεις ἀγλαὰ τέκνα*.

185. **'Ερινῦς**: their birth here is rightly explained by van Lennep: 'nefando scelere filii in patrem commisso consequens fuit, ut nascerentur Erinnyes'. Cf. Solmsen, p. 180. The Erinyes are to some extent duplicated by the Keres in 217–22, see ad loc.

μεγάλους: great size is not a prominent feature of the Giants in Greek myth. Cf. M. Mayer, *Die Giganten u. Titanen*, pp. 3–6.

Γίγαντας: see on 50. That the Giants were born from Earth was a fixed datum; originally this was enough. But later the myth was improved by the addition of a fertilizing element of the characteristic type: the blood of a god. This accounted for their superhuman but subdivine nature. The Phaeacians resembled the Giants in being 'near the gods' (*Od.* 7. 206), and their king Alcinous was great-grandson of a king of the Giants (7. 59); and they too were said to have come from the spattered blood of Uranos (Acusil. 2 F 4, Alc. fr. 441).

186. In early literature and art the Giants are regularly represented with full armour of the human type. Cf. Mayer, op. cit., pp. 9 ff.; Kuhnert, *Roscher*, i. 1653 ff. Only later are they reduced to fighting with boulders and tree-trunks (Hermipp. 31, Pl. *Soph.* 246A, Apld. 1. 6. 1). Similarly Heracles in the *Scutum* still wears the hoplite panoply, as in archaic art.

The birth of the Giants in full armour recalls that of the Sparti at Thebes and at Colchis. It implies that they will fight, though we

cannot be sure that Hesiod thought of them as going to fight the gods. The only allusion to the Gigantomachy in Hesiod is at 954, in the probably post-Hesiodic section; see ad loc. The story of Otus and Ephialtes was told in the *Catalogue* (fr. 19–20, cf. 21).

τεύχεσι λαμπομένους: *Sc.* 60, cf. *Il.* 17. 214, 18. 510, 20. 46.

δολίχ' ἔγχεα χερσὶν ἔχοντας: cf. *Il.* 4. 533, 9. 86.

187. **Μελίας**: these are assumed to be ash-tree nymphs by the scholiast, and by sch. A.R. 2. 4, Eust. 1210. 39. In Call. *H.* 4. 79 and Nonn. *D.* 14. 212, 16. 230 (cf. 245) they are tree-nymphs, probably without distinction of the particular kind of tree; so perhaps in Call. *H.* 1. 47. This is probably what Hesiod meant by them, for if he had meant the nymphs of ash-trees in particular, he would have been bound to tell us about the nymphs of other sorts of tree too. Meliai are nowhere distinguished from Dryades, and may provisionally be assumed to be identical with them.

Here again it is the growth from Earth that is essential, Uranos' blood merely providing the occasion. The fact that lethal spears can be made of ash-wood (*ἀνδροφόνος μελίη Sc.* 420, cf. *Il.* 16. 143), which Sittl uses to explain the birth of the Meliai at this point, seems to me irrelevant. Schwenn, p. 117, more usefully compares the growth of an almond tree from the severed genitals of the Phrygian Agdistis (Paus. 7. 17. 11, Arnob. 5. 5).

Here if anywhere Hesiod might have recorded the origin of mankind, since man was later said to be born from ash-trees (sch., sch.^{T} *Il.* 22. 126, Palaeph. 35, Hsch. *μελίας καρπός*; Wilamowitz, *Glaube d. Hell.* i. 190–1), as indeed is the Bronze Generation in the *Works and Days* (145; cf. A.R. 4. 1641); or from the blood of the Giants (Lyc. 1356 ff., Ov. *M.* 1. 156 ff., cf. Dio Chrys. 30. 26, [Orph.] *A.* 19). That he does not do so suggests either that he was reserving the origin of man for a later occasion, or that he simply did not connect it with either the Giants or the Meliai.

καλέουσ': with indefinite subject, in Greek as in English. Cf. 234; Kühner–Gerth, i. 33.

188 ff. Cf. the imitation in Orph. fr. 127 *μήδεα δ' ἐς πέλαγος πέσεν ὑψόθεν, ἀμφὶ δὲ τοῖσι | λευκὸς ἐπιπλώουσιν ἑλίσσετο πάντοθεν ἀφρός· | ἐν δὲ περιπλομέναις ὥραις Ἐνιαυτὸς ἔτικτε | παρθένον αἰδοίην, ἣν δὴ παλάμαις ὑπέδεκτο | γεινομένην τὸ πρῶτον ὁμοῦ Ζῆλός τ' Ἀπάτη τε.*

188. **μήδεα δ' ὡς τὸ πρῶτον**: cf. 617 *Ὀβριαρέῳ δ' ὡς πρῶτα*. The initial position of the noun points the change of subject. For temporal *ὡς* picked up by *ὣς* in the apodosis, cf. *Il.* 14. 294 *ὡς δ' ἴδεν, ὣς μιν ἔρως πυκινὰς φρένας ἀμφεκάλυψεν*.

ἀδάμαντι: compare the frequent Homeric use of *χαλκός, σίδηρος* for weapons made of those metals.

189. **κάββαλ'**: sc. down to the sea. For the omission of the subject see on 112–13.

ἀπ' ἠπείροιο: Kronos is imagined as standing somewhere on the Greek mainland, like Hesiod himself.

πολυκλύστῳ ἐνὶ πόντῳ: *Od.* 4. 354, 6. 204, 19. 277.

190 ff. Cf. *h.* vi. 1 ff.

190. **πουλὺν**: so S ex corr., the other MSS. having *πολὺν*: certainly a conjecture by the scribe of S. In *Sc.* 475 the MS. has *πουλὺς* for *πολλὸς*. I do not know if there is any other evidence that the Planudean school regarded *πουλύς* as a choicer epic form. *πολλὸν* was conjectured here by Fick (*Hesiods Gedichte*, p. 32), and shortly afterwards by van Leeuwen (*Mnem.* 1888, p. 29) and Schulze (p. 448),[1] on account of the alleged fact that *πουλύς* is always feminine. In fact, *πουλύς* masculine or *πουλύ* neuter is given by MSS. in *Il.* 8. 472 (v.l.), 10. 517, *Od.* 8. 109, 17. 67, 19. 387 (v.l.), Thgn. 509, and cannot be eliminated *a priori*. Certainly we have *πολλὸν ἐπὶ χρόνον* in *Od.* 12. 407, 15. 494 (but not *πολλὸν χρόνον*: the formula with this metrical value being *δηρὸν χρόνον*); but in later poetry at least we have *πουλὺν χρόνον* (*A.P.* 9. 570. 5, cf. 12. 50. 7) and *πουλὺν ἐπὶ χρόνον* (Max. 550, Q.S. 10. 32; but in 10. 23 and elsewhere Quintus uses *πολλὸν ἐπὶ χρόνον*, and probably wrote *πουλὺν* in 32 for variety). As this is what the transmitted *πολὺν* more immediately points to, it is best to keep it. *πολύς* is written for *πουλύς* in *Od.* 8. 109, Q.S. 11. 384, and where *πολύς* is written in a sole MS. when the metre requires a long first syllable (Thgn. 211, *Epigr. Gr.* 731, Cramer, *An. Par.* iv. 386. 22), *πουλύς* is probably correct. On the other hand, *πολύς* is written for *πολλός* in one MS. at *Op.* 118, Q.S. 6. 346, and *πουλύς* and *πολλός* are variants in *Od.* 19. 387.

χρόνον: the word occurs thirty-four times in Hesiod and Homer, but always in the accusative singular and meaning a period of time. Cf. H. Fränkel, *Wege u. Formen*, 2nd ed., pp. 15–18 (who states that *χρόνος* does not occur in the *Theogony*); S. Accame, *Riv. Fil.* 1961, pp. 359 ff.

191. **ἀφρὸς**: see introduction to 154–210.

ἀπ' ἀθανάτου χροὸς: cf. *h. Dem.* 278 *τῆλε δὲ φέγγος ἀπὸ χροὸς ἀθανάτοιο | λάμπε θεῆς.*

192. **ἐθρέφθη**: *τρέφω* can be used of anything growing or solidifying, of congealing cheese, ice (*Od.* 14. 477), etc.; also of the foetus, as A. *Eum.* 665, *Theb.* 754, Hippocr. vii. 482.

Κυθήροισι ζαθέοισι: *Il.* 15. 432. Editors have no justification for writing *Κυθήροισιν*, which is against all the MSS. and the principles of Greek phonology. The same applies to *ἔτεκε στυγερόν* in 211. Even before *τρ*, *κρ*, etc., the manuscript evidence favours *-ε*, not *-εν*, where the vowel stands in arsis (287, 618, 857, 956).

The shrine on Cythera was one of the oldest and most famous of Aphrodite's shrines in Greece. It was said to have been established by Phoenician settlers, and it contained a wooden figure of the goddess. Cf. Hdt. 1. 105. 3; Paus. 3. 23. 1 with Frazer.

193. **ἔπλητ'**: even such a superficial contact suffices as an aition for the name *Κυθέρεια* (cf. 198).

Κύπρον: Paphos was the other principal centre of Aphrodite's cult,

[1] Rzach quotes it from van Leeuwen, *Ench.*, 1st ed., p. 239, though it had been published three times before.

and famous as such in poetry. Her *τέμενος βωμός τε θυήεις* there are mentioned in Demodocus' song, *Od.* 8. 363, and with slightly more detail in *h. Aphr.* 58 (cf. 292). Cf. Hdt. l.c.

194. **αἰδοίη καλή**: cf. *h.* vi. 1 *αἰδοίην χρυσοστέφανον καλὴν Ἀφροδίτην*. The suggestion of the scholiast that there may be a reference to the *αἰδοῖα* from which she is born is to be rejected; if this had been in Hesiod's mind, he would have been more explicit. *αἰδοίη* is used of other goddesses: Hestia, *h. Aphr.* 21; Artemis, *h.* xxvii. 2; Athene, *h.* xxviii. 3; Demeter and Persephone, *h. Dem.* 374, 486; Maia, *h. Herm.* 5.

ἀμφὶ δὲ ποίη: fresh grass and flowers grow during Zeus' and Hera's intercourse in *Il.* 14. 347, and so here for the goddess of sex; compare the use of sex by men to make things grow (971 n.).

195. **ποσσὶν ὕπο ῥαδινοῖσιν**: cf. *h. Dem.* 182 *ἀμφὶ δὲ πέπλος | κνάνεος ῥαδινοῖσι θεῆς ἐλελίζετο ποσσίν*. Homer uses *ῥαδινός* only once, of a whip (*Il.* 23. 583).

196. The line was suspected by Heyne and excised by Wolf: rightly, though it was apparently known to Clement (*Protr.* 2. 14. 2). *Κυθέρεια* must not be anticipated from 198; it has no place in the etymology Aphrodite ~ *ἀφρός*. For the sequence 195, 197 *τὴν δ' Ἀφροδίτην | κικλήσκουσι θεοί τε καὶ ἀνέρες*, cf. 271–2 *τὰς δὴ Γραίας καλέουσιν | ἀθάνατοί τε θεοὶ χαμαὶ ἐρχόμενοί τ' ἄνθρωποι*.

ἀφρογενέα τε θεὰν: perhaps the model of [Orph.] *εὐχή* 11 *ἀφρογενῆς τε θεά*. *ἀφρογενέα* may have been added to make the etymology more exact; cf. Orph. fr. 183 *ἀπὸ δ' ἔκθορε πατρὶ μεγίστῳ | αἰδοίων ἀφροῖο γονή . . . τέκ' ἐγερσιγέλωτ' Ἀφροδίτην | ἀφρογενῆ*. The rest of the line would have been added to fill up.

ἐυστέφανον Κυθέρειαν: a formula, cf. 1008, *Od.* 8. 288, 18. 193, *h. Aphr.* 6, 175, 287.

197. **κικλήσκουσι**: the initial position in the line is rare for a word of this shape, which would normally be put before the caesura or at the end of the verse. So always in Callimachus. See E. G. O'Neill, *Yale Cl. St.* viii, 1942, p. 146, table 21.

θεοί τε καὶ ἀνέρες: this type of expression (cf. *Il.* 9. 36 *ἠμὲν νέοι ἠδὲ γέροντες*, i.e. all of them, *Od.* 2. 345 *νύκτας τε καὶ ἦμαρ*, i.e. all the time) has been studied by E. Kemmer, *Die polare Ausdrucksweise in d. gr. Literatur*, Würzburg, 1903. There need be no allusion to the fact that the gods sometimes have different names for things from men (cf. on 831).

οὕνεκ': see on 144.

ἐν ἀφρῷ: this etymology also in Diog. Apoll. A 24; Pl. *Crat.* 406c. That it leaves the second half of the name unexplained is typical of ancient etymologizing, especially in the early period. Didymus attempted to do better by deriving the name from *ἀβροδίαιτον* (*Et. magn.* 179. 13).

198. **Κυθέρειαν**: it is very doubtful whether the name is in fact connected with *Κύθηρα*, the difference in the quantity of the second syllable not having been convincingly explained. Cf. D. L. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus*, p. 127, n. 1; Frisk s.v.

199–200. These lines were condemned by Wolf, though known to Clement, Homeric scholia, grammarians and Etymologica. 199 is indispensable, for the whole story consists of aitia for names or epithets of Aphrodite, and her birth at Cyprus in 193 presupposes the explicit explanation of her title 'Cyprian'. 200 is less organic, but I see no reason to doubt its authenticity.

Κυπρογενέα: *Κυπρογενής* or *-γένεια* is less common than *Κύπρις*, which is the epithet one might have expected here, but still by no means rare, cf. *h.* x. 1, Sappho 22. 16, 134, Alc. 296. 9, 380, Solon 20. 1, Thgn. 1304, 1323, *al.*, Panyas. 13. 3, Pi. *O.* 10. 105, *P.* 4. 216, etc.

γέντο: on this 'Doric' (really archaic) form for *ἐγένετο* see Wackernagel, pp. 173–5; Jacobsohn, *Philol.* 1908, pp. 325 ff.; Risch, *Mus. Helv.* 1954, p. 30, n. 46. It is not Homeric, but recurs below in 283, 705, and in Sappho, Empedocles, Pindar, etc. Aphrodite's 'birth' evidently consists in her emergence on land; cf. also 202.

περικλύστῳ: the true reading is preserved by the Homeric scholia and *Et. magn.* Cf. *h. Ap.* 181 *Δήλοιο περικλύστου*, and specifically of Cyprus, *Epigr. Gr.* 846. 3 (*s.* iv B.C.) *γᾶ περίκλυστος | Κύπρις*, *Or. Sib.* 4. 129 *Κύπρον . . . περίκλυστον* (v.l. *πολύκλυστον*). The MSS. have *πολυκλύστῳ* from 189. The same variation occurs in *Od.* 4. 354. Q.S. 4. 170 has *Σκύροιο πολυκλύστοιο* (but cf. 385, 389). Jacoby recognizes *περικλύστῳ* as the better variant (*Hermes*, 1926, p. 126, n. 1 = *Kl. Schr.* 1. 223, n. 10), but does not print it, because he thinks the line an interpolation, and therefore the worse, the better.

φιλομμειδέα . . . μηδέων: see p. 88.

201. Once born, Aphrodite goes to join the gods. See on 68. But when she joins the gods, she never goes unattended: the Horai attend her in *h.* vi. 5, the Graces in *Od.* 8. 364, Zelos and Apate in Orph. fr. 127 (cited on 188 ff.). Eros was one of the primeval powers in 120; but the age of a god does not depend on how long ago he was born, and while Eros is still a boy, Aphrodite is already a woman. He is often represented as her son; the Hesiodic relationship of attendant to mistress is less close (cf. Deubner, *Roscher*, iii. 2088). Himeros' birth has not been recorded at all; an inconsistency, but a trivial one. There was a statue of him by Scopas in the temple of Aphrodite at Megara (Paus. 1. 43. 6), and he belongs in her entourage as naturally as Eros.

A scene of dressing and adornment might have been fitted in at this point, as in the sixth hymn.

202. θεῶν τ' ἐς φῦλον ἰούσῃ: 'the *φῦλον* (or *φῦλα*) of the gods' is an expression used almost exclusively in the context of someone going to join them: cf. *Op.* 199, *Il.* 15. 54, 161, 177, *h. Dem.* 322, 443, 461, *Aphr.* 129. Exceptions: *Il.* 5. 441, and, if you like, *h. Dem.* 36.

Schulze, pp. 185–7, wishes to delete *τ'*, making *γεινομένῃ τὰ πρῶτα* subordinate to *ἰούσῃ*, 'when she went to join the gods immediately after her birth'. This is possible (for the syntax cf. *Op.* 29, *Il.* 4. 99, 14. 296, 16. 811, *Od.* 14. 380), but the logical relation of the two

phrases can (and should) be understood in this way without altering the text. I have not checked Braun's report (*ap.* Goettling) that the particle is omitted by Vat. 1948. On the type of corruption postulated by Schulze, cf. E. Fraenkel, *Beobachtungen zu Aristophanes*, p. 98, and on A. *Ag.* 124; Barrett on E. *Hipp.* 525–6.

203. τιμὴν: see on 74 and 112.

204. Del. Paley; certainly pleonastic. Some redundancy (*ἔχει ἠδὲ λέλογχε*) remains even without the line, but more of the type of *Od.* 3. 317 *κέλομαι καὶ ἄνωγα*, 8. 134, etc.

205–6. Hesiod thinks of Aphrodite's activity solely in terms of human life, and not (as it appears in *h. Aphr.* 1–6, 69–74) as something extending throughout the animal world.

ὀάρους: the variant *ἀόρους* is probably a mere error of metathesis, though Hsch. records a Cyprian word *ἄορος* or *ἄορον* meaning *μοχλός, πυλών, θυρωρός* (cf. Schulze, *Kl. Schr.*, p. 672). *ὀάρους* is confirmed by *Il.* 6. 516, 22. 128. In *h. Aphr.* 249 the goddess speaks of the *ὄαροι καὶ μήτιες* with which she unites men and women.

μειδήματα: cf. Aphrodite's standing epithet *φιλομμειδής*. She herself *αἰεὶ μειδιάει* (*h.* x. 3). The word *μείδημα* occurs, so far as I know, only here. Note the variant *μελεδήματα*.

ἐξαπάτας: Aphrodite 'deceives' people's mind and reason (*h. Aphr.* 7 *τρισσὰς δ' οὐ δύναται πεπιθεῖν φρένας οὐδ' ἀπατῆσαι*, cf. 38), and H. Fränkel, *Wege u. Formen*, 2nd ed., p. 320, n. 1, would take 'deceits' here in this sense. But the *ὄαροι, τέρψις*, etc., are not those of the goddess but those of her victims, and it is more natural to think of the deceit of husbands or parents, or of girls themselves. Cf. *Op.* 789 *ψεύδεά θ' αἱμυλίους τε λόγους κρυφίους τ' ὀαρισμούς*. The woman herself can be the deceiver (*Op.* 373 *μηδὲ γυνή σε νόον πυγοστόλος ἐξαπατάτω | αἱμύλα κωτίλλουσα*), but this is surely not in question here. For the association cf. 224 *Ἀπάτην τέκε καὶ Φιλότητα*, and Orph. fr. 127. 5 (cited on 188 ff.).

τέρψιν: 917, *Sc.* 273; an un-Homeric word.

μειλιχίην: cf. *h.* x. 2 (Aphrodite) *μείλιχα δῶρα δίδωσιν*.

207. The naming of Aphrodite leads back to the naming of the Titans: a characteristic chiasmus.

τοὺς δὲ . . . | παῖδας: initial pronoun, followed up by the noun it represents, has the same effect as the initial noun (cf. on 188). So again in 713 *οἱ δ' ἄρ' . . . | Κόττος τε Βριάρεώς τε Γύγης θ'*.

Τιτῆνας: see on 133.

ἐπίκλησιν: the word always denotes an additional name or nickname; here the collective name they bear in addition to their individual names. Cf. *Il.* 7. 138, 18. 487, 22. 29, 506, *Od.* 5. 273.

209. τιταίνοντας: this is presumably the same word as Homeric *τιταίνειν*, with the first syllable lengthened for the sake of the etymology (cf. *πῐφαύσκω*). But if so, it is not clear how or why the Titans 'strained'. The castration was in fact done by Kronos alone, though this is not a serious difficulty: cf. Apld. 1. 1. 4 *ἀγανακτοῦσα δὲ Γῆ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ τῶν εἰς Τάρταρον ῥιφέντων παίδων πείθει τοὺς Τιτᾶνας ἐπιθέσθαι τῷ πατρί, καὶ δίδωσιν ἀδαμαντίνην ἅρπην Κρόνῳ. οἱ δὲ Ὠκεανοῦ χωρὶς*

ἐπιτίθενται, καὶ Κρόνος ἀποτεμὼν τὰ αἰδοῖα τοῦ πατρὸς εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀφίησιν. The possibilities are (*a*) that *τιτ.* means merely 'reached out', and corresponds to *ὠρέξατο* in 178; (*b*) that it refers to some different version of the story, more like the Maori myth in which Tane-Mahuta strains his back and limbs in trying to separate earth and sky (cf. Cornford, *Princ. Sap.*, p. 206, n. 1). As the story stands, it is Uranos who strains, and if Hesiod had written *τιταίνοντος* or *-οντα*, the Titans would be named after a characteristic of their parent, as is Astyanax in *Il.* 6. 403 and Alcyone in 9. 562.

The ancient interpretation of *τιταίνοντας* here is that it means *τιμωρίαν λαμβάνοντας* (sch., *Et. magn.* and *Gud.* s.v. *Τιτάν/Τιτᾶνες*; Hsch. *Τιτᾶνες· τιμωροί, ἀπὸ τοῦ τιταίνειν*). This would unite the etymology with the *τίσις* threatened in 210; but Hesiod is just as likely to be deriving *Τιτῆνες* from two different words at once, just as in *Od.* 1. 55–62 *Ὀδυσσεύς* is associated both with *ὀδύρεσθαι* and with *ὀδύσσασθαι*. Cf. L. P. Rank, *Etymologiseering en verwante verschijnselen bij Homerus*, 1951, p. 15. There is no evidence that *τιταίνω* can be used in the sense of *τίνω/τίνομαι*, for in Nonn. *D.* 24. 53 (quoted by Schoemann, p. 117, n. 41) *χάριν τιταίνων* is merely an equivalent to *χάριν διδούς* or *φέρων*. (Similarly in *Metaphr. Z* 37).

Strunk, *Glotta*, 1959, pp. 83–84, takes this passage as evidence for early approximation of *αι* to secondary *η* in popular pronunciation: a dangerous inference, cf. p. 88.

μέγα . . . | ἔργον: cf. *Od.* 3. 261 (Aegisthus) *μάλα γὰρ μέγα μήσατο ἔργον*, Pi. *N.* 10. 64, etc.

210. τίσιν μετόπισθεν ἔσεσθαι: for the threat 'there will be *τίσις*' cf. *Od.* 1. 40, 2. 76, 13. 144, *h. Dem.* 367. *τίσιν* here is almost certainly part of the etymology of *Τιτῆνες*. E. Risch, *Eumusia* (Festgabe für E. Howald, Zürich, 1947), p. 77, notes that the Boeotian pronunciation of the word may have been *τίτιν*. But even without assuming that Hesiod spoke the epic dialect with a Boeotian brogue, *τίσις* and *Τιτήν* could be connected by virtue of the common syllable *τι* (cf. on 234): so Orph. fr. 57 *οὓς δὴ καὶ Τιτῆνας ἐπίκλησιν καλέουσιν, οὕνεκα τισάσθην μέγαν Οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα*. Plut. *Mor.* 996c *τὸ γὰρ ἐν ἡμῖν ἄλογον . . . οἱ παλαιοὶ Τιτᾶνας ὠνόμασαν, τοῦτ' ἔστι κολαζομένους καὶ δίκην τίνοντας* (so Wyttenbach for MSS. *διδόντος*).

The revenge threatened is presumably the overthrow of the Titans by Zeus and their banishment to Tartarus. Uranos assists in this to the extent that it is his and Gaia's advice which saves Zeus from the fate of his brothers and sisters (470).

Π[4] after *μετόπισθε* gives *γε*[, which editors have for some reason assumed must represent *γενέσθαι*. It was more probably *γ' ἔσεσθαι*, though there are other possibilities such as *γε δώσειν* (cf. A.R. 2. 796 *ἔμπης δ' ἐξ ὑμέων ἔδοσαν τίσιν*) or *γε τείσειν*. For the version of the codd. cf. *Od.* 22. 40 *νέμεσιν κατόπισθεν ἔσεσθαι*. K actually gives *κατόπισθεν* here; the same variant occurs in a papyrus at *Op.* 284–5.

After 210, Q has the line *ἐκ παιδός περ ἑοῦ· ὣς γὰρ πεπρωμένον ἐστί*. It is a verse of poor workmanship, and one asks in vain who the

pronominal adjective *ἑοῦ* refers to. It is absent from Π^4, and obviously an interpolation. It is noteworthy that the scribe of Q had for a little time been troubled by a feeling that the transmitted text was inadequate: he wrote *λείπει* in the margin after 202, and again after 206.

211–32. Night and her progeny. We now return to Night and her fatherless children, together with the family of Night's last daughter, Eris. On the position of this section see p. 38; on its composition, p. 35. Cf. also H. Fränkel, *Wege u. Formen*, 2nd ed., pp. 319–23; C. Ramnoux, *La Nuit et les enfants de la Nuit dans la tradition grecque*, Paris, 1959.

211. ἔτεκε: so MSS., cf. on 192.

στυγερόν: not 'hateful', but 'frightful', see on 739.

Μόρον καὶ Κῆρα μέλαιναν | καὶ Θάνατον: three different words for death, differing only in their associations. But three different words mean for Hesiod three different things; cf. on 140.

212. Thanatos and Hypnos are a famous pair of brothers. Further account is given of them in 756–66; cf. also *Il.* 14. 231, 16. 682. There were statues of the pair at Sparta (Paus. 3. 18. 1). On other artistic representations of them see Deubner, *Roscher*, iii. 2111 f.

τέκε δ' . . . ἔτικτε δὲ: for this anaphora cf. 126 ff., 337 ff., 383 ff., 406 ff., 509 f. The present example is certainly the most striking; it has the effect of binding Moros, Ker, and Thanatos the more closely together as a trio. A modern writer would achieve this by saying 'she bore (*a*) Moros, Ker, and Thanatos, (*b*) Hypnos, (*c*) Dreams'.

φῦλον Ὀνείρων: cf. on 129. In the *Odyssey* (24. 12) they live beyond Oceanus, near the gates of the Sun.

214. 213. 213 is difficult after 212, *τέκε* being redundant. W. Bannier, *Rh. Mus.* 69, 1914, p. 493, defends it by comparing the type of Hdt. 3. 1 *αἵτεε Ἄμασιν θυγατέρα, αἵτεε δὲ ἐκ συμβουλῆς ἀνδρὸς Αἰγυπτίου.* But the *δέ* is essential to this type. Where a verb is repeated without a copula, as below 224 f., 383 f., *Il.* 20. 48–50, *Od.* 14. 313 f., it is always possible to mark a new sentence.

The line was condemned by Heyne (p. 148 of Wolf's edition). But there is a better solution in the transposition of 213 and 214 (Hermann, *Opuscula*, viii. 52).[1]

δεύτερον: *deinde*, as in 47.

Μῶμον: Momus' advice to Zeus was responsible for the chain of events that led to the Trojan War in the *Cypria* (sch. *Il.* 1. 5).

ἀλγινόεσσαν: an un-Homeric word, also in 226.

οὔ τινι κοιμηθεῖσα: cf. on 132. For the position of the phrase after 214 *δεύτερον αὖ* . . . cf. 238.

θεῶν: so Π^4 (see *C.Q.* 1961, p. 136). For the postponement cf., for instance, 81–82, 392, 793–4, *Il.* 24. 74, 374, *Od.* 4. 462, 9. 405. *θεὰ* is, of course, quite possible, cf. the formulae *θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη, θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη, θεὰ Θέτις ἀργυρόπεζα.*

[1] Rzach attributes the athetesis to O. F. Gruppe and the transposition to Schoemann.

Νὺξ ἐρεβεννή: *Op.* 17, *Il.* 5. 659, 8. 488, 9. 474, 13. 580, 22. 466. The adjective does not occur in the *Odyssey*.

215. **Ἑσπερίδας**: on these paradise-maidens who sing (275 n.) in the garden of the far west where the golden apples grow, see Bernh. Schweitzer, *Herakles* (1922), pp. 135 ff.; Wilamowitz, *Gl. d. H.* i. 267 f.; Nilsson, *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, 2nd ed., pp. 621 ff.

αἷς: Rzach's *ἧς* may well be right, cf. 904 and above on 61. *αἷς* is given by MSS. also in *h. Aphr.* 249; but *-αις* tends to be a variant for *-ης*, cf. 64, 675, 904, *Sc.* 272, 339, 375, 388, *Il.* 1. 238, *al.*

μῆλα: the same apples as are guarded by the serpent in 333–5. In vase-paintings of the garden of the Hesperides the serpent is regularly coiled round the apple-tree. Golden apples are a common mythical fruit; compare those guarded by Iduna in the *Edda*, and Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index*, iii. 218. In Greek myth we may recall those used by Hippomenes in his race against Atalanta ([Hes.] fr. 76; sometimes said to be the same as those of the Hesperides), and that thrown by Eris at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis (Luc. *Dial. Mar.* 5. 1). Rationalistic interpretation of them as citrus fruit is as old as Antiphanes, fr. 58; cf. Juba 275 F 6, Mart. 13. 37; Olck, *R.E.* iii. 2614. According to others the *χρύσεα μῆλα* were golden sheep (Agroitas 762 F 3, D.S. 4. 27, Varro *RR* 2. 1. 6, Palaeph. 18).

πέρην κλυτοῦ Ὠκεανοῖο: 274, 294. Beyond Oceanus is the region no man knows, a region where anything strange and wonderful may be found.

216. **χρύσεα καλὰ**: the usual Homeric word order is *καλὸς χρύσειος*. Cf. Orph. fr. 34. 2 *μῆλά τε χρύσεα καλὰ παρ' Ἑσπερίδων λιγυφώνων*, and Antim. 22. 2. The whole line is unlike the style of early epic.

Muetzell 431–3 postulated a lacuna at this point, for two reasons. (1) No individual names are given to the Hesperides in the text, whereas Servius on *Aen.* 4. 484 says *Hesiodus has Hesperidas Aeglen Erytheam et Hesperethusam Noctis filias ultra Oceanum mala aurea habuisse dicit* (= fr. 360). (2) The scholiast says *Ἑσπερίδας τὰς ἑσπερινὰς ὥρας λέγει, μῆλα δὲ χρυσᾶ τὰ ἄστρα. αὐταῖς δὲ μέλει, ἐπειδὴ ἐν αὐταῖς ταῦτα ὁρῶμεν. Ἡρακλέα δὲ τὸν ἥλιον· λέγει δὲ τοῦτο ὅτι παρερχομένου τοῦ ἡλίου οὐκέτι φαίνονται τὰ ἄστρα, ὅ ἐστι τὸ τρυγῆσαι τὸν Ἡρακλέα τὰ μῆλα.* Muetzell accordingly assumed the loss of lines containing (*a*) the names of the Hesperides, (*b*) the information that Heracles stole (*τρυγᾶν*) the apples.

The first argument has little force. Groups without individual names are found in 129, 185–7, 382, 869, and the names recorded by Servius may have come somewhere in the *Catalogue*, if in Hesiod at all. Schol. Clem. *Protr.* i. 302. 34 St. attributes the names Erythea and Hesperethusa to Apollonius of Rhodes, who in fact uses the names Hespere, Erytheis and Aigle (4. 1427 f.), but for all we know may have used the forms Erythea and Hesperethusa in some other poem. *Hesiodus* in Servius may therefore be an error for Apollonius.

The argument from the Hesiod scholium is more attractive. Little Heracles-digressions are typical (cf. 289–94, 315–18, 332, 526–32,

982–3), and it certainly looks as if the scholiast read some such lines as, for example,

ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν Διὸς υἱὸς Ἀθηναίης διὰ βουλὰς
Ἡρακλέης ἐτρύγησεν, ὄφιν μέγαν ἐξεναρίξας.

It is not certain. Schoemann, pp. 402 f., suggests that the myth may have been expounded at length by some ancient commentator who referred to various poems; Heracles' deed and the word *τρυγᾶν* may have come in one of these. The scholiast may then have excerpted this discussion, including what referred to parts of the story that were not in Hesiod.

If he did read extra lines, it is likely enough that they were interpolated. There is a similar problem at 918.

217. Μοίρας καὶ Κῆρας: counterparts of the *Μόρον καὶ Κῆρα* of 211, but not identical with them. Moros is a man's appointed death, Moirai are the goddesses who appoint it; and likewise with Ker—Keres, though both Keres and Moirai have wider functions. In 904 the Moirai appear again as daughters of Zeus and Themis: an inconsistency, but not a very serious one. The Keres are not the same as the 10,000 *κῆρες θανάτοιο* of *Il.* 12. 326 (see Onians, pp. 399 ff.), but as the epithet *νηλεποίνους* shows, take on the functions usually ascribed to the Erinyes. Keres and Erinyes are identified by A. *Th.* 1054 ff. *ὦ μεγάλαυχοι καὶ φθερσιγενεῖς | Κῆρες Ἐρινύες αἵτ' Οἰδιπόδα | γένος ὠλέσατε πρυμνόθεν οὕτως*, E. *El.* 1252 *δειναὶ δὲ Κῆρες αἱ κυνώπιδες θεαὶ | τροχηλατήσουσ' ἐμμανῆ πλανώμενον*. The Erinyes are associated with the Moirai by Epimen. 19, A. *PV* 516, and in Sicyonian cult (Paus. 2. 11. 4); Aeschylus and others make them daughters of Night, like Hesiod's Keres (*Eum.* 321; Lyc. 437, Serv. *Aen.* 7. 327). See Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 1535 f.

νηλεποίνους: apparently only here. In [Orph.] *A.* 1365 the MSS. give *ἀρὰς Αἰήτεω καὶ ἠλιτόποινον Ἐρινύν* ('qui fait payer les crimes', Dottin). Ruhnken writes *νηλιτόποινον* there and *-ους* in Hesiod, 'unfailing in retribution'. *νηλεο-* should be retained. I should prefer to render it 'punishing ruthlessly' (*LSJ*, sc. *νηλεής*: *ἔλεος*) rather than 'quarum vindictam nemo effugere possit' (Schulze, p. 290, sc. *νηλεής*: *ἀλέομαι*); cf. *GVI* 1924. 56 *Μοῖρα . . . νηλεόθυμος*, etc.

218–19. These two lines are omitted by Stobaeus in one of two excerpts, and they seem to be interpolated from 905–6 as a commentary on *Μοίρας*. They cannot refer to the *Κῆρες νηλεόποινοι*, whereas 220–2 clearly do. There are no scholia on the lines here, but there are on 905–6.

γεινομένοισι: one's fate is fixed at birth, cf. *Il.* 10. 70 f. *ὧδέ που ἄμμι | Ζεὺς ἐπὶ γεινομένοισιν ἴει κακότητα βαρεῖαν*. 20. 127 f. *τὰ πείσεται, ἅσσά οἱ Αἶσα | γεινομένῳ ἐπέννησε λίνῳ, ὅτε μιν τέκε μήτηρ*, 23. 79, 24. 210, *Od.* 7. 198, Hom. *epigr.* 4. 13, and above on 82. For the metre cf. on 197; O'Neill, l.c., p. 147, table 22.

For other notes on these lines, see on 905–6.

220. θεῶν τε: for punishment of gods cf. 472, *Il.* 15. 204, 21. 412, Heraclitus B 94, A. *PV* 516.

παραιβασίας: the Homeric word is *ὑπερβασίη*. *παραιβασίη* also at fr. 164.

ἐφέπουσιν: this reading is made probable by *θεαὶ* in 221.

221. ποτε̄ λήγουσι: see p. 96. Cf. especially *Od.* 8. 87 *ὅτε̄ λήξειεν*, *Il.* 9. 191. For *λήγειν χόλοιο* cf. *h. Dem.* 410, *Il.* 9. 157.

222. κακὴν ὄπιν: Hesiod seems, like *LSJ*, to have understood the phrase *θεῶν ὄπιν* (*οὐκ ἀλέγοντες*, *οὐκ αἰδεῖσθαι*, etc.) of divine punishment and not merely divine regard. Cf. *Op.* 706 *εὖ δ' ὄπιν ἀθανάτων μακάρων πεφυλαγμένος εἶναι*, 187, 251.

223. Νέμεσιν: associated with *Αἰδώς* in *Op.* 200. Sch. (Aristarchus?) observes that *Ὅμηρος τὸ μὲν πρᾶγμα οἶδε, τὴν δὲ θεὸν οὔ*.

θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσι: 'mortal men' (instead of simply 'mortals' or 'men') is an expression mostly used as an antithesis to the immortal gods, cf. 296, 588, 967, *Il.* 1. 339, 14. 199, 18. 404, 24. 259, etc.

224. Νὺξ ὀλοή: 757, *Od.* 11. 19, cf. A. R. 4. 1696, Q.S. 8. 313, etc. The quality described by *ὀλοή* is reflected in most of Night's offspring, and fear of it in the euphemism *εὐφρόνη*.

Ἀπάτην: the association with *Φιλότητα* shows what sort of deceit Hesiod has in mind, cf. on 205. Apate is sometimes represented on vases, e.g. Reinach, *Répertoire*, i. 194, 240.

225. Γῆρας: also portrayed on vases, naturally as an old and skinny man. Cf. Beazley, *ABV* 491, no. 60, *ARV* 284, no. 1, 286, no. 16, 653 (Charmides painter), no. 1, 889, no. 160; C. Smith, *J.H.S.* 4, 1883, pp. 96–100; F. Brommer, *Vasenlisten zur gr. Heldensage*, 2nd ed., p. 47. Ar. *Av.* 606 *πῶς δ' ἐς γῆράς ποτ' ἀφίξονται; καὶ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἔστ' ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ*. Herondas 1. 63, 2. 71, Philostr. *vit. Apoll.* 5. 4, Ael. fr. 19.

οὐλόμενον: applied to old age in *h. Aphr.* 246, Thgn. 272, 768, 1012.

Ἔριν: on the relationship between this passage and *Op.* 11 *οὐκ ἄρα μοῦνον ἔην Ἐρίδων γένος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν | εἰσὶ δύω*, see p. 44.

καρτερόθυμον: cf. *Il.* 20. 48 *Ἔρις κρατερή*, 13. 358, 16. 662. *c* gives *καρτερόμυθον*, which would not be impossible; compare her children in 229, and *Il.* 1. 318 *οὐδ' Ἀγαμέμνων | λῆγ' ἔριδος . . .* 326 *κρατερὸν δ' ἐπὶ μῦθον ἔτελλε*. Similar variants at Pi. *O.* 13. 10.

226. στυγερὴ: see on 211.

227. Λήθην: not the oblivion of death (Sittl; Philippson, p. 14), or 'Oblivio beneficiorum, officiorum, legum' (van Lennep; cf. Kroll, *R.E.* xii. 2141, Schwenn, p. 87, H. Fränkel, *Dichtung u. Phil.*, 1st ed., p. 145, differently put ib., 2nd ed., p. 114, *Wege u. Formen*, 2nd ed., p. 332), but simply 'forgetfulness' or 'negligence'. For the absolute use cf. Pl. *Phlb.* 63DE *καὶ πῶς, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἴσως φαῖεν ἄν, αἳ γ' (ἡδοναί) ἐμποδίσματά τε μυρία ἡμῖν ἔχουσι, τὰς ψυχὰς ἐν αἷς οἰκοῦμεν ταράττουσαι διὰ μανίας, καὶ γίγνεσθαί τε ἡμᾶς τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἐῶσι, τά τε γιγνόμενα ἡμῶν τέκνα ὡς τὸ πολύ, δι' ἀμέλειαν λήθην ἐμποιοῦσαι, . . . διαφθείρουσιν;* [Pl.] *Ep.* 3. 315C *ὅτι τὰ πολλὰ βλάβην ἡδονὴ γεννᾷ, δυσμάθειαν καὶ λήθην καὶ ἀφροσύνην καὶ ὕβριν τίκτουσα ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ*. Gell. 9. 5. 6 *Critolaus Peripateticus* (fr. 23 Wehrli) *malum esse uoluptatem ait et multa alia mala*

parere ex sese, iniurias desidias obliuiones ignauias. [Orph.] *H.* 77. 3 (Mnemosyne) *ἐκτὸς ἐοῦσα κακῆς λήθης βλαψίφρονος αἰεί . . .* 9 *ἀλλὰ μάκαιρα θεὰ μύσταις μνήμην ἐπέγειρε | εὐιέρου τελετῆς, λήθην δ' ἀπὸ τῶνδ' ἀπόπεμπε.* The meaning of the word may have been influenced by its often felt antithesis with *ἀλήθεια*, cf. on 233.

Various improbable conjectures have been made; to those recorded by Rzach, *ed. mai.*, add *Λώβην* (Schopenhauer), *Λύπην* (A. Zimmermann), *Δίψην* (Sinko).

Λιμόν: personified in *Op.* 230 *οὐδέ ποτ' ἰθυδίκῃσι μετ' ἀνδράσι Λιμὸς ὀπηδεῖ | οὐδ' Ἄτη* (cf. Ate below, 230) and 299 *ἐργάζευ Πέρση δῖον γένος, ὄφρα σε Λιμὸς | ἐχθαίρῃ, φιλέῃ δέ σ' ἐυστέφανος Δημήτηρ*; Sem. 7. 101; Leonid. *A.P.* 6. 298; Zenob. 4. 93 (*Paroem.* i. 113) *λέγουσιν ὅτι λιμοῦ ποτε κατασχόντος ἔχρησεν ὁ θεὸς ἱκετηρίαν θέσθαι καὶ τὸν Λιμὸν ἐξιλεώσασθαι. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνῆκαν αὐτῷ τὸ ὄπισθεν τοῦ πρυτανείου πεδίον.* Limos was painted in the form of a woman in the temple of Apollo at Sparta (Ath. 452B, Polyaen. 2. 15), and there was a statue of him (the gender of the word and the sex of the god are variable) and a complementary one of Euthenia at Byzantium (Codinus, *De signis Constantinop.*, p. 60 Bekker). Dett. give *Λοιμόν*, cf. Orph. fr. 247. 14 *αὐτοῖς δέ κ' Ἔρις καὶ Μῖσος ὀπηδοῖ | καὶ Πόλεμος καὶ Λοιμὸς ἰδ' Ἄλγεα δακρυόεντα.* Both words are used in *Or. Sib.* 3. 602 f., *ἄτην καὶ λιμὸν καὶ πήματά τε στοναχάς τε | καὶ πόλεμον καὶ λοιμὸν ἰδ' ἄλγεα δακρυόεντα.* Cf. also Virg. *A.* 6. 273 ff.

228. **Μάχας τε Φόνους τ'**: cf. *Od.* 11. 612 *ὑσμῖναί τε μάχαι τε φόνοι τ' ἀνδροκτασίαι τε*, *h. Aphr.* 11 *ὑσμῖναί τε μάχαι τε*, *Sc.* 155 *φόνος* (v.l. *φόβος*) *τ' ἀνδροκτασίη τε δεδήει.* Most MSS. have *φόνους* (v.l. *φόβους*) *τε μάχας τ'*: for this sequence cf. *Il.* 7. 237 *μάχας τ' ἀνδροκτασίας τε*, 24. 548 *μάχαι τ' ἀνδροκτασίαι τε.*

War is naturally treated as a result of Eris; cf. *Op.* 14, *Il.* 4. 440–1, 11. 3–4. For its personification cf. *Op.* 161–5.

229. **Ψεύδεα**: associated with *αἰμύλιοι λόγοι* in *Op.* 78, 789, and with *ἔριδες* in Thgn. 390. Some MSS. have *ψευδέας τε λόγους*, an expression common later, especially in philosophical writing (Pl. *Crat.* 385B, *Soph.* 240E, Arist. *Top.* 162^{b}3, cf. A. *PV* 685, S. *OT* 526, E. *Hipp.* 1288, etc.) but unknown to early poetry: the adjective *ψευδής* is itself not certainly attested before the fifth century (*IG* 1^{2}. 700; cf. P. Maas, *Mélanges Émile Boisacq*, ii. Brussels, 1938, pp. 129 f., who suggests that in *Il.* 4. 235 the true reading is *ἐπιψευδέσσι*). *Λόγους* can stand alone, for the context shows that it is to be understood in a bad sense. Maas compares Thgn. 254 *ἀλλ' ὥσπερ μικρὸν παῖδα λόγοις μ' ἀπατᾷς*, Lycurg. 23 *ἵνα δὲ μὴ λόγον οἴησθε εἶναι, ἀλλ' εἰδῆτε τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἀναγνώσεται καὶ τούτων ὑμῖν τὰς μαρτυρίας*, Ter. *Phorm.* 492 *nondum mihi credis? — Hariolare. — Sin fidem do? — Fabulae. — Faeneratum istuc beneficium pulchre tibi dices. — Logi. — Crede mihi, gaudebis facto; uerum hercle hoc est. — Somnia.* (See Dziatzko–Hauler ad loc.) Compare also the use of 'story' and 'tale' in English. Lehrs conjectured *Δόλους*: in *Il.* 4. 339 a papyrus has *λόγοισι* where codd. have *δόλοισι*. Otherwise in Homer, *λόγος* occurs only in *Il.* 15. 393, *Od.* 1. 56.

τ' after *Λόγους* is omitted in most MSS.: it was conjectured by Lascaris and Blaydes, and in fact was written in Π^4 but then crossed out. On the question whether τε can be omitted in this place in the line, see below on 340.

Ἀμφιλλογίας: un-Homeric. The double lambda is not *metri gratia*, but is from σ-λ; cf. Strunk, op. cit. (p. 79, n. 1), p. 59.

230. Δυσνομίην τ' Ἄτην τε: for the association cf. *Op.* 231, Sol. 3. 30–35. Ate is daughter of Zeus in *Il.* 19. 91. There is no manuscript evidence for the spelling *Ἀάτη*, for at *Op.* 352 *ἶσα ἄτῃσιν* is merely *scriptio plena* of the elided vowel (Wilamowitz on 216). The contracted form is certain in *Il.* 6. 356, 19. 88, 24. 28, Hom. *epigr.* 8. 1, where the first syllable stands in arsis.

συνήθεας: probably in the sense of 'neighbours', having common haunts (*ἤθεα*). See p. 34. Bahuvrīhi compounds with *συν-* are un-Homeric (Wackernagel, p. 39, n. 1). *συνηθείη* occurs at *h. Herm.* 485.

231. Ὅρκον: cf. *Op.* 217 *Δίκη δ' ὑπὲρ Ὕβριος ἴσχει | ἐς τέλος ἐξελθοῦσα· παθὼν δέ τε νήπιος ἔγνω· | αὐτίκα γὰρ τρέχει Ὅρκος ἅμα σκολιῇσι δίκῃσι*, 804 *Ὅρκον γεινόμενον, τὸν Ἔρις τέκε πῆμ' ἐπιόρκοις*, orac. *ap.* Hdt. 6. 86, Pi. *N.* 11. 24, S. *OC* 1767, Babr. 50. 18. An oath is by origin a curse which a man lays upon himself, to take effect if what he declares is false. The god Horkos is the personification of this curse; that is why he is attended by the Erinyes in *Op.* 803. See R. Hirzel, *Der Eid* (Leipzig, 1902), especially pp. 142 ff.; P. Stengel, *Gr. Kultusaltertümer* (Hb. d. Altertumsw. v. 3), 3rd ed., p. 85.

232. πημαίνει: e.g. *Op.* 282 ff. *ὃς δέ κε μαρτυρίῃσιν ἑκὼν ἐπίορκον ὀμόσσας | ψεύσεται, ἐν δὲ Δίκην βλάψας νήκεστον ἀασθῇ, | τοῦ δέ τ' ἀμαυροτέρη γενεὴ μετόπισθε λέλειπται.* Cf. Thgn. 399 *ὀλεσήνορας ὅρκους* (i.e. false ones).

ἑκὼν: a qualification not mentioned in *Il.* 3. 279, 19. 259 *Ἐρινύες αἵ θ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν | ἀνθρώπους τίνυνται, ὅτις κ' ἐπίορκον ὀμόσσῃ*. For involuntary perjury cf. *Il.* 10. 332 *ὣς φάτο, καί ῥ' ἐπίορκον ἐπώμοσε*, with sch. *οὐχ οἷον ἑκουσίως, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀποτελεσθῆναι τοῦτο ὅπερ ὤμοσεν.*

233–336. The descendants of Pontos. The second generation is completed by the children of Pontos, three sons and three daughters (233–9). The progeny of the three sons is then listed in the same order: the Nereids, a long and comparatively homogeneous catalogue of nymphs (240–64); the children of Thaumas (265–9); and the children and descendants of Phorkys and Keto, another long catalogue, but a very varied one (270–336).

233. Nereus is the most prominent of the five children; there are four lines about him. We accordingly expect him to be placed at the end of the list (cf. on 79 and 137), even though he is the eldest (cf. 361 with 777). He is put first because his qualities are contrasted with those of the children of Eris. It is for the same reason that *Νηρέα* stands at the beginning of the line and *Πόντος* at the end, instead of vice versa as we might have expected (since the parent is put first throughout the *Theogony*, as far as 1008). The inverted order produces

a chiasmus: *αὐτὰρ Ἔριν στυγερὴ τέκε . . . Λήθην . . . Ψεύδεά τε . . . Νηρέα δ' ἀψευδέα καὶ ἀληθέα γείνατο Πόντος*. Cf. on 1003–7.

Nereus is one of the names given to the 'Old Man of the Sea' (*ἅλιος γέρων*, 1003), a figure who is properly anonymous, and usually is so in cult, cf. Paus. 3. 21. 9 and Frazer, ad loc., Wilamowitz, *Gl. d. Hell.* i. 219. In *Od.* 4. 365, 385, he is called Proteus, in 13. 96, 345 Phorkys (cf. 1. 72), but elsewhere in Homer he is anonymous (*Il.* 1. 358, 538, 556, 18. 141, 20. 107, 24. 562, *Od.* 24. 58). Glaucus too had the title of *Γέρων* (sch. A.R. 2. 767). Dion. Byz. 49 *κατὰ κορυφὴν δ' αὐτοῦ Γέρων ἅλιος ὕδρυται· τοῦτον οἱ μὲν Νηρέα φασίν, οἱ δὲ Φόρκυν, ἄλλοι δὲ Πρωτέα, τινὲς δὲ πατέρα Σημύστρας*, etc. Nereus and Phorkys are regarded as equivalent by the paraphrast of Lyc. 477; cf. Opp. *H.* 2. 35–37, and in general Nilsson, *Gr. Rel.* i, 2nd ed., pp. 240 ff.

Nereus is much less important than his daughters. Hdt. 2. 50. 2 offers the Nereids, not Nereus, as an example of a divine name not derived from Egypt; and the Nereids are widely believed in in modern Greece, while their father is forgotten, cf. on 240–64.

ἀψευδέα: a word habitually associated with oracles and the like, see *LSJ*. Prophetic powers are often attributed to marine gods (particularly Proteus and Glaucus; for Nereus cf. E. *Hel.* 13 ff. *καλοῦσιν αὐτὴν Θεονόην· τὰ θεῖα γὰρ | τά τ' ὄντα καὶ μέλλοντα πάντ' ἠπίστατο | προγόνου λαβοῦσα Νηρέως τιμὰς πάρα*, and his enforced disclosure to Heracles of the way to the garden of the Hesperides, Pherec. 3 F 16). The god who *θαλάσσης | πάσης βένθεα οἶδεν* (*Od.* 4. 385) is likely to know everything (cf. orac. *ap.* Hdt. 1. 47, *οἶδα δ' ἐγὼ ψάμμου τ' ἀριθμὸν καὶ μέτρα θαλάσσης*). Several of the Nereids have names connected with this property; in *Il.* 18. 46 one of them is actually called *Ἀψευδής*. See also Artem. 2. 38; Ninck, pp. 47 ff.

ἀληθέα: the word embraces not only the sense 'true' but also 'truthful'; it can mean more generally 'honest' (*Il.* 12. 433 vulg.). It too is often used of oracles and prophets, e.g. Pi. *P.* 11. 6, S. *Ph.* 993, E. *Ion* 1537. Here it is contrasted with *Λήθην* in 227. *ἀληθής*, *-εια* are often thought of in this etymological way, and so associated with remembering; cf. *Il.* 23. 361, and many later examples collected by E. Heitsch, *Hermes*, 1962, pp. 26–30. Cf. 235 *οὐδὲ θεμίστων | λήθεται*.

234. παίδων: cf. on 138.

αὐτὰρ: it is exceptional for the first syllable of *αὐτάρ* to be placed in thesis (v.l. in *Il.* 4. 542, 23. 694, *Od.* 9. 83); see Ruijgh, *L'Élément achéen*, pp. 45 ff. But the conjectures which avoid it are unattractive.

καλέουσι γέροντα: prima facie this means 'they call him (an, the) Old Man'. Nereus is indeed called the Old Man, and this is something worth an explanation: cf. Cornut. 23 *καλοῦσι δὲ τὸν Νηρέα καὶ ἅλιον γέροντα, διὰ τὸ ὥσπερ πολιὰν ἐπανθεῖν τοῖς κύμασι τὸν ἀφρόν*. Serv. *Georg.* 4. 402 *fere omnes dii marini senes sunt: albent enim eorum capita spumis aquarum*. Hesiod's explanation would be based on the association between age, wisdom and veracity, for which cf. *Od.* 2. 16 *ὃς δὴ γήραι κυφὸς ἔην καὶ μυρία ᾔδη*, 3. 19–20 *λίσσεσθαι δέ μιν* (Nestor) *αὐτός, ὅπως νημερτέα εἴπῃ· | ψεῦδος δ' οὐκ ἐρέει, μάλα γὰρ πεπνυμένος ἐστί*,

4. 204–5 *τόσα εἶπες, ὅσ' ἂν πεπνυμένος ἀνὴρ | εἴποι καὶ ῥέξειε, καὶ ὃς προγενέστερος εἴη.*

But the sense may be rather 'they call the old man so', i.e. call him Nereus. For this use of *καλέω*, 'give someone his name', cf. Pi. *O.* 9. 63 *μάτρως δ' ἐκάλεσσέ νιν ἰσώνυμον ἔμμεν*, Hdt. 4. 155. 2 (*Λίβυες γὰρ βασιλέα βάττον καλέουσι*), *καὶ τούτου εἵνεκα δοκέω θεσπίζουσαν τὴν Πυθίην καλέσαι μιν Λιβυκῇ γλώσσῃ, εἰδυῖαν ὡς βασιλεὺς ἔσται ἐν Λιβύῃ*, Pl. *Soph.* 218c *νῦν γὰρ δὴ σύ τε κἀγὼ τούτου πέρι τοὔνομα μόνον ἔχομεν κοινῇ, τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἐφ' ᾧ καλοῦμεν ἑκάτερος τάχ' ἂν ἰδίᾳ παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἔχοιμεν*, *Gorg.* 521B, Nonn. *D.* 16. 404–5. Explanation of a name is more common in Hesiod than explanation of an epithet, though both occur (e.g. in the passage on Aphrodite). That the explanation here is of the name Nereus has been argued by Merkelbach, *Stud. Ital.*, 1956, p. 289, who unnecessarily alters the text to *Νηρέα δὲ καλοῦσι γέροντα*. He regards the etymology as consisting in the *νη* of *νημερτής* together with *ἦρα* implied by *ἤπιος*. For this type of analysis he might have compared *Od.* 13. 79–80, where *νήδυμος* is 'glossed' by the poet *νήγρετος ἤδιστος*, and the charade type of riddle (Ar. *Eq.* 21–26, Gell. 12. 6, *A.P.* 14. 16 and 31; K. Ohlert, *Rätsel und Gesellschaftspiele der alten Griechen*, 1886, pp. 116 f.). But I think that if Hesiod had had *ἦρα* or some other such word in mind (*ῥεῖα*, *ἐρεῖν*, *ἤρεμος*, etc.), he would have been more explicit. It is indeed possible that *ἤπιος* is a corruption caused by *ἤπια* below: I have considered **εἴριος* 'prophetic', from *εἴρω* (cf. Risch, *Wortbildung der hom. Sprache*, p. 105), which would incidentally have the effect of making the correspondence with 261–2 (see ad loc.) a more striking chiasmus, *νημερτὴς—εἴριος—θεμίστων*: *Θεμιστώ—Προνόη—Νημερτής*. But Hesiod may well have left the second syllable of Nereus unexplained, content with the coincidence of the syllable *νη* in *νημερτής*. Cf. 195–7 *Ἀφροδίτη—ἀφρός*, fr. 233 *τριχάικες—τρίσσην γαῖαν ἑκὰς πάτρης* (or is *ικες* supposed to correspond to *ἑκάς*?), and above on 210 (*Τιτάν—τίνω, τίσις*).

235. οὔνεκα: see on 144.

νημερτής: the name of a Nereid in 262 and *Il.* 18. 46; cf. on *ἀψευδέα* in 233.

θεμίστων: so S after correction, the other MSS. giving *θεμιστέων* or *-άων*. Attempts have been made to defend the anomalous form; Rzach compares *τᾶι θεμίσστα[ι* on a Thessalian inscription (*GDI* 370), which, however, is probably a false reading, see *GDI*, vol. 1, p. 386. Hesychius gives *θεμιστῇ· τῇ δίκῃ*, and Themiste appears as a variant for Themisto in 261 (U, Mombritius) and as one of the names given for Homer's mother (*Cert.* 25, Paus. 10. 24. 3). The normal form is rightly advocated by Wackernagel, p. 4, n. 3, and Wilamowitz, *Hesiodos' Erga*, p. 67.

236. λήθεται: a very common type of expression in epic, cf. 547 *δολίης δ' οὐ λήθετο τέχνης*, *Il.* 1. 495 *Θέτις δ' οὐ λήθετ' ἐφετμέων*, 5. 319, 10. 99, 12. 203 *καὶ οὔ πω λήθετο χάρμης*, 13. 835, 23. 725, *Od.* 11. 554, 13. 126, etc. It is less frequent without the negative, as *Il.* 6. 265, 11. 313 *al.* *μιμνήσκω* is used in the same way, as *Il.* 16. 771 *μνώοντ'*

ὀλοοῖο φόβοιο, 4. 222 *μνήσαντο δὲ χάρμης*, 16. 356 *φόβοιο | δυσκελάδου μνήσαντο, λάθοντο δὲ θούριδος ἀλκῆς*, and often.

δίκαια: cf. Solon 11 *ἐξ ἀνέμων δὲ θάλασσα ταράσσεται· ἢν δέ τις αὐτὴν | μὴ κινῇ, πάντων ἐστὶ δικαιοτάτη*.

ἤπια δήνεα οἶδεν: *Il.* 4. 361. On this use of *οἶδα* cf. Onians, pp. 15 ff. *μήδεα* is a variant for *δήνεα* both here (cf. p. 63, n. 1) and in *Il.* l.c.

237. **αὖτις δ' αὖ**: this combination occurs in *h. Ap.* 159, cf. S. *Ph.* 952 *αὖθις αὖ πάλιν*, *OC* 1418 codd., *al.*, Ar. *Av.* 895.

Θαύμαντα: a dim figure unknown to cult, most famous as father of Iris. His name is connected with *θαυμάζω* by Pl. *Theaet.* 155D and others; this would fit his relationship with Iris, but the formation of a god's name in this way is unlikely, and I would rather regard it as a non-Greek name assimilated to *θαῦμα*. (Cf. Tiâmat?)

Φόρκυν: another name for the *ἅλιος γέρων*, cf. on 233. In *Od.* 1. 72 he is called the ruler of the sea. Orphics made him a Titan (fr. 114, cf. fr. 16), and he is obviously a figure of some importance. Another form of his name is *Φόρκος*, first in Pindar and Sophocles unless P. Berol. 9870. 3 (ed. Della Corte, *Riv. Fil.* 1936, p. 385) is from early epic. The *Πόρκος* of Alcman (1. 19) is doubtless the same person; at any rate, Hesychius identifies him with Nereus (cf. D. L. Page, *Alcman: Partheneion*, p. 39, and below on 270). *Porcus* is a sea fish in Plin. *NH* 32. 150; cf. Hsch. *φόρκες· χάρακες*. The name may be connected with this, or with Hsch. *φορκόν· λευκόν, πολιόν, ῥυσόν*—Phorkys is father of the Graiai (270; cf. Bloch, *Roscher*, iii. 2432).

238. **Γαίῃ μισγόμενος**: put in here as if an afterthought. Gaia is presumably mother of Nereus too, but it is the paternity of Pontos that matters. Cf. on *οὔ τινι κοιμηθεῖσα* in 213.

Κητὼ: probably formed simply from *κῆτος*, as, for example, the Nereid *Σπειώ* (245) from *σπέος*. Apld. 1. 2. 7 actually has a Nereid called Keto. Cf. on 270–336.

239. **Εὐρυβίην**: from a common epithet of marine deities, of Triton in 931, A.R. 4. 1552, [Orph.] *A.* 339, of Poseidon in Pi. *O.* 6. 58, *P.* 2. 12. Poseidon has other similar epithets such as *εὐρυσθενής, εὐρυμέδων, εὐρυκρείων*. A male counterpart to Eurybie appears in the Eurybies of Tz. *Th.* 334, a son of Poseidon and Amphitrite, and *κληροῦχος τῆς θαλάσσης*.

ἀδάμαντος ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θυμὸν ἔχουσαν: cf. *Op.* 147 (the Bronze Generation) *ἀδάμαντος ἔχον κρατερόφρονα θυμόν*, and above on 161. Why Eurybie is so hard-hearted, I do not know.

240–64. **The Nereids.** The Nereids are no poetic fiction, but important figures of popular religion; cf. Hdt. 7. 191 (cited on 253 and 255), Plut. *Mor.* 163B, Paus. 2. 1. 8, Arr. *Anab.* 1. 11. 6, etc. They are nymphs of the sea and with the fickle character of the sea. They can foretell the future, like other sea-deities (cf. on 233), and shared an oracle with Glaucus on Delos (Aristotle, fr. 490). They are noted for their beauty; cf. the legend of Cassiepeia, and Chariton 1. 1. 2, 3. 2. 15, Nonn. *D.* 34. 79. In modern Greek belief, land-nymphs are

called *Νερά(γ)ιδες* or *Ἀνεράιδες*, sea-nymphs being generally Gorgons. They are still proverbial for beauty (and even for accomplishments such as cooking), and know the future. See Bernh. Schmidt, *Volksleben der Neugriechen*, i. 98–130, Frazer on Paus. 2. 1. 8, Lawson, pp. 130 ff.

Of the individuals named by Hesiod, Thetis and Amphitrite at least, and perhaps others, had an independent cult, and cannot have been his own invention. But the majority appear to be invented, whether by him or by a predecessor (cf. p. 32). It is sometimes said that they express different aspects of the sea; better to say that most of them are suggested by the sea. Those that are not marine refer to characteristics of the nymphs themselves or of their father: beauty, generosity, foreknowledge. (On the prophetic powers of nymphs in general cf. Otto, *Die Musen*, pp. 18–19.) The use of rhyme, alliteration, and assonance in the list deserves attention; cf. Rzach, *R.E.* viii. 1199 f., and above on 135. In general see Schoemann, pp. 146–75; Kern, *Rel. d. Griechen*, i. 258–9; Schwenn, pp. 90–94; F. Fischer, *Nereiden und Okeaniden in Hesiods Theogonie*, Diss. Halle, 1934, pp. 75 ff. (a far-fetched attempt to show that the Nereids' names all originally belonged to goddesses of the dead); Lesky, *Thalatta*, pp. 114–22; Snell, *Die Entdeckung des Geistes*, 3rd ed., pp. 68 ff.; Krafft, pp. 143 ff.; Deichgräber, *Abh. Mainz* 1965 (4).

There is a close relationship between this and the shorter list in *Il.* 18. 39–49, which Zenodotus and Aristarchus athetized *ὡς Ἡσιόδειον ἔχον χαρακτῆρα· Ὅμηρος γὰρ κατὰ τὸ κοινὸν Μούσας λέγει καὶ Εἰλειθυίας, ἀλλ' οὐκ ὀνόματα.* Callistratus reported that it was actually absent from the Argolic edition (sch.^{A}). Further lists are given by Apld. 1. 2. 7, Virg. *A.* 5. 825–6, Hyg. *fab. praef.* 8.

This is perhaps the best place to discuss the problem of the number of Nereids in Hesiod's list. In 264 he says there are fifty, and so, in our MSS., there are (not counting Amphitrite twice in 243 and 254, but assuming that the repeated *Πρωτώ* in 243 and 248 represents two different Nereids). But ancient critics found fifty-one, and could correct the discrepancy only by assuming that *κυματολήγῃ* in 253 was not a proper name (sch. ad loc.) or that *νημερτής* in 262 was an epithet of *Προνόη*, *θ'* being *περισσόν* (sch. ad loc.). The difficulty probably arose from reading *Θόη θ' Ἁλίη τε* in 245 instead of *θοὴ Θαλίη τε*. We must at any rate assume that Hesiod meant to write fifty names. The possibilities are (*a*) that he miscounted, (*b*) that 259 (Ahrens) or 262 (Fick) is interpolated, or 253 if one read *σὺν ἐυσφύρῳ* in 254, (*c*) that our MSS. are right in 245 and the ancient reading wrong. The last alternative is the simplest.

240. μεγήριτα: probably 'numerous', from the same root as *ἀριθμός*, cf. *νήριτος* 'countless', *Il.* 22. 349 *εἰκοσινήριτ' ἄποινα* 'twenty-fold' (*εἰκοσιν-ήριτος*) or perhaps 'twenty times countless' (*εἰκοσινήριτος*), where sch.^{T} explains *τὰ εἰκοσάκις ἐρίζοντα καὶ ἰσούμενα . . . καὶ "μεγήριτα τέκνα θεάων", οἷον θεαῖς ἐρίζοντα.* Hsch. gives *μεγήριτα· τίμια, μεγαλόχαρτα.* Sch. and *Et. magn.* recognize a variant *μεγήρατα*,

a word which is probably read in Pancrates *GDK* 15. 2. 9 *Ἀ]ργειφοντιάδαο μεγηράτ[ου Ἀντι]νόοιο*. This reading appears in *r* and as a variant in L, and would be equivalent to *πολυήρατα*. P. Oxy. 2493. 8 ([Hes.] fr. 229) apparently had *μεγαλ[ήρατον Ἥβην*.

τέκνα θεάων: difficult, because in 241 we find that they are all children of Doris. There is a similar problem in 366, where the Oceanids, daughters of Oceanus and Tethys, are called *θεάων ἀγλαὰ τέκνα*. There seem to be two possible solutions: (1) *τέκνα θεάων* is simply a periphrasis for *θεαί*, as *υἷες Ἀχαιῶν* = *Ἀχαιοί* (van Lennep and others). This is a not uncommon type of expression, cf. *Il.* 6. 127 = 21. 151 *δυστήνων δέ τε παῖδες ἐμῷ μένει ἀντιόωσιν*, S. *El.* 112 *σεμναὶ θεῶν παῖδες* (of the Erinyes), Call. *H.* 3. 65 *μακάρων θύγατρες*, Nicaen. *A.P.* 6. 225. 3 (= fr. 3 Powell) *τέκνα θεῶν*, Nic. *Al.* 168 *τέκν' ἁλιήων*, Ath. 49B *γραμματικῶν παῖδες*, S.E. *adv. math.* 6. 19 *Ἐπικουρείων παῖδες*, etc. None of these, unfortunately, provides a parallel for the transference of sex from children to parents. (2) In each case *θεάων* depends on the adjective, as in *δῖα θεάων* (Evelyn-White). Cf. *Op.* 257 *κυδρή τ' αἰδοίη τε θεῶν* (so P. Oxy. 1090; *θεοῖς* codd., cf. *Od.* 5. 447); *h. Herm.* 551 *θεῶν ἐριούνιε δαῖμον*. This would be more appropriate to *ἀγλαὰ* in 366 than to *μεγήρια*, though it would suit the variant *μεγήρατα*.

M. Isler, *Quaestionum Hesiodiarum specimen*, Diss. Berlin, 1830, pp. 41 f., would delete 241–2 and thus remove Doris (Jacoby *ὁ ἄπληστος* claims this athetesis as his own). But a solution which does not also account for 366 is no solution.

241. Δωρίδος: the Oceanid listed in 350. She has a Nereid daughter of the same name (250). There are other pairs of namesakes in the two lists: Eudore (244, 360), and perhaps Thoe (245?, 354); cf. on 247, 351, 352, 356, 359. That the Nereids' mother should be an Oceanid is symptomatic of the tendency, which increased throughout antiquity, for the distinction between the two groups to break down. In *Il.* 21. 196 the sea as well as the rivers is from Oceanus. In E. *Ion* 1083, the Nereids haunt the rivers as well as the sea. Antipater, *A.P.* 9. 151. 7, makes them daughters of Oceanus, while conversely Hyg. *fab. praef.* 5–6 (cod.) makes the Oceanids daughters of Pontus and Mare; cf. sch. A. *PV* 636, *Mythogr. Vat.* 1. 204. Since antiquity, as we have seen above, the Nereids have completely usurped the domain of their cousins.

242. τελήεντος: in Homer this adjective is applied only to hecatombs, in *h. Herm.* 544 to birds of omen. Here the sense is uncertain; perhaps 'circling'. See Onians, p. 443.

The verse recurs at 959.

243. Πρωθώ: all MSS. give *Πρωτώ*, a name which recurs in 248, where it is guaranteed by *Il.* 18. 43. Presumably Hesiod did not use the same name twice; and it would be far-fetched to see a special propriety in the first Nereid in the catalogue being called Proto. *Πρωθώ* appears to have been read by Diaconus, who explains it from

πρωθεῖν (*προωθεῖν*) *τὰς νῆας* (p. 313. 9). It is true that in 327. 7 he connects *Λητώ* with *λήθη* (as do the scholia; cf. sch. Gen. in *Il.* 1. 36, ii. 11. 19 Nicole); but it was so obvious to connect *Πρωτώ* with *πρῶτος* (as he does lower down, p. 313. 27) that *πρωθεῖν* can only be an attempt to explain *Πρωθώ*. *Πρωθώ* occurs as a woman's name at Tanagra (*s.* iv B.C.); this is quite in accord with there having been a Nereid so named, for Nereid names are elsewhere used by mortal women (Bechtel, *Die attischen Frauennamen*, pp. 73–75)—proof that these are not cult names. It is probably a hypocoristic form from some such name as Prothebe (Sittl). I prefer it to *Πλωτώ*, a Nereid name on a skyphos by the Xenotimos painter (Kretschmer, *Gr. Vaseninschr.*, p. 202; Beazley, *ARV* 1142), proposed in 248 by Gyraldus and here by Wolf. In Hyginus, Protho appears in the series *Doto Protho Pherusa Dynomene* (248 = *Il.* 18. 43), where it is probably a mere mis-spelling of *Proto* of the type common in Latin manuscripts in general and Hyginus in particular.

Εὐκράντη: confirmed by Apollodorus against the variant *Εὐκράτη*. Apld. has another Nereid called Kranto. The meaning is probably 'sovereign'. Cf. Dynamene 248, Protomedeia 249, Laomedeia 257.

Σαώ: one of a marine god's functions is to bring ships safely home. The Dioskouroi are the main saviours of ships; but cf. also Poseidon *σωσίνεως* (Frazer on Paus. 2. 1. 9), and for the Nereids Sappho 5 – ∪ –] *Νηρήιδες, ἀβλάβη[ν μοι | τὸν κασί]γνητον δ[ό]τε τυίδ' ἴκεσθα[ι.*

Ἀμφιτρίτη: [Arion] (Mel. adesp. 21) 11 makes Amphitrite mother of the Nereids, and this is more in accord with her usual importance and independence. Cf. *Od.* 3. 91, 5. 422, 12. 60, 97. She is Poseidon's consort in 930 below. Her name is unexplained; one compares *Τρίτων*, *Τριτογένεια*, and Hsch. *τριτώ· ῥεῦμα*. (You can always find something in Hesychius.)

244. **Εὐδώρη**: cf. Doto in 248, Doris in 250. It is probably the fisherman who benefits from this generosity. Cf. A. fr. 464. 11 M.

Θέτις: *Νηρεΐδων ἀρίστα* (Alc. fr. 42. 11), *δέσποινα πεντήκοντα Νηρήδων κορᾶν* (A. fr. 174 N. = 285 M.), *Νηρήδων πρώτα* (E. *IA* 1078), etc.

Γαλήνη: known as *Γαλάνεια* to E. *Hel.* 1458 and as *Γαληναίη* to Call. *ep.* 5. 5. The alternation of *-η* and *-εια* (*Περσεφόνη*, *-εια*, *Καλλιόπη*, *-εια*, etc.) is frequent; cf. on 250 and 260, and Eust. on D.P. 152. There was a statue of Galene in the Isthmian temple of Poseidon, Paus. 2. 1. 8 (cited on 251).

Γλαύκη: cf. Glauconome in 256, and Glaucus. *γλαυκή* is an epithet of the sea in *Il.* 16. 34, and below in 440 it is used as a kenning for the sea. In [Orph.] *A.* 338 Glauce is ranked with the great sea-gods, Amphitrite, Proteus, Phorkys, and Triton. She is named on several vases. Cf. also Gow on Theocr. 7. 59.

245. **Κυμοθόη**: so spelled in *Il.* 18. 41, Apollodorus, Hyginus, Virg. *A.* 1. 144, Val. Fl. 2. 605, Q.S. 5. 341, 345. *Κυμοθέη* in *n* and Diaconus is probably from *Πασιθέη* below. On vases she appears as *Κυμοθεα, Κυμαθοε, Κυματοθοη, Κυματοθεα.*

Omission of the copula τε is quite common in such lists, but normally only after the first name in the line: cf. 250, 339, fr. 204. 49, *Il.* 2. 498, 501–2, 560–1, 647, 712, 739, 10. 13, 13. 686, 791 v.l., 15. 214 v.l., 302, 18. 40, 45, 48, 19. 311 v.l., *h.Ap.* 32 cj., 35, 36 cj. So in later hexameter poetry, e.g. Nic. *Th.* 215, Opp. *H.* 1. 101, 105, Nonn. *D.* 14. 226, and with *-que* in Latin imitations, Virg. *G.* 4. 339 v.l., *A.* 5. 826. For late (and doubtful early) exceptions to the initial-name rule, see on 340.

Σπειώ τε θοὴ Θαλίη τε: Π^{22} divides *θόη θ' αλ[ιη*, and so Valckenaer wrote, following Aristarchus' reading in *Il.* 18. 40 *Νησαίη Σπειώ τε Θόη θ' Ἁλίη τε βοῶπις*. Sch. and Exeg. in fact take *Θόη* as a name (and it is so accented in K), though they read *Θαλίη*, as does sch. *Op.* 115. *Thoe* is also given by Hyginus; there is an Oceanid Thoe in 354, and for a Nereid we may compare Kymothoe, Hippothoe (251), Apollodorus' Nausithoe, and the sea-nymph Thoosa of *Od.* 1. 71. A Nereid Halia is given by Apollodorus and on vases, and Hyginus' *Thalia* corresponds not to this but to Homer's *Θάλεια* (*Il.* 18. 39), as its place in his list shows. The evidence therefore supports Valckenaer, so far as it goes. The attraction of *θοὴ Θαλίη τε* is that it is the easiest way of avoiding a numerical discrepancy (see on 240–64). *Θαλίη* is the name of a Grace in 909; and we may not argue that *θοή* is unsuitable as an epithet, for if a nymph can be called Swift, obviously she can also be called swift. Quintus 3. 661 applies the epithet to Thetis. Cf. below on 354.

246. Πασιθέη: the name of a Grace in *Il.* 14. [269]. Cf. on 352.

Ἐρατώ: also a Muse in 78.

ῥοδόπηχυς: 251, not in Homer or the hymns except for the late hymn to Helios.

247. Μελίτη: the name is borne by an Oceanid in *h. Dem.* 419.

248. The verse recurs at *Il.* 18. 43.

Δωτώ: cf. on 244. Paus. 2. 1. 8 mentions a shrine of Doto at Gabala on the coast of Syria.

Πρωτώ: cf. *Πρωτεύς*, which Schulze, p. 22, n. 3, explains as *Fatidicus* (*πρωτόν, πέπρωται*). Proto might have the same connotation, like her sisters Pronoe and Nemertes. But we have Protomedeia in the next line, and Proto may well be a short form of some such compound as that.

Φέρουσα: perhaps she who carries ships along, cf. *Od.* 3. 300, 10. 26, etc.

249. Νησαίη τε καὶ Ἀκταίη: the Nereids live in the sea, but they are worshipped on shores and islands; cf. *Ἰιόνη* 255, *Νησώ* 261. Hdt. 7. 191 *τῇ δὲ Θέτι ἔθυον πυθόμενοι παρὰ τῶν Ἰώνων τὸν λόγον ὡς ἐκ τοῦ χώρου τούτου ἁρπασθείη ὑπὸ Πηλέος, εἴη τε ἅπασα ἡ ἀκτὴ ἡ Σηπιὰς ἐκείνης τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Νηρηίδων*. Paus. 3. 26. 7 *ἐνταῦθα οὐ πόρρω τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ τέμενος ἱερὸν τῶν Νηρέως θυγατέρων ἐστίν. ἐς γὰρ τοῦτο ἀναβῆναι τὸ χωρίον φασὶν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης αὐτὰς Πύρρον ὀψομένας τὸν Ἀχιλλέως, ὅτε ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑρμιόνης ἀπῄει γάμον*. (In Homer too they can come out of the sea onto the shore: *Il.* 1. 359 f., 18. 68.

Cf. also Pi. *N.* 5. 13.) Tz. *alleg. Hom. Σ* 384 f. *ἡ Θέτις | ἡ νησιῶτις βασιλίς, ἡ παραθαλασσία.*

Πρωτομέδεια: Blomfield conjectured *Πρωνομέδεια*, cf. the corrupt fragment of Sophocles (371) *Πόσειδον ὃς Αἰγαίου μέδεις πρῶνας ἢ γλαυκᾶς μέδεις εὐανέμου λίμνας ἐφ' ὑψηλαῖς στομάτων σπιλάδεσσιν* (and the equally corrupt allusion to it in Ar. *Ran.* 665). Protomedeia may, however, mean *ἡ ἐν πρώτῳ τέλει μέδουσα*. On a vase in the British Museum we have a Pontomedeia; cf. Apollodorus' Pontomedusa, and Poseidon's epithet *ποντομέδων*.

250. The line is the same as *Il.* 18. 45, except that it has *εὐειδὴς* instead of *ἀγακλειτὴ*, leaving *καὶ* long in the third thesis before a vowel. This is defensible, see on 148. Paulson assumes the scansion *ἐὐ(ϝ)ειδής* (*Stud. Hes.*, p. 150, cf. Schulze, p. 71, n. 1); this seems perfectly possible, cf. *Il.* 19. 35 *ἀπόειπόν*, 21. 283, 329 *ἀπόέρσῃ*, Chantraine, i. 146; below on 354. Flach wrote *ἀγακλειτὴ* as in Homer. The simplest emendation is Hermann's *Πανόπεια*, a form which occurs on a Roman mosaic (*CIG* 6784) and in Virgil, Hyginus, and Nonnus. *Πανόπη* is found after Homer in Aratus, Lucian, and Apollodorus, and it is the usual form in Latin poets for metrical reasons (Ov. *F.* 6. 499, *cons. ad Liv.* 435, Val. Fl. 1. 134, 2. 589, Sept. Ser. fr. 9 Morel). But the name is not familiar enough for the corruption to be a natural one; the nearest parallel I can quote is Mesom. 1. 5, where N has *Καλλιόπα* for *Καλλιόπεια*, but that is simply a matter of omitted letters. *Παν]όπ[η] τε* in *Π*[22] looks like a mere mistake, rather than a confirmation of Peppmüller's *καὶ Δωρὶς Πανόπη τε*: the Homeric line is against this.

251. **Ἱππόθόη . . . Ἱππονόη**: cf. Paus. 2. 1. 8 *τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀνάκειται Γαλήνης ἄγαλμα καὶ Θαλάσσης, καὶ ἵππος εἰκασμένος κήτει τὰ μετὰ τὸ στέρνον*, etc., and on *Ἱππώ* in 351. The two names stand in the same relation to each other as *Ναυσίθοον* and *Ναυσίνοον* in 1017–18.

252. **Κυμοδόκη θ' ἣ κύματ'**: cf. on 141.

253. For the power of the Nereids over the winds cf. Hdt. 7. 191 *ἡμέρας γὰρ δὴ ἐχείμαζε τρεῖς· τέλος δὲ ἔντομά τε ποιεῦντες καὶ καταείδοντες †γόησι (γοήσι?) οἱ Μάγοι τῷ ἀνέμῳ, πρὸς δὲ τούτοισι καὶ τῇ Θέτι καὶ τῇσι Νηρηΐσι θύοντες, ἔπαυσαν τετάρτῃ ἡμέρῃ.*

ζαέων: Bergk's correction of *ζαθέων*, from the gloss *ἄγαν πνεόντων*. *ζαής* occurs thrice in Homer, each time of *ἄνεμος*. Scan as a spondee.

σὺν Κυματολήγῃ: it is characteristic of Hesiod, after explaining what a deity does, to add that he does it with someone else; cf. 347, 444, 936.

Kymatolege is named on a dinos by the Achilles painter, Beazley, *ARV* 992, no. 69.

254. **ῥεῖα πρηῦνει**: cf. *h. Herm.* 417 *ῥεῖα μάλ' ἐπρήϋνεν*. On *ῥεῖα* cf. above on 90.

ἐυσφύρῳ: 961, *Sc.* 16, 86; un-Homeric.

256. **φιλομμειδὴς**: in Homer only of Aphrodite. Hesiod might be thinking of the smiling sea (see on 40); but more probably he is using the adjective as one generally suitable for nymphs and young goddesses.

257. Λειαγόρη: the spelling is guaranteed by *Λειώκριτος*, *Λειώδης* in Homer, *Λείανδρος* in Musaeus. The earlier *Λη-* (from *Λα-*) was raised to *Λει-* under the influence of the quantitative metathesis which produced Attic *Λεωγόρας*, etc., the prosody being preserved by the metre. Cf. R. Werner, *η und ει vor Vokal bei Homer*, Freiburg, 1948, p. 64.

The Nereids protect ships, and so perhaps by an extension assist successful trading.

258. Πουλυνόη: restored from Apld., where conversely the editors write *Πολυνόμη* from Hesiod. *Πουλυνόη* is recommended by the following *Αὐτονόη* (homoeoteleuton as in Leiagore–Euagore, 353 Plexaure–Galaxaure); *-νόμη* will have been written under the influence of *Γλαυκονόμη* two lines above. The interlinear paraphrase in Tr *παντ̣αχοῦ . . . νεμόμενοι* need not, of course, be old.

There is a similar confusion in Nonn. *D.* 34. 179 ~ 35. 80.

259. Εὐάρνη: cf. Paus. 2. 1. 8 *τοὺς δὲ καὶ τεμένη σφίσιν* (sc. to the Nereids) *ἀναθέντας* (sc. *οἵδα*) *ποιμαινίσιν, ἔνθα καὶ Ἀχιλλεῖ τιμαί*. The text here is suspect: some alter *ποιμαινίσιν* (*πρὸς λιμέσιν* Kuhn, *alii alia*); if it is kept, something must be added after *τοὺς δὲ* to specify one of the many places where Achilles was honoured. There seems to be no other evidence for the Nereids as shepherdesses, and it may be that the name Euarne originally belonged not to a Nereid but to an Oceanid, see on 354.

φυὴν ἐρατὴ: cf. 355.

ἄμωμος: first here and in Sem. 4, Anacr. 69. *ἀμώμητος* is commoner, fr. 185. 13, *Sc.* 102, *Il.* 12. 109, *h.* xxxiii. 3, Archil. 6. 2, Anon. epic. *ap.* sch. Pi. *N.* 3. 64.

260. Ψαμάθη: the only Nereid besides Thetis and Amphitrite to have a child, 1004 n. She corresponds to Homer's *Ἀμάθεια* (v.l. *-νια*), *Il.* 18. 48. Pi. *N.* 5. 13 calls her *Ψαμάθεια*.

δίη: cf. p. 80.

261–2. Εὐπόμπη: cf. on *Σαώ* in 243.

Θεμιστώ τε Προνόη τε | Νημερτής θ': the last three names in the list echo the qualities of Nereus in 233–6; hence *ἣ πατρὸς ἔχει νόον*. In the *Catalogue*, Pronoe became mother of Deucalion by Prometheus (fr. 4, contradicting fr. 2). For Nemertes cf. on 235, with A. fr. 355. 16 M. *νύμφαι ναμερτεῖς*. Empedocles adopts her in his list of personified opposites, fr. 122. Namertes is a man's name in Plut. *Mor.* 230A.

263. αὗται μὲν: cf. 336 *τοῦτο μὲν ἐκ Κητοῦς καὶ Φόρκυνος γένος ἐστίν*, 1019 *αὗται μὲν θνητοῖσι παρ' ἀνδράσιν εὐνηθεῖσαι . . .*, *Op.* 822 *αἵδε μὲν ἡμέραι εἰσὶν ἐπιχθονίοις μέγ' ὄνειαρ*, fr. 37. 16 *αὗτη μὲν γενεὴ Νηλῆος*.

264. ἔργ' εἰδυῖαι: so MSS. regularly in Hesiod and Homer (*Op.* 521, *Il.* 9. 128, 19. 245, 23. 263, *Od.* 13. 289, 15. 418, 16. 158, 24. 278), and similarly with *κέδν' εἰδυῖα, λύγρ' εἰδυῖα. ἔργα ἰδυίας* is a variant once (*Il.* 9. 270), and *ἰδυῖα* is certainly the original form in these formulae; but it may have given way to *εἰδυῖα* by Hesiod's time. The later form of the participle is proved by metre in 887 (and *Il.* 17. 5), and corresponding forms with the full grade in the feminine occur in

ἀρηρυῖαν 608, *κεκληγυίης Op.* 449. In the proper name Idyia the same modernization took place, but somewhat later, see on 352.

265. βαθυρρείταο: in Homer only in *Il.* 21. 195, a line which Zenodotus omitted.

266. Ἠλέκτρην: 349.

ὠκεῖαν τέκεν Ἶριν: after the usual nominative formula (*πόδας*) *ὠκέα Ἶρις*. Cf. G. P. Shipp, *Studies in the Language of Homer*, p. 31. *ὠκεῖαν* may be a deliberate echo of *Ὠκεανοῖο*.

Iris' association with the rainbow (in Homer: *Il.* 11. 27, 17. 547) explains why she is given Thaumas (cf. *τέρας*, Hom. Il.cc.) and Electra ('shining', cf. *ἤλεκτρον*, *ἠλέκτωρ*) as parents. But it is because she runs as fast as the winds that the Harpies are joined with her as her sisters; she is *ποδήνεμος Il.* 5. 353, *ἀελλόπος* 8. 409, 24. 77, *ἀελλήεσσα* Nonn. *D.* 26. 362, cf. 31. 111. The rainbow itself is associated with wind: Emped.(?) 50 *Ἶρις δ' ἐκ πελάγους ἄνεμον φέρει ἢ μέγαν ὄμβρον*, Anaxag. B 19. In *Il.* 23. 198 ff. Iris intercepts Achilles' prayer to Boreas and Zephyrus, and goes to fetch them for him; cf. A.R. 4. 764 ff., Q.S. 12. 193, 14. 466.

There is thus no real kinship between the Harpies and their parents. It is only Iris, who is named in between, that they have in common. This is another example of the phenomenon described on 94–97.

267. Ἀελλώ: this may be regarded as a short form of *Ἀελλόπους*, which Apld. 1. 9. 21 gives as the name of one of the Harpies. Cf. Nonn. *D.* 37. 159 *Σιθονίην Ἅρπυιαν ἀελλόπον*. The Harpies run with the storm-winds, and are equally likely to snatch one away; cf. *Od.* 1. 241 *νῦν δέ μιν ἀκλειῶς Ἅρπυιαι ἀνηρείψαντο*, 4. 727 *νῦν αὖ παῖδ' ἀγαπητὸν ἀνηρείψαντο θύελλαι*, and especially 20. 66 ~ 77.

Ὠκυπέτην: Π^4 gives *ωκυροη[ν*, who is an Oceanid in 360. Apld. l.c. says *ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα καλουμένη Ὠκυπέτη, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι Ὠκυθόη, Ἡσίοδος δὲ λέγει αὐτὴν Ὠκυπόδην*. This should not be introduced here (Fick, Sittl), for the context in Apld. is the pursuit of the Harpies by the Boreads, and this was described in the third book of the *Catalogue* (frr. 150–7). Ocypode appears again, with Celaeno and Aello, in *Et. gen.* s.v. *Στροφάδες* (Wendel, *Scholia in Ap. Rh.*, p. 150); her name resembles that of Pod-arge (*Il.* 16. 150, see below).

268. αἵ ῥ': 'die ja', 'who, as their names suggest'.

ἅμ': cf. *Il.* 16. 149 f. *Ξάνθον καὶ Βαλίον, τὼ ἅμα πνοιῇσι πετέσθην, | τοὺς ἔτεκε Ζεφύρῳ ἀνέμῳ Ἅρπυια Ποδάργη*, 19. 415 *νῶι δὲ καί κεν ἅμα πνοιῇ Ζεφύροιο θέοιμεν*.

ἔπονται: Plato quotes *Il.* 12. 207 in the form *αὐτὸς δὲ κλάγξας ἕπετο πνοιῇς ἀνέμοιο* (*πέτετο* vulg.).

269. μεταχρόνιαι: morphologically this word presents no difficulty. It can only be formed from *μετὰ χρόνον*, and should accordingly mean 'after a time' or 'delayed'. This is in fact the meaning that *μεταχρόνιος* bears in Lucian, Galen, and Triphiodorus. But its normal meaning in poetry is 'high in the air', and it is glossed *μετέωρος* or *μετάρσιος* in the lexica. The places where it occurs in this sense are as follows: [Hes.] fr. 150. 34 f. (of the Harpies' flight) *μετα]χρονίοισι πόδεσσι | . . .*

]ῥ διά τ' αἰθέρος ἀτρυγέτοιο; perhaps in fr. 76. 18 ἡ δ' αἶψ' ὥσθ' Ἅρπυια μετ[αχρονίοισι πόδεσσιν] ἔμμαρψ' (*C.Q.* 1961, p. 141); A.R. 2. 300; 587; 3. 1151; 4. 952; 1269; 1385; 1568; a fragment of a hexameter version of Aesopic fables quoted by *Suda* s.v. μεταχρονία (Babr. p. 218 Crusius); Mel. adesp. 4. 13; Max. 420; Nonn. *D.* 20. 289; 42. 1. In the Hesiodic passages the meaning could also be taken as 'swift', but this does not fit the other passages, and the assumption simplifies nothing.

The problem is how a word meaning 'delayed' or 'coming afterwards' could come to mean 'high in the air'. It cannot be explained as a normal semantic development. The only hope seems to lie in the 'méthode Leumannienne'—the hypothesis that the secondary meaning resulted from misunderstanding of an ambiguous usage.

That this ambiguity does not lie in inaccessible antiquity is suggested by the fact that the secondary meaning is confined to a very limited field of association: the Harpies, and pursuit. It is in the context of Iris and the Harpies that Apollonius first uses it (though actually of Iris), and it is only after this that he and other poets use it freely. In early epic it is doubtful whether it occurred in many more places than we know. For its prototype one can envisage a passage where the Harpies pursued someone, or where someone (the Boreads) pursued the Harpies, ποσσὶ μεταχρονίοισι δι' αἰθέρος, much as in fr. 150. 34–35. The bold phrase ποσσὶ μεταχρονίοισι, 'with following foot', an anticipation of the Euripidean ὑστέρῳ ποδί, might well be found obscure, and an adjacent δι' αἰθέρος would be a strong temptation to understand it as 'with high-flying foot'. To someone familiar with the form μετέωρος this misunderstanding might be assisted by a conscious or unconscious association between ὥρα and χρόνος.

ἴαλλον: the simple verb is elsewhere always transitive, but we may compare the intransitive use of similar verbs such as βάλλω, ῥίπτω, ἵημι, ἰάπτω, and the archaic use of English 'hurl' (especially applied to the wind, see *OED*).

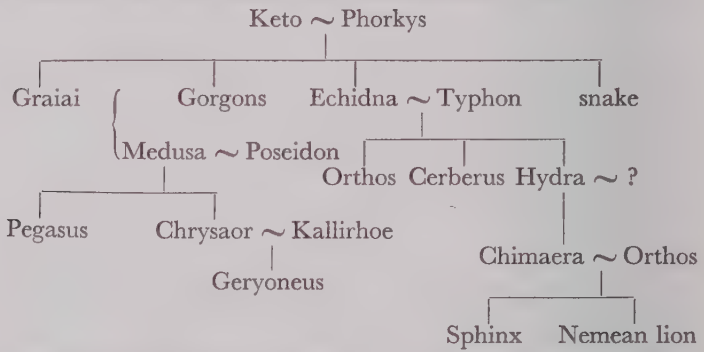
When Hesiod uses a verb in an odd way, it is always worth looking for an etymology. Here ἴαλλον may have been chosen to pick up the name Ἀελλώ, as ὠκείῃς πτερύγεσσι picks up Ὠκυπέτῃ. Similarly in 874–5 κακῇ θυίουσιν ἀέλλῃ is perhaps deliberately echoed by ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλαι ἄεισι, and in *Il.* 11. 297 ὑπεραείρει ἶσος ἀέλλῃ by ἥ τε καθαλλομένη ἰοειδέα πόντον ὀρίνει.

For the imperfect after the present ἔπονται cf. on 7.

270–336. The monsters. The progeny of Phorkys and Keto are without exception monstrous. The creatures that here appear together are those that appear one by one in the adventures of Heracles and other heroes—exploits that Hesiod in some cases alludes to. They are not all immortal, but some are (two of the Gorgons, 277; Echidna is θείη, 297; Chimaera is θεῖον γένος, *Il.* 6. 180; and similarly Scylla, who does not appear in Hesiod, is οὐ θνητὴ ἀλλ' ἀθάνατον κακόν, *Od.* 12. 118), and if they do not form part of the θεῶν γένος, they arise naturally out of it.

They are put among the descendants of Pontos not because they have any connexion with the sea, but because they could not be put among the descendants of Uranos; cf. p. 36. Phorkys and Keto make the most suitable parents, both being associated at least with marine monsters: Keto by her very name, and Phorkys as an old man of the sea, like Proteus with his seals in the *Odyssey*. Cf. Virg. *A.* 5. 822 *tum uariae comitum facies, immania cete, et senior Glauci chorus Inousque Palaemon, Tritonesque citi, Phorcique exercitus omnis*. Val. Fl. 3. 726 *dat procul interea toto pater aequore signum Phorcys, et immanes intorto murice phocas contrahit antra petens*. Plin. *NH* 36. 26 (sculptures by Scopas) *Neptunus ipse et Thetis atque Achilles, Nereides supra delphinos et cete aut hippocampos sedentes, item Tritones chorusque Phorci et pistrices ac multa alia marina.*

The details of the genealogy are not quite certain. They depend on the reference of the ambiguous pronoun ἥ in 295, 319 and 326, see ad locc. On the view there taken, the stemma is as follows:



The order of presentation is surprising, in that we would have expected Echidna with her long description and family to be put last.

There is a similar catalogue of monsters in *Enûma Eliš* (i. 140–2 *al.*), created by Tiâmat to help her in battle: for details, and suggestions on their relevance to Greek myth, see *C.Q.* 1963, p. 161.

This section of the *Theogony* is discussed by Schoemann, pp. 176–214; Wilamowitz, *Euripides Herakles*, pp. 468–71; Jacoby, pp. 7–19.

270. Φόρκυι: perhaps disyllabic, cf. 333, *Il.* 16. 526, 22. 458, etc.

γραίας: 'old women' (*Od.* 1. 438 *γραίης πυκιμήδεος*, etc.; cf. Frisk, i. 324). 'To Phorkys Keto bore old women fair of cheek', a paradox resolved in the next line, 'white-haired from birth, whom men and gods call in fact (δή) "the Old Women" '. The oxymoron resembles A. *Eum.* 69 *γραῖαι παλαιαὶ παῖδες*, *PV* 794 *αἱ Φορκίδες . . . δηναιαὶ κόραι.*

καλλιπαρήους: the Graiai, or Phorkides as they are often called, are sometimes represented as old and ugly, but sometimes as young and slim: so on a cup in Halle (C. Robert, *Hermes*, 36, 1901, p. 159) and an Attic pyxis (*Ath. Mitt.* 11, 1886, pl. 10). (Even Medusa is *εὐπάραος* in Pi. *P.* 12. 16, and she is not ruled out as the desirable

daughter of Porkos in Alcm. 1. 19, despite Page, *Partheneion*, p. 39. See Ov. *M.* 4. 790–803.) It is only because of their hair that they are called the Graiai. Hesiod does not seem to know the version in which they have only one eye and one tooth between them; this first appears in Pherecydes 3 F 11.

271. **ἐκ γενετῆς πολιάς**: a peculiarity also attributed to Cycnus (fr. 237; Eust. 1968. 45 *Κύκνῳ τῷ ἐκ γενετῆς λεγομένῳ πεπολιῶσθαι*). He too kept his youthful looks, cf. Sen. *Tro.* 184. Aeschylus perhaps alludes to him when he calls the Graiai *κυκνόμορφοι* (*PV* 795). White-haired babies are also to be a sign of the end of the Iron Age, *Op.* 181. Diodorus uses Hesiodic language in describing the blond children of the Celts (5. 32): *τὰ δὲ παιδία παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐκ γενετῆς ὑπάρχει πολιὰ κατὰ τὰ πλεῖστα.*

b gives *ἐκ γενεῆς*, which is also a variant in *Od.* 18. 6 (ancient), *h. Herm.* 440, Hdt. 4. 23. 2. *ἐκ γενετῆς* occurs without variant in *Il.* 24. 535, Xenophanes 8. 3, Hippocr. ix. 266, Hellan. 4 F 148, Ctesias 688 F 45, § 50, Aristotle (17 times), Polyb. 3. 20. 4, D.S. l.c., [Luc.] *Alcyon* 5, Paus. 1. 24. 6, Apld. 2. 4. 2, *vit. Rom. Homeri* p. 31. 22 Wil., and probably many other places. *ἐκ γενεῆς* in the same sense is nowhere well attested in epic; it is given by MSS. in Hdt. 3. 33, where *ἐκ γενετῆς* should perhaps be written, since in 4. 23. 2 *ἐκ γενετῆς* is the better attested. X. *Cyr.* 1. 2. 8 has *ἀπὸ γενεᾶς*.

272. Cf. on 197.

273. **Πεμφρηδώ**: this is the best attested spelling. So on the Halle cup (*πεμφρηδων*) and on an Etruscan mirror, *Monum. d. Ist.* ix. 56. 2 (Pemφetru). Most MSS., Diaconus, Tz. *Th.* 142, Heraclit. *incred.* 13, sch. A. *PV* 793, sch. Lyc. 838, give *Πεφρηδώ* or *Πεφριδώ*. Sch. A.R. 4. 1515 gives *Πεμφρηδώ* with v.l. *Πεφριδώ*, Exeg. p. 388. 30 *Πευφρηδώ* (cf. p. 72), Apld. 2. 4. 2 *Μεμφρηδώ*, Zenob. 1. 41 *Μεμφήδη*, Hyg. *fab. praef.* 9 *Pamphede*. *πεμφρηδών* is a kind of wasp.

εὔπεπλον: oddly balanced against *κροκόπεπλον*. There is something to be said for Lolling's *ἰόπεπλον*, a word recognized by Hesychius; *ἐυστέφανος* and *ἰοστέφανος* are variants in *h.* v. 175, vi. 18, Simon. fr. 48. The verse is still an odd one; I have found parallels only in [Opp.] *C.* 2. 465 *ἢ σῦν χαυλιόδοντ' ἢ καρχαρόδοντα λέοντα*, 3. 88 *εὐκεράοις ἐλάφοισι καὶ ὀξυκέροις* (v.l. *ὀξυτέροις*) *ὀρύγεσσι*, 97 *εὔγληνοι λύγγες τε πυρίγληνοί τε λέοντες*. The two latter lines give some support to *εὔπεπλον*, though if the poet was imitating this line of Hesiod, they show only that *εὔπεπλον* was read by the early third century A.D. Paley proposed *Δεινώ τε*, Deino being the name of the third Phorkid in Apld. (She is called Perso in Heraclit. *incred.* 13 and on the Halle cup, Chersis in Hyg. *fab. praef.* 9 (*Persis* Bursian).) Goettling and Muetzell postulated a lacuna, so that the number of Graiai could be made up to three, as in Aeschylus and elsewhere. But there are only two of them in Ov. *M.* 4. 774 (*geminas sorores*), and the original dyad which later becomes a triad is a common enough phenomenon, as Usener has shown in *Rh. Mus.* 1903, pp. 323 ff. (Cf. Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena*, pp. 286 ff.) The Harpies are another case.

κροκόπεπλον: applied only to Eos in Homer. Cf. 358.

274. Γοργούς: the form *Γοργόνες* in the plural first occurs in *Cypr.* fr. 24, *Sc.* 230. Homer has only a single Gorgon (*Il.* 8. 349, 11. 36).

πέρην κλυτοῦ Ὠκεανοῖο: cf. on 215. In *Cypr.* fr. 24 they live on a rocky island called Sarpedon, *ἐπ' Ὠκεανῷ βαθυδίνῃ* (cf. Stes. 6).

275. ἐσχατιῇ: cf. 622.

ἵν' Ἑσπερίδες λιγύφωνοι: cf. 518. For the ellipse of the verb in a relative clause, cf. *Od.* 15. 404 *ὅθι τροπαὶ ἠελίοιο*, Kühner–Gerth, i. 41, n. 1. For the singing of the Hesperides, cf. E. *HF* 394 (*ὑμνῳδοί*), *Hipp.* 743 (*ἀοιδοί*), A.R. 4. 1399 (*ἐφίμερον ἀείδουσαι*) and 1407 (*λίγ' ἔστενον*), Orph. fr. 34. 2, Q.S. 2. 418, Nonn. *D.* 13. 351. It does not seem to be dangerous to men, like the song of the Sirens; perhaps like Circe they are imagined as singing to themselves. The only relevant artistic representation is a Tarentine vase (Berlin 3245) where a Hesperid holds a lyre.

In modern Greek superstition sweet singing is attributed to the Gorgons themselves, who have become sea spirits (see Lawson, pp. 184 ff.).

276. The names are put in the nominative by attraction after the relative *αἵ*. Cf. Havers, *Glotta*, 16, 1928, p. 99.

Σθεννώ: so S. The same MS. gives the same form in Nonn. *D.* 25. 54, 30. 265, 40. 229, and it is confirmed by *Stenno CIL* 6. 20911, *Σθέννις IG* 7. 279, 315, *Σθεννεύς GDI* 2509, etc. The doubled consonant is characteristic of names of hypocoristic form in Greek as in English (Reggie, Harry, etc.); cf. Fick, *Gr. Personennamen*, p. 21; Solmsen, *Unters. z. gr. Laut- u. Verslehre*, p. 170; Meister, *Gr. Dial.* i. 266; Buck, *Greek Dialects*, p. 76.

λυγρὰ παθοῦσα: this kind of allusion to a single event in an epithet or participial phrase is most uncommon in early epic. I can quote no better parallel than *Od.* 12. 70 *Ἀργὼ πᾶσι μέλουσα.*

277. Cf. *Cypr.* fr. 6 *Κάστωρ μὲν θνητός, θανάτου δέ οἱ αἶσα πέπρωτο, αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' ἀθάνατος Πολυδεύκης ὄζος Ἄρηος.*

αἱ δ' ἀθάνατοι καὶ ἀγήρῳ: cf. 305, 949, fr. 25. 28, *Il.* 2. 447, 8. 539, 12. 323, 17. 444, *Od.* 5. 136, 218, 7. 94, 257, 23. 336, *h. Dem.* 242, 260, *Ap.* 151, *Aphr.* 214. The formula was borrowed by philosophy; cf. Pl. *Phlb.* 15D, *Polit.* 273E. Anaximander is said to have called his apeiron *ἀίδιον καὶ ἀγήρων* or *ἀθάνατον καὶ ἀνώλεθρον* (B 2, 3; cf. Kirk–Raven, p. 116, Jaeger, *Theology of the Early Greek Philosophers*, pp. 29 ff., Classen, *G.G.A.* 1959, p. 41 f.). Similarly [Arist.] *De mundo* 397a16.

278. αἱ δύο· τῇ δὲ μιῇ: cf. *Od.* 14. 26 *οἱ τρεῖς· τὸν δὲ τέταρτον . . . .*

παρελέξατο Κυανοχαίτης: cf. *Il.* 20. 224. The phrase could be restored in fr. 1. 17.

279. The line has been interpolated in Homer after *Il.* 20. 223, or in other MSS. after 224.

ἐν μαλακῷ λειμῶνι: *h.* xix. 25, cf. *Il.* 16. 151.

ἄνθεσιν εἰαρινοῖσι: *Op.* 75, *Il.* 2. 89, *h. Dem.* 401.

280. τῆς: cf. on 321.

ἀπεδειροτόμησεν: Hesiod uses this verb to mean 'cut off from the neck' (*ἀπὸ δειρῆς τέμνειν*). In Homer it means 'cut through the neck' (*δειρὴν ἀποτέμνειν*: for this sense of *ἀπό* in compounds cf. *Il.* 10. 456 *ἀπὸ δ' ἄμφω κέρσε τένοντε*, 13. 546, 18. 34, 22. 328, *Od.* 3. 449, Archil. quoted on 181; Schulze, p. 57, n. 2).

281. ἐξέθορε Χρυσάωρ: *Χρυσάωρ* has all syllables long in 287, and it is doubtful whether a spondaic or anapaestic scansion is possible. The alpha could in theory be short, since *ἄορ*, *ἄορος* is so scanned, *ἄορος* (and by analogy *ἆορ Sc.* 221) being due to metrical lengthening. *χρυσάορῳ Περσῆι* is given by the MSS. of [Orph.] *L.* 551 (*χρυσοπάτρῳ* Hermann). Nor can *Χρῡσ-* be ruled out; *χρύσεος* has a short first syllable in fifth-century lyric verse, and perhaps in epic *χρυσέην et sim.* (though *χρῡσέῳ* is certain in such places as *Il.* 1. 15, 374). In *Sc.* 199 MSS. give *ἔγχος ἔχουσ' ἐν χειρὶ χρυσέην τε τρυφάλειαν* (*χρυσείην* M, *ἰδὲ χρυσέην τρ.* Bentley. For the run of the verse cf. *Il.* 10. 76 *φαεινή τε τρυφάλεια*). *Χρῡσάορι* is a variant below, 979. But if *ἐξέθορε* is kept, I would prefer to scan *Χρυσάωρ*.

For *ἐκθρώσκειν* of birth, cf. *h. Ap.* 119, *Herm.* 20; for birth from the head, Onians, p. 111.

Πήγασος ἵππος: cf. fr. 43 (a) 84 *τῷ δὲ καὶ ἡ[βώοντι πα]τὴρ πόρε Πήγασο[ν ἵππον] ὠκύτατον.*

282. ὅτ': it is usually held that *ὅτ'* can only represent *ὅτε* and not *ὅτι*. Cf. Monro, § 269, Kühner–Blass, i. 237, van Leeuwen, *Ench.*, 2nd ed., p. 218, *LSJ*, s.v. *ὅτι ad fin.* But if we ask which word we should see if it were not before a vowel, the answer is certainly that we should see *ὅτι*, cf. on 144. Some MSS. give *ὅττ' ἐθέλοιεν* in *Od.* 15. 317, and this was perhaps Aristarchus' reading; while in *Il.* 1. 554 Dionysius of Sidon may have read *ὅττ' ἐθέλῃσθα*.

ἄρ': see on 144.

παρὰ: better supported than *περὶ*, and better sense. Cf. Mimn. 11. 7 *Ὠκεανοῦ παρὰ χεῖλος*, Stes. 7. 2 *Ταρτησσοῦ ποταμοῦ παρὰ παγάς*, Pi. fr. 30. 2 *Ὠκεανοῦ παρὰ παγᾶν* ('from beside'), E. *HF* 390 *Ἀναύρου παρὰ πηγάς*, etc.

πηγὰς: 'waters', the usual sense of *πηγαί* in the plural. *Ὠκεανοῦ πηγαί* also in E. fr. 773. 33.

284. χὠ: not a Homeric crasis. Cf. p. 100.

μητέρα μήλων: in Homer (*Il.* 2. 696, 9. 479, 11. 222, *Od.* 15. 226) this phrase always refers to a particular place.

285–6. Cf. Pi. *O.* 13. 92 *τὸν δ'* (Pegasus) *ἐν Οὐλύμπῳ φάτναι Ζηνὸς ἀρχαῖαι δέκονται*, E. fr. 312 *ὑφ' ἅρματ' ἐλθὼν Ζηνὸς ἀστραπηφορεῖ*. The thunder made by the Cyclopes and given to Zeus must naturally be kept in a safe place: A. *Eum.* 827 (Athene) *καὶ κλῆδας οἶδα δώματος μόνη θεῶν | ἐν ᾧ κεραυνός ἐστιν ἐσφραγισμένος*; Ar. *Av.* 1538. (In a similar way, the Sun's rays are stored in a golden chamber in the far east, Mimn. 11.) Pegasus fetches it for Zeus, like the doves that bring him ambrosia (*Od.* 12. 63).

In the *Song of Ullikummi* too, the Weather-god's thunder has to be fetched from the room where it is kept (II. iii. 12–13). Cf. Lesky, *Eranos*, 52, 1954, pp. 8–17.

φέρων: *φέρει* in Π^{22} probably arose from reading *δώμασι ναίει* in 285 as *δώμασιν αἰεί*.

Διὶ μητιόεντι: p. 78.

287–94. The story is repeated, more concisely, in 979–83. It was told at greater length in Stesichorus' *Geryoneïs* (fr. 4–9), and it is a popular theme in archaic art (cf. Brommer, *Vasenlisten zur griech. Heldensage*, 2nd ed., pp. 48–52).

287. **ἔτεκε**: cf. on 192.

τρικέφαλον: for the prosody cf. 312 *πεντηκοντακέφαλον*, fr. 153 *Μακροκέφαλοι*, and for later examples Schulze, pp. 251–2. Cf. van Leeuwen on Ar. *Eq.* 416.

288. On the omission of the line in most sources, cf. p. 67.

Καλλιρόῃ: 351.

289. **τὸν μὲν ἄρ'**: the demonstrative pronoun with *μέν*, sometimes preceded by *καὶ* or followed by *ἄρα*, is often used in telling what happened to someone (especially how he was killed), before passing on to a different subject. Cf. 316, 325, 526, 717, *Op.* 137, 141, 152, 161, 170, *Il.* 6. 183, etc. One may compare the historian's *καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐγένετο*.

290. Cf. 983.

βουσὶ πάρ' εἰλιπόδεσσι: cf. fr. 135. 9, *Il.* 18. 530, *Od.* 15. 386; for the variant *βουσὶν ἔπ'* (Q), cf. *Il.* 6. 424, *Od.* 20. 221. Cattle-stealing was common in the Greek heroic age, and reflected no discredit on the hero who did it, but on the contrary testified to his prowess. The capture of Geryoneus' cattle was in most versions the tenth of Heracles' labours. Its difficulty consisted in the remoteness of the ranch, which permitted many incidental exploits to be connected with it in later versions, and in the monstrosity of its proprietor and guardians.

περιρρύτῳ εἰν Ἐρυθείῃ: another of the fabulous islands in Oceanus, like Sarpedon the isle of the Gorgons (274 n.) and Anthemoessa the isle of the Sirens (fr. 27). Pherec. 3 F 18 (b) is said to have identified Erythea with Cadiz (cf. Apld. 2. 5. 10, Sil. It. 16. 195), while Hdt. 4. 8 and others make it another island nearby. Stesichorus too (fr. 7) located it near the Tartessus. Cf. Voigt, *Roscher*, i. 1633–6. Sch. A.R. 4. 1399 says the island was named after the Hesperid Erythea.

291. **ἤματι τῷ, ὅτε**: 390, *Il.* 2. 351, and often.

βοῦς ἤλασεν εὐρυμετώπους: *h. Herm.* 102, cf. *Il.* 1. 154.

292. **Τίρυνθ'**: cf. on 530.

293. **Ὄρθον**: Geryoneus' dog and also his first cousin once removed, cf. 309. Apld. 2. 5. 10 and Serv. *Aen.* 7. 662 give him two heads, and his appearance below as offspring of Typhon and Echidna presupposes that he was no ordinary hound.

Ὄρθον is the form given by Π^{16}, all codd. here, sch. Pi. *Isth.* 1. 15,

sch.^{A} *Il.* 22. 29, sch. A.R. 4. 1399, sch. Pl. *Tim.* 24E, Tz. in Lyc. 651, Eust. 1352. 16, 1967. 28, Palaeph. 39, Pediasimus *de Herc. lab.* 10 (twice). Diaconus read *Ὄρθρον*, and this is found in Apld. 2. 5. 10, Q.S. 6. 253, *Mythogr. Vat.* 1. 68, Tz. *Chil.* 2. 333, and as a variant below, 309, 327, and Tz. *Th.* 162.

294. ἠερόεντι: because outside the world of man.

295. ἡ δ': probably Keto, not Medusa (Clericus) or Kallirhoe (Wolf, Preller–Robert), whose only child is Geryoneus in 979 ff. Neither Poseidon nor Chrysaor would make an appropriate father for Echidna, and in fact Phorkys is her father in Pherec. 3 F 7. There are similar ambiguities with *ἡ δὲ* in 319 and 326; they are discussed together by Zofia Abramowicz, 'Quaestiuncula Hesiodea', *Eos* 41 (1), 1940–6, pp. 166–72.

ἄλλο: cf. 147 *ἄλλοι δ' αὖ . . . ἐξεγένοντο*, *Op.* 143, 157, 169*d*.

οὐδὲν: *οὐδὲ* can hardly be accepted from *n* alone, though possible in itself, cf. *οὐδὲ ἔοικεν* ten times in Homer. *οὐδὲν* is supported by *Op.* 143 f. *Ζεὺς δὲ πατὴρ τρίτον ἄλλο γένος . . . χάλκειον ποίησ' οὐκ ἀργυρέῳ οὐδὲν ὁμοῖον*. *οὐδέν* is the only form of the pronoun used in early epic, except for *οὐδενί Il.* 22. 459 = *Od.* 11. 515, *οὐδεὶς* [Hes.] fr. 303. 1; otherwise *οὔτις* is used.

296. Cf. *h. Ap.* 351 *ἡ δ' ἔτεκ' οὔτε θεοῖς ἐναλίγκιον οὔτε βροτοῖσι*. A birth, especially a monstrous one, is quite often described before its identity is disclosed; cf. 148, 270, 310, 981, fr. 145. 15 ff.

297. σπῆι ἔνι γλαφυρῷ: Rzach follows Gerhard in writing *ἐν σπῆι γλαφυρῷ*, which occurs four times in Homer, and in unidentified hexameters, P. Hamb. 123. 11. Likewise *ἐν σπέσσι γλαφυροῖσι*, six times in Homer. But there is no real objection to keeping *σπῆι ἔνι*: we have *ἐν νηὶ γλαφυρῇ Od.* 15. 456, but *νηὶ δ' ἔνι γλαφυρῇ* 10. 23, *νῆας ἔπι γλαφυράς*, etc., very often. There is a hiatus which the Homeric system avoids, but it is not an intolerable one, cf. p. 96. The order of words is almost more usual than in the Homeric formula, cf. 480 *Κρήτῃ ἐν εὐρείῃ*, 971 *νειῷ ἔνι τριπόλῳ*, etc.

Ἔχιδναν: she too is associated with Heracles, cf. Hdt. 4. 9. 1, though Hesiod says nothing of it.

298. ἥμισυ μὲν: for other ways of describing composite monsters, see 323, fr. 145. 16–17 (the Minotaur).

ἑλικώπιδα: 307, 998; only once in Homer, *Il.* 1. 98. *ἑλικώπιδα καλλιπάρηον* fr. 180. 13.

299. ὄφιν: 322, 334, 825, *Sc.* 161, fr. 33 (a) 17, 204. 136. Only once in Homer, *Il.* 12. 208.

δεινόν τε μέγαν τε: cf. 320, *h. Ap.* 401, P. Berol. 9870 (237 n.). 1.

300. αἰόλον: conjectured by Scheer both in text and in scholia, where Echidna is taken to be an allegory of vegetable life, and the epithet *ποικίλον* is explained as a reference to *τὸ διάφορον τῆς κινήσεως* or to *τὸ πολυέλικτον τῶν κλάδων καὶ πολυειδὲς τῶν φύλλων*. This is a typical interpretation of *αἰόλος*, which is regularly glossed *ποικίλος ἢ εὐκίνητος* (see Mette, *Lex. d. frühgr. Ep.*, col. 330). Cf. *Il.* 12. 208 *αἰόλον ὄφιν*, S. *Tr.* 11, 834, Call. fr. 575, Anon. *paean Delph.* 1. 19,

Nonn. *D.* 12. 328. *ποικίλος* is also used of snakes, but less often: Thgn. 602, Nic. *Th.* 155, cf. Alcm. 1. 66 (a serpent bangle), Pi. *P.* 8. 46 (a serpent on a shield), 10. 46.

ὠμηστήν: on the formation see Wackernagel, *Kl. Schr.* ii. 927, Schulze, p. 121, n. 1.

ζαθέης ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης: 483, cf. 334, *Il.* 22. 482, *Od.* 24. 204. *ὑπό* means 'down in', *κεύθεα γαίης* means a cavern in the earth, like *γαίης κευθμών* of a snake's lair in fr. 204. 130. The whole phrase qualifies *ἔτεκε* in 295, and is parallel to *σπῆι ἔνι γλαφυρῷ*.

301. **οἱ**: prima facie Echidna, and this is supported by 60–63 *ἣ δ' ἔτεκ' . . . | τυτθὸν ἀπ' ἀκροτάτης κορυφῆς νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου· | ἔνθά σφιν λιπαροί τε χοροί*, etc. But in 304 Echidna is introduced as if we were returning to her from someone else (*ἡ δ' . . . λυγρὴ Ἔχιδνα*: cf. on 207); so possibly the cave is that of her mother Keto. Cf. on 304–5.

302. **τηλοῦ ἀπ' ἀθανάτων**: *Op.* 169 (the heroes in the Isles of the Blest). Cf. Styx, below, 777.

303. **δάσσαντο**: compare the allusions to a *δασμός* in 425, 885, *Il.* 15. 189.

κλυτὰ δώματα ναίειν: cf. *Od.* 24. 304, and below, 777 n.

304–5. These lines are suspected by Paley, and roundly condemned by Wilamowitz, *Eur. Herakles*, p. 469. The difficulty they present is the one explained on 301, and the athetesis would certainly remove it; the other solution is the interpretation suggested. Of the transpositions proposed by earlier critics Paley says with justification that they are no more satisfactory than the transmitted text. The once popular method of assuming the conflation of two alternative 'recensions' does not help either; for it cannot supply the real desideratum, viz. a contrast to *λυγρὴ Ἔχιδνα* in 304.

304. **ἔρυτ'**: the form is elsewhere *ἔρῦται* (A.R. 2. 1208), impf. *ἔρῦτο* (*Il.* 4. 138, 5. 23, *al.*).

εἰν Ἀρίμοισιν: *Il.* 2. 783 *εἰν Ἀρίμοις, ὅθι φασὶ Τυφωέος ἔμμεναι εὐνάς*. Pi. fr. 93 *ἀλλ' οἷος ἄπλατον κεράιζε θεῶν Τυφῶνα πεντηκοντακέφαλον ἀνάγκᾳ Ζεὺς πατὴρ ἐν Ἀρίμοις ποτέ*. It was uncertain in antiquity whether the reference was to a tribe called the Arimoi or to mountains called *τὰ Ἄριμα* (or even to a place called *Εἰνάριμα* or Inarime: so Exeg. p. 391, and some MSS. of *Il.* l.c., cf. Virg. *A.* 9. 716, Ov. *M.* 14. 89, Livy 94 fr. 20 W., Plin. *NH* 3. 82), and where either was to be located. The question is discussed at some length by Strabo 626–7. There were three main alternative theories:

(*a*) The Arimoi lived in the mountainous region between Lydia, Mysia and Phrygia known as the *κατακεκαυμένη*. So Demetrius of Scepsis *ap.* Str. 626, Lyc. 1353 and sch., Xanthos 765 F 13, Livy, l.c., sch. Pi. *P.* 1. 31. After *Il.* 2. 783 some added the line *χώρῳ ἔνι δρυόεντι, Ὕδης ἐν πίονι δήμῳ*, and after 2. 866 the Euripidean edition had the line *Τμώλῳ ὕπο νιφόεντι Ὕδης ἐν πίονι δήμῳ*. If Hyde was below Tmolus, then so were the Arima or Arimoi. Strabo could not find a Hyde in Lydia, though he says that some gave this name to Sardis

or to its acropolis. (So Plin. *NH* 5. 110 *a Maeoniis ciuitas ipsa Hyde uocitata est, clara stagno Gygaeo.* Ὕδη is a variant for Ὕλη in *Il.* 7. 221 (*ap.* Strab.) and 5. 708 (Zenodotus).)

(*b*) Some identified Arima with Pithecusae, asserting that *arimos* was the Etruscan for πίθηκος. This is clearly an attempt to reconcile the Homeric passage with the location of Typhon in the west. Pherec. 3 F 54 put him under Pithecusae; we do not know whether he made the identification with the Arima, but the attempt to link it with the Etruscan language would be quite possible for a fifth-century author (cf., e.g., Hdt. 4. 155. 2, cited on 234).

(*c*) Callisthenes (124 F 33) said that the Arimoi lived in Cilicia, by the Corycian cave, and that the mountains nearby were called Arima after them. Cf. Mela 1. 13. Pindar and Aeschylus say that Typhon was born in the Corycian cave, and is now under Etna—another attempt to reconcile different traditions. Cf. sch.^{B} *Il.* 2. 783. Posidonius (Strab. 784–5) connected the name Arimoi with the Aramaeans of Syria, of which Cilicia was originally part. This identification has been repeated in modern times. Expeditions to the land Arimi, apparently in the north of Mesopotamia, under Salmanassar I (*c.* 1300) are recorded on the obelisk of Assurnassirpal (Hommel, *Gesch. Babyloniens u. Assyriens* (1885), p. 505). Cf. Forrer, *Reallex. d. Assyrologie*, i. 131; Dornseiff, *Archaische Mythenerzählung*, p. 27, *Antike u. alter Orient*, p. 410; Fontenrose, *Python*, p. 71.

All these ancient theories are evidently the product of speculation and not of knowledge. We can safely say that ἐν Ἀρίμοις was a phrase known only in connexion with Typhon, and this was probably true even in Hesiod's and Homer's time. Leaf on *Il.* 2. 781 thinks it is a mythical place; so von Mess (*Rh. Mus.* 1901, p. 169) and Worms (*Hermes*, 1953, p. 39). But Typhon is usually put under some mountain in the inhabited world. Hdt. 3. 5. 3 puts him in the *Σερβωνὶς λίμνη* on the border of Egypt (cf. 2. 156, Herodorus 31 F 61, Eust. in D.P. 248), and *Sc.* 32 suggests that he was even put under a Boeotian mountain (cf. sch. Pi. *O.* 4. 11, Tz. in Lyc. 177). At any rate, it is likely that the Arima or Arimi were thought of as being inside the circle of Oceanus. Cf. also on 860.

Typhon's εὐναί (*Il.* 2. 783) appear to be not just 'where he lies', but also where he keeps his spouse. Cf. Q.S. 8. 97 f. *Δάρδανον . . . ἵν' Ἀγχίσαο πέλονται | εὐναί, ὅπου Κυθέρειαν . . . δάμασσεν.*

305. ἀθάνατος . . . καὶ ἀγήραος ἤματα πάντα: *Il.* 8. 539, fr. 23 (a) 12, 24, cf. below, 955 *ἀπήμαντος καὶ ἀγήραος ἤματα πάντα.* The phrase *ἤματα πάντα* occurs not only in epic, but in the form *ἄματα πάντα* on Arcadian inscriptions; cf. Bowra, *C.Q.* 1926, pp. 174–5, who thinks it is borrowed from epic. So Leumann, *Hom. Wörter*, p. 276; Szemerényi, *J.H.S.*, 1959, p. 192. I share the scepticism of Ruijgh, *L'Élément achéen*, p. 120.

306. τῇ δὲ: clearly Echidna (so Acusil. 2 F 13), though it seems to have been referred to Keto by Euphorion fr. 112 *ὅσσους εὐρυκόωσα Τυφάονι γείνατο Κητώ.* Typhon makes a good match for Echidna, as

his anatomy, like hers, combines the anthropomorphic and the serpentiform. In 823 ff. he has arms and legs, but a hundred serpent heads; in artistic representations, however, the distribution is reversed, and he is anthropomorphic above the waist, winged, dividing into two or more large serpent tails or heads below—much more like Echidna. See J. Schmidt, *Roscher*, v. 1450–4; Fontenrose, *Python*, pp. 70–71.

Τυφάονα: the same as the *Τυφωεύς* whose birth and nature are described in 820 ff. Goettling's argument that Typhaon is a wind (307 f.l.), therefore Typhoeus, who is father of winds (869), is father of Typhaon, is still repeated in *LSJ*, though retracted by its author in his second edition of 1843. Typhaon and Typhoeus are at any rate equivalent for the author of the hymn to Apollo, 306, 352, 367.

The origin of the name and its variant forms are unexplained; the Greeks naturally associated it with *τύφω*, cf. sch. 304 and 821, Call. *H.* 4. 141, *Suda* s.v. *τετύφωμαι*, *τυφών*, *τυφώς*, *Et. magn.* s.v. *Τυφών*, *Τυφῶνος*, *τυφώς*, Hsch. *τυφών*, Eust. 345. 37. On modern attempts to connect it with the Semitic (Baal-) Ṣapōn, see G. Zuntz, *Mus. Helv.* 8, 1951, pp. 28–34; J. de Savignac, *Nouv. Clio*, 5, 1953, pp. 216–21 (bibliography).

φασι: this non-committal tone is traditional in speaking of Typhon. Cf. *Il.* 2. 783 (cited on 304); Hdt. 3. 5. 3 *ἐν τῇ δὴ λόγος τὸν Τυφῶ κεκρύφθαι*, A.R. 2. 1211 *ἔνθα Τυφάονά φασι . . . θερμὸν ἀπὸ κρατὸς στάξαι ῥόον*, sch. *οὗτος*, *φασί* (*φησί* Wendel), *πληγεὶς ὑπὸ Διός*, etc.; Apld. 1. 6. 3 *ad fin.* Otherwise it hardly ever occurs in epic: *Il.* 24. 615 (cited on 130) is similar, but in a speech, not *in poetae persona*.

307. Echidna is really as monstrous as her spouse. But their union is here described in terms of the common motif that monsters such as Typhon are a great danger to harmless maidens. Cf. his pursuit of Aphrodite in Ov. *F.* 2. 461–4, Manil. 4. 580 ff., 801, and his lecherous ambitions described in Nonn. *D.* i–ii; Fontenrose, *Python*, p. 84; Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index*, v. 316, 319, 354.

ὑβριστήν: only in the plural in Homer; Hesiod applies it to Menoitios (514), and his ghost to Pelias (996).

τ': not essential, but supported by the imitation in *Or. Sib.* 2. 259, *δεινοί θ' ὑβρισταί τ' ἄνομοί τ' εἰδωλολάτραι τε*.

ἄνομον: the variant *ἄνεμον*, which arose from allegorizing interpretation (cf. p. 51), is hardly supported by Theodoridas *A.P.* 7. 738. 2 *ὑβριστής τ' ὤλεσε Λὶψ ἄνεμος*. Sophocles describes the Centaurs as *ἱπποβάμονα στρατὸν | θηρῶν ὑβριστὴν ἄνομον ὑπέροχον βίαν* (*Tr.* 1095–6). General violence and destructiveness is again characteristic of monsters; for Typhon, cf. *h. Ap.* 352–5, D.S. 1. 21. 2, Plut. *Mor.* 945 B; Fontenrose, p. 83.

308. **ἡ δ' ὑποκυσαμένη**: 411, fr. 7. 1, 26. 27 (v.l.), 205. 1, *Il.* 6. 26, *Od.* 11. 254, *h.* xxxii. 15; cf. *Il.* 20. 225, *Cypr.* fr. 24.

τέκετο κρατερόφρονα τέκνα: cf. *Od.* 11. 299 *κρατερόφρονε γείνατο παῖδε*.

309. **Ὄρθον**: see on 293.

Γηρυονῆι: for the dative cf. *Il.* 20. 230 *Τρῶα δ' Ἐριχθόνιος τέκετο Τρώεσσιν ἄνακτα.* The genitive is used in the case of the other dog, Cerberus (311).

310. ἀμήχανον: 'one unmanageable'. For this absolute use of the adjective, cf. on 572 *ἴκελον.*

οὔ τι φατειόν: the phrase recurs in *Sc.* 144 and 161; cf. *οὐ φαταὶ* ib. 230.

311. Κέρβερον: this is the only place in Hesiod or Homer where Cerberus is named, though he is described in 769 ff. He too is the subject of a Heraclean feat.

ὠμηστήν: literally so, see 773.

χαλκεόφωνον: 'as loud as a trumpet', cf. *Il.* 18. 219 ff. *ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἀριζήλη φωνή, ὅτε τ' ἴαχε σάλπιγξ| . . . |ὡς τότ' ἀριζήλη φωνὴ γένετ' Αἰακίδαο. | οἱ δ' ὡς οὖν ἄιον ὄπα χάλκεον Αἰακίδαο,* etc. It is an appropriate epithet for one who barks from fifty heads, cf. *Il.* 5. 785 *Στέντορι εἰσαμένη μεγαλήτορι χαλκεοφώνῳ, | ὃς τόσον αὐδήσασχ' ὅσον ἄλλοι πεντήκοντα.* In *Sc.* 243 the transmitted text *χάλκεον ὀξὺ βόων* is to be kept; for the double adverb cf. *Od.* 9. 395 *σμερδαλέον δὲ μέγ' ὤμωξεν.* Garm, the hound who guards the entrance to Hel in the *Vǫluspá*, is also a loud barker; see Mogk, *Roscher*, ii. 1129.

It is odd that the name *κέρβερος* was given to the mute toad (sch. Nic. *Al.* 578).

312. πεντηκοντακέφαλον: the variant *πεντηκοντο-* is a later form; cf. *Op.* 441 *τεσσαρακονταέτης*, later *-οέτης* > *-ούτης*; Debrunner, § 135. Similar variants are found at A. *PV* 853. The compound is attested for Pindar (fr. 93, of Typhon) and Simonides (fr. 64, of the Hydra; not, however, a verbatim quotation). On the prosody cf. 287 n.

The number of Cerberus' heads, as of those of other polycephalic monsters, varies; in art it is for practical reasons usually restricted to two or three, for literature see Frazer on Apld. 2. 5. 12, and in general Usener, *Rh. Mus.* 1903, pp. 169 f. A new version in which he had ten or twelve heads is perhaps found in a Hellenistic tragedy about Heracles on Oeta, P. Oxy. 2454. 25. In 771, below, the poet inadvertently speaks of 'both his ears'.

ἀναιδέα: cf. 770 ff.

313. τὸ τρίτον . . . αὖτις: cf. on 47.

λύγρ' εἰδυῖαν: *Od.* 11. 432, cf. on 264.

314. Λερναίην: Lerne was a river or marsh at the south-west extremity of the Argive plain, near the modern Mýli.

ἣν θρέψε . . . Ἥρη: cf. 328. It was Hera who sent the snakes against Heracles when he was an infant. Her malice against the man who was Zeus' son and not hers could only last so long as he was a man; now that he is a god, she is reconciled to him (fr. 25. 32 *νῦν δ' ἤδη πεφίληκε, τίει δέ μιν ἔξοχον ἄλλων | ἀθανάτων μετά γ' αὐτὸν ἐρισθενέα Κρονίωνα*).

315. ἄπλητον: probably with *κοτέουσα*, cf. *h. Dem.* 83 *μὰψ αὔτως ἄπλητον ἔχειν χόλον*, Sem. 7. 33 *ἀλλὰ μαίνεται τότε | ἄπλητον ὥσπερ ἀμφὶ τέκνοισιν κύων.* For the adverbial use cf. also *Sc.* 268 *ἄπλητον*

σεσαρυῖα. Peppmüller would comma it off, and make it a further epithet of the Hydra; he compares S. *Tr.* 1093 (of the Nemean Lion) *ἄπλατον θρέμμα κἀπροσήγορον*, Bacch. 5. 62 (Cerberus) *νίὸν ἀπλάτοι' Ἐχίδνας*. But the equation *ἄπλητος—ἄπλατος* is doubtful, cf. on 153.

316. **καὶ τὴν μέν**: cf. on 289.

Διὸς υἱὸς: the periphrasis is followed up by *Ἀμφιτρυωνιάδης* and finally by *Ἡρακλέης*. Similar, though simpler, are 526–7 *Ἀλκμήνης καλλισφύρου ἄλκιμος υἱὸς | Ἡρακλέης*, and 950–1. For this kind of pattern cf. Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 681 ff. and 877–9.

317. **Ἀμφιτρυωνιάδης**: not Homeric, though we find *πάις Ἀμφιτρύωνος* (*Il.* 5. 392) and *Ἀμφιτρύωνος υἱός* (*Od.* 11. 270). On the prosody of the patronymic and of *Ἡρακλέης*, see pp. 97 f.

σὺν ἀρηιφίλῳ Ἰολάῳ: cf. on 175.

318. Athena complains of Zeus in *Il.* 8. 362 f. *οὐδέ τι τῶν μέμνηται, ὅ οἱ μάλα πολλάκις υἱὸν | τειρόμενον σώεσκον ὑπ' Εὐρυσθῆος ἀέθλων*. In *Od.* 11. 626 she is mentioned with Hermes as having helped Heracles to capture Cerberus and return from Hades to the upper world. It was she who gave him a fine gold thorex *ὁππότ' ἔμελλε | τὸ πρῶτον στονόεν-σνι ἐφορμήσεσθαι ἀέθλους* (*Sc.* 126–7), and she also assisted him in his combats with Periclymenus (fr. 33(a)) and Cycnus (*Sc.* 325 ff.), and in his flight from the sea-monster at Troy (*Il.* 20. 144 ff.).

ἀγελείης: *ἀγελάα* on a fourth-century Athenian inscription (*Hesperia*, 7, p. 5, line 90), so certainly 'leader of the war-host', from **ἀγελήης* by dissimilation (Werner, op. cit. (on 257), p. 73; cf. *Ἀγέλαος, Ἀγέλεως*, and 925 *ἀγέστρατον Ἀτρυτώνην*), not 'plundering' (*λείαν ἄγουσα*, Apion; cf. *Il.* 10. 460 *Ἀθηναίῃ ληΐτιδι*), for which one would expect **ἀγεληίη* (Bechtel, *Lexilogus*, p. 6).

319. This peculiarly ungainly verse is the result of determination to combine the Chimaera's epithets *πῦρ πνείουσα* (fr. 43 (a) 87, cf. *Il.* 6. 182, Pi. *O.* 13. 90) and *ἀμαιμάκετος* (*Il.* 6. 179, 16. 329), which has become transferred to *πῦρ* in the process. Wilamowitz is justified in calling it Hesiod's worst hexameter (*Gr. Verskunst*, p. 8, n. 1): it violates Hermann's Bridge, and it is the only line in early epic to combine such a violation with a final monosyllable; it also violates Meyer's First Law (p. 95); and it has an un-Homeric correption before a mute and nasal combination (p. 98).

ἡ δὲ: Echidna or Hydra? Wilamowitz, *Eur. Herakles*, p. 470, argues that *ἡ δὲ* must be contrasted with *τὴν μὲν* in 316, and can therefore only refer to Echidna. This is not decisive, for the real contrast to *τὴν μὲν* is the new monster, *Χίμαιραν*. Cf. *Il.* 4. 491 *τοῦ μὲν ἅμαρθ', ὁ δὲ Λεῦκον . . . βεβλήκει*, 8. 323–4, 17. 193–4, *Od.* 15. 235–8, A.R. 3. 1000–1. In favour of Echidna it may be said that Chimaera's association with Lycia gives her a slight link with Typhon, who was also located in Asia Minor among other places (cf. on 304). On the other hand, she resembles Hydra in having several heads, and might be made her child on this account; and the careful articulation of Echidna's offspring down to 315 with *πρῶτον, δεύτερον, τὸ τρίτον*, may be intended to bind them together as a group, from which Chimaera

would be excluded; cf. on 212. In this case the mother is the monster last mentioned; and this is supported by the analogy of 326 (see ad loc.).

Ancient interpretation was not unanimous; Apld. 2. 3. 1 (cf. Hyg. *fab.* 151) makes Typhon and Echidna the parents, and quotes Hesiod as his authority. Diaconus also makes Echidna the mother, but the scholia make her Hydra. In Tz. *Th.* 166 the MSS. are at variance.

320. For the accumulation of epithets cf. 925, *Od.* 15. 406. It is typical of the style of hymns, cf. *h. Herm.* 13–15, 436, xix. 2, xxiii. 2, xxviii. 2–3, and at a later period hymns sometimes consist almost entirely of a string of epithets, e.g. the Orphic hymns and the Homeric hymn to Ares. For examples in other poetry, see Bühler, op. cit. (on 142), pp. 212 ff.

δεινήν τε μεγάλην τε: see on 299.

321. **τῆς**: I dispense with the δ' of MSS. and citations, in view of other passages where a monster's peculiarity is described: 150 = 671 *τῶν ἑκατὸν μὲν χεῖρες ἀπ' ὤμων ἀίσσοντο*, *Sc.* 267 *τῆς* (*τῆς δ' Bn*) *ἐκ μὲν ῥινῶν μύξαι ῥέον*, *Od.* 12. 86 *τῆς ἤτοι φωνὴ μὲν ὅση σκύλακος νεογιλῆς*. Cf. also 53, 386, 732. 142 is a special case, for a relative clause precedes. In 671 and *Sc.* 267, as here, a list of epithets precedes. For the insertion of δ' by scribes cf. *Sc.* 267, 280 above, 762 below. *τῆς ἦν* may have been found in Cuthbert Tunstall's manuscript, and read by the author of the anonymous Exegesis, see pp. 63 and 72.

ἦν: cf. p. 84. *ἐστί* or *ἦν*, especially at the beginning of the sentence, is often followed by a plural subject: 825 *ἐκ δέ οἱ ὤμων | ἦν ἑκατὸν κεφαλαὶ ὄφιος*, S. *Tr.* 520 *ἦν δ' ἀμφίπλεκτοι κλίμακες*, E. *Ion* 1146 *ἐνῆν δ' ὑφανταὶ γράμμασιν τοιαίδ' ὑφαί*, Hdt. 1. 26, 7. 34, Pl. *Rep.* 463A, epigr. *ap.* Aesch. 3. 184. See Kühner–Gerth, i. 68, where, however, the view of Choeroboscus is followed, that in Hesiod *ἦν* is a dialect plural form. The usual ancient view is the one I have followed, cf. sch., [Hdn.] *Rhet. Gr.* iii. 100 Sp., sch. A.R. 2. 65, Eust. 1110. 56, 1759. 32, 1892. 47.

τρεῖς κεφαλαί: Hesiod does not say that all the three heads grew from one neck, and we are at liberty to interpret both his description and Homer's (*Il.* 6. 181 = below [323]) as applying to the Chimaera-type familiar in orientalizing art, in which only the lion's head grows on the neck, the goat's head grows out of the middle of the back, and the serpent takes the place of the tail, its head being at the tip. According to Ov. *M.* 9. 647, Apld. 2. 3. 1, it was the goat's head that breathed the fire. This central head, which gives the creature its name (or as Usener (*Rh. Mus.* 1903, p. 171) thinks, was added because of its name) also makes it the oddest and least satisfying of mythical monsters: the serpent head is a natural development of a tail, and has a parallel in some types of griffin. Eust. 634. 38 says that some gave the Chimaera in fact only two heads, those of the lion and serpent. Cf. sch.^{T} *Il.* 6. 155 *Βελλεροφόντην· Λεωφόντης πρότερον ἐκαλεῖτο*, and Usener, l.c.

χαροποῖο λέοντος: cf. *Od.* 11. 611, *Sc.* 177.

322. **ἡ δὲ χιμαίρης**: both the positioning of the word *χιμαίρης* and the sense-pause after it at the end of the second foot are very unusual; cf. p. 95; O'Neill, l.c. (on 197), p. 142, table 10; H. N. Porter, *Yale Cl. St.* xii, 1951, p. 23.

ὄφιος κρατεροῖο δράκοντος: 825 v.l., cf. on 299.

323–4. Evidently interpolated from *Il.* 6. 181–2; first excised by Wolf. 324, which repeats what we have been told in 319, is absent from part of the tradition.

325. **Πήγασος**: in the Homeric version of the story, Pegasus is not mentioned; Bellerophon killed the Chimaera, *θεῶν τεράεσσι πιθήσας* (*Il.* 6. 183). But Pegasus' participation was mentioned in the *Catalogue*, fr. 43 (a) 84 ff. *τῷ δὲ* (Bellerophon) . . . [*πα*]*τὴρ πόρε Πήγασο*[*ν ἵππον*] . . . *σὺν τῷ πῦρ* [*πνείουσαν ἀπηλοίησε Χίμαιραν*], cf. Pi. *O.* 13. 87 ff.

326. **ἡ δ' ἄρα**: Chimaera (Hermann, cf. sch., Diac., Claud. *laus Herc.* 76, Tz. *Th.* 169) or Echidna (Heyne, cf. E. *Ph.* 1019, Apld. 2. 5. 1, 3. 5. 8, Hyg. *fab.* 151)? This time there is a new clue: the father is Orthos. If the mother is Echidna, then she has abandoned her husband to lie with her son—unnecessary and unparalleled behaviour. The only unions between mother and son in the *Theogony* are those of Earth with Heaven and with Pontos, who have no father. It is much more likely that Orthos mates with Chimaera, whether she is his sister (cf. 125, 270, 337, 374, 404, 453, 912, 921 for brother–sister unions) or his niece (cf. 507; fr. 38 Kretheus–Tyro, *Od.* 7. 63–66 Alcinous–Arete, etc.). Cf. Abramowicz, l.c. (on 295), pp. 169 f., against Wilamowitz, *Eur. Herakles*, p. 470, n. 2.

This conclusion is in accord with the indications that the analogous *ἡ δὲ* in 319 refers to the Hydra.

Φῖκ': cf. sch. *Φῖκα τὴν Σφίγγα λέγει . . . ἀπ' αὐτῆς δὲ ἐκλήθη καὶ τὸ Φίκιον ἔνθα κατῴκει . . . Φῖκα δὲ αὐτὴν οἱ Βοιωτοὶ ἔλεγον*, Pl. *Crat.* 414CD *ὦ μακάριε, οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅτι τὰ πρῶτα ὀνόματα τεθέντα κατακέχωσται ἤδη . . . ὥσπερ καὶ τὴν Σφίγγα ἀντὶ Φικὸς* (v.l. *φιγὸς, φιγγὸς*) [*Σφίγγα*] *καλοῦσιν καὶ ἄλλα πολλά* (*Σφίγγα alterum deleo*, cf. on 234), Lyc. 1465 *Φίκειον τέρας*, Hsch. *Φῖγα· Φῖκα, Σφίγγα* and *Βῖκας· Σφίγγας*. The scholiast's statement that *Φίξ* is a Boeotian form is no doubt an inference from its use by Hesiod, but probably correct, see p. 88. The original form is probably *Σφίξ, Σφικός*, which is attested by Sophronius (*Gramm. Gr.* iv (2), 400. 3), and appears in the spelling *σφιχς* on an Attic black-figure cup (Beazley, *ABV* 163–4). On the Troilos hydria from Caere (*Annali* 1866, pl. R) a sphinx is accompanied by the inscription ⊙EI+ϟ, which appears to be an illiterate painter's copy of ΦϟIXϟ rather than mere nonsense as Robert thinks (*Oedipus*, ii. 17). For the loss of the initial sigma in *Φίξ* we can compare Hsch. *φαιρίδδειν* and *φαιρωτήρ*, and *φιν* for *σφιν* (Empedocles, Callimachus, etc.). Similar developments are seen in (*σ*)*κεδάννυμι*, (*σ*)*τέγος*, etc.; cf. pp. 98–99. The familiar form *Σφίγξ* may have arisen from popular etymology which connected the name with *σφίγγω*, or from the analogy of alternating forms like *στρίξ*/*στρίγξ*.

If dialect variation existed in Hesiod's time, the name must have

been familiar a good deal earlier. But there is little to indicate that it was yet attached to the winged woman-headed lion which is such a common decorative motif in art; see on 327.

Καδμείοισιν: cf. *Op.* 162 *τοὺς μὲν ὑφ' ἑπταπύλῳ Θήβῃ, Καδμηίδι γαίῃ, Sc.* 13 *ἐς Θήβας ἱκέτευσε φερεσσακέας Καδμείους, Il.* 4. 385, 388, 5. 804, *al.*, Hdt. 5. 57 ff.

327. **Ὄρθῳ**: Orthos' paternity may be connected with the canine attributes which the Sphinx occasionally shows: Palaeph. 4 (7) *σῶμα μὲν κυνὸς ἔχον, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον κόρης, πτέρυγας δὲ ὄρνιθος.* I hesitate to quote A. fr. 236 N. = 182 M. *Σφίγγα δυσαμερίαν πρύτανιν κύνα*, in view of Aeschylus' free metaphorical use of *κύων* (*Cho.* 924, 1054 of Erinyes; *Ag.* 136, *PV* 1022, fr. 282 N. = 198 M. of birds of prey; *PV* 803 of griffins); or S. *OT* 391 *ὅθ' ἡ ῥαψῳδὸς ἐνθάδ' ἦν κύων* (*El.* 1388 of Erinyes. Cf. also Hecataeus' explanation of the Cerberus myth, 1 F 27, and *LSJ* s.v. *κύων* III).

Νεμειαῖον: *Νεμεαῖος* is the usual form of the adjective; cf. *Νεμείης* in 329 and 331, Epic. adesp. 8. 1 Powell, and *Νεμειήταο Λέοντος* Max. 102, 346. According to Epimen. (?) fr. 2 the Nemean lion came from the moon.

328. **τόν ῥ'**: cf. *Il.* 2. 308 *δράκων ἐπὶ νῶτα δαφοινός, | σμερδαλέος, τόν ῥ' αὐτὸς Ὀλύμπιος ἦκε φόωσδε.* A.R. 1. 126 *κάπριον, ὅς ῥ' ἐνὶ βήσσῃς | φέρβετο Λαμπείης Ἐρυμάνθιον ἄμ μέγα τῖφος.*

Ἥρη . . . Διὸς κυδρὴ παράκοιτις: *Il.* 18. 184, cf. *Od.* 11. 580 *Λητὼ . . . Διὸς κυδρὴν παράκοιτιν.* It is Artemis who sends a similar plague in *Il.* 9. 538, her sacrifice having been neglected. Cf. on 314.

329. **κατένασσε**: 620, *Op.* 168; un-Homeric.

Νεμείης: see on 327.

πῆμ' ἀνθρώποις: Scheer conjectured *πῆμα βροτοῖσιν*, which is the phrase used in *Od.* 12. 125 and *h. Ap.* 306. *βροτός* is too familiar a word to have been displaced by a gloss, though the following line ends with *ἀνθρώπων*, and it is conceivable that *ἀνθρώποις* came from there. But there is no reason why *πῆμ' ἀνθρώποις* should not exist besides *πῆμα βροτοῖσι*, just as we find *θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις* at the end of the verse (*h. Dem.* 11, 403) besides *θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσι* (*Od.* 7. 210, *h.* vii. 20).

330. **οἰκείων**: present participle of *οἰκέω* (*Il.* 4. 18, *Od.* 6. 204), not, as Paley, Mair, Evelyn-White, Mazon, and Lattimore all take it, genitive plural of the un-epic adjective *οἰκεῖος* (*οἰκήιος Op.* 457), sc. 'Hera's own people' or 'indwelling people'.

331. **κοιρανέων**: for the use of this verb of physical domination by a monster, cf. 837 (Typhon) *καί κεν ὅ γε θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἄναξεν*, [Orph.] *H.* 79. 5 *Πυθίῳ ἐν δαπέδῳ ὄθι Πύθων ἐμβασίλευεν.*

Τρητοῖο Νεμείης: 'Tretos in the territory of Nemea'. Tretos was a mountain south-east of Nemea, on the way from Cleonae to Mycenae and Argos. The lion's lair was shown there in Pausanias' time (2. 15. 2); cf. D.S. 4. 11, Apld. 2. 5. 1, Frazer *Paus.*, vol. iii, pp. 85 f., 88 f.

Ἀπέσαντος: Paus. 2. 15. 3 *ὄρος Ἀπέσας ὑπὲρ τὴν Νεμέαν.* Call. fr. 56 with Pfeiffer. Probably the modern Fouka, the highest of the mountains to the north-east of Nemea, between Cleonae and Corinth.

332. **ἀλλά ἑ ἴις ἐδάμασσε**: cf. *Il.* 18. 119 *ἀλλά ἑ μοῖρ' ἐδάμασσε*. The phrase *ἴις βίης Ἡρακληείης* is a curious conflation of *ἴις Ἡρακλῆος* (951) with *βίη Ἡρακληείη*. Cf. *Il.* 8. 369 *Στυγὸς ὕδατος αἰπὰ ῥέεθρα* (where *Στυγὸς* depends on *ὕδατος*, as the nominative formula *Στυγὸς ὕδωρ* shows).

333. **Κητὼ**: after the digression on the progeny of Echidna, we revert to Phorkys and Keto for the last of their offspring. Why this snake is made the youngest is not apparent: he would have been better accommodated before Echidna (cf. on 270–336). Perhaps he was an afterthought.

334. **ὄφιν**: later called Ladon (A.R. 4. 1396), though still anonymous in Pherec. 3 F 16, Hyg. *praef.* 39, *fab.* 30, 151. It is uncertain whether he was named in P. Berol. 9870 (epic of uncertain date). He too was sometimes said to have been killed by Heracles (cf. Apld. 2. 5. 11), though *φυλάσσει* in 335 shows that for Hesiod he is still alive. Serpents and other monsters very often have the office of guarding treasure; indeed it is hard to recall any mythical treasure that is not so guarded. Artemidorus tells us that to dream of a serpent signifies, among other things, wealth, *διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ θησαυροὺς ἱδρύεσθαι* (2. 13). Cf. Fest. 67. 12 M. (*Dracones*) *clarissimam enim dicuntur habere oculorum aciem*; *qua ex causa incubantes eos thesauris custodiae causa finxerunt antiqui.* (Similarly Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 20. 3.) The real reason is probably that the acquisition of treasure must be difficult and dangerous, only to be accomplished by a hero. Cf. in general Nilsson, *A.J.P.* 68, 1947, pp. 302–9 = *Op. Sel.* iii. 116–24.

ἐρεμνῆς: cf. *Od.* 24. 106 *ἐρεμνὴν γαῖαν*. The variant *ἐρεμνοῖς* is one of a series of similar variants in 300, 483, 622. I am unable to decide whether Pasquali (*ap.* Jacoby) was right in denying that *οις* is in rasura in S.

κεύθεσι γαίης: of the serpent's lair, cf. on 300.

335. **πείρασιν ἐν μεγάλοις**: 'in the great limits', sc. of the earth. This curious phrase is an adaptation of *μεγάλης ἐν πείρασι γαίης* (622), with the transference of epithet not uncommon in such adaptations (cf. on 319). The omission of *γαίης* is made easier by *κεύθεσι γαίης* in the preceding line. Wilamowitz's *σπείρῃσιν μεγάλαις* (*Eur. Herakles*, p. 470, n. 3) is ingenious, but *σπεῖρα* is a word not attested before the fifth century, and one cannot believe that Hesiod 'denkt sich also hier die äpfel nicht im garten des westens, sondern im innern der erde und zwar da, wo ursprünglich Atlas und Ladon zu hause sind, an ihrem mittelpunkt'. Merkelbach's transposition *ἐρεμνῆς πείρασι γαίης | κεύθεσιν ἐν μεγάλοις* (*Studien z. Textgesch. u. Textkritik* (Festschr. Jachmann, 1959), p. 167) is attractive, but I think unnecessary; *ἐρεμνῆς γαίης* suits *κεύθεσι* better than *πείρασι*, and *μεγάλοις* suits *πείρασι* better than *κεύθεσι*. 518 is a parallel for the initial position of *πείρασιν ἐν*.

The *πείρατα γαίης* are closely associated with Oceanus; 518 *πείρασιν ἐν γαίης πρόπαρ' Ἑσπερίδων λιγυφώνων*, *Op.* 168 ff. *ἐς πείρατα γαίης . . . παρ' Ὠκεανὸν βαθυδίνην*, *Il.* 14. 200 f., *h. Aphr.* 227. Cf. *Od.* 11. 13

ἡ δ' ἐς πείραθ' ἵκανε βαθυρρόου Ὠκεανοῖο, 4. 563. But they can also be in the underworld (see on 622), for the world has lower as well as outer limits. On *πείρατα* cf. Onians, pp. 310 ff.

336. For the summing-up line at the end of the family cf. 263 with note, 362, fr. 37. 16; Gen. x. 20, 31–32, 1 Chron. i. 31, 33, etc.

καὶ Φόρκυνος: *κἀκ* is probable in 447, cf. *κεἰς Op.* 44, above, p. 100. The crasis would be avoided, keeping *ἐκ*, by reading *τε καὶ ἐκ Φόρκυος* with K (*υο* as in *Op.* 436 *δρυός*, cf. *υω Sc.* 3 *al.*, E. *IT* 931). But *Φόρκυνος* is better supported. Hesiod does not elsewhere use the stem *Φόρκυν-* (he has acc. *-υν* 237, dat. *-υι* 270, 333), but it is used in the *Odyssey* (1. 72, 13. 96, 345) and elsewhere, and there is no reason why he should not have done so here (Wilamowitz, *Eur. Herakles*, p. 471, n. 1). Decision between *καὶ* and *κἀκ* is not easy; but I suspect that the original reading was *καὶ*, *ἐκ* being added in error; as a result of which *κἀκ* was written in *b*, while *ἐκ* was correctly omitted by the scribe of S.

337–70. We have come to the end of the descendants of Pontos, and turn to the descendants of Uranos. See pp. 17, 37 f. The children of Oceanus and Tethys stand in first place, perhaps because Oceanus was the first to be named in the list of Titans (133), perhaps also because by virtue of their aquatic associations they have most in common with the preceding group of families. The male children are the rivers of the earth, which often enjoy individual cults among those who live by them and rely on them; the daughters are the nymphs of springs and groves, who are no less important. All rivers and springs flow ultimately from Oceanus (*Il.* 21. 195–7; cf. Pi. fr. 326 *Ὠκεανοῦ πέταλα κρᾶναι*, Herm. Trism. 13. 17 *τὸν πήξαντα τὴν γῆν καὶ οὐρανὸν κρεμάσαντα καὶ ἐπιτάξαντα ἐκ τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ τὸ γλυκὺ ὕδωρ εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην καὶ ἀοίκητον ὑπάρχειν εἰς διατροφὴν καὶ κτίσιν πάντων ἀνθρώπων*, [Orph.] *H.* 83. 4–5), and all rivers are masculine and springs feminine: cf. Ninck, pp. 12 f., 21 ff. The whole family appears together at Zeus' summons in *Il.* 20. 7–9.

The catalogue of rivers shows a lack of order and proportion which suggests that its author had only the vaguest sense of geography. Except for three great rivers of the outer world (Nile, Phasis, Eridanus), the rivers are divided between Greece (Achelous, Alpheios, Peneios, Ladon, Haliacmon, Euenos), Greek Asia Minor (Meander, Hermos, Kaikos), the Troad (Scamander, Simois, Aisepos, Rhesos, Heptaporos, Rhodios, Granikos), Aegean Thrace (Strymon, Nessos), and the south and west shores of the Black Sea (Ister, Aldescus, Sangarius, Parthenius). The list does not claim to be more than a selection (367–70), and many important rivers are omitted, e.g. the Cayster, Hebrus, Axius, Spercheios, Asopus, Cephisus, Eurotas, all of which except Hebrus and Eurotas are mentioned in Homer, some also in the *Catalogue*.

The Black Sea group must have become known comparatively recently; see p. 41. Many of the rivers mentioned must have been familiar to Hesiod only in poetry or saga: the Phasis, the Eridanus,

and the Trojan rivers. The last group is of especial interest, for the seven listed by Hesiod all appear in the list of eight in *Il.* 12. 20–22, only Caresus being omitted; and four of them appear nowhere else in Homer. Hesiod has naturally been suspected of taking the names from the *Iliad* passage (e.g. sch.[A] *Il.* 12. 22 *καὶ ὅτι ἀνέγνω Ἡσίοδος τὰ Ὁμήρου, ὡς ἂν νεώτερος τούτου. οὐ γὰρ ἐξενήνοχε τοὺς ποταμοὺς μὴ ὄντας ἀξιολόγους εἰ μὴ δι' Ὅμηρον*, Schmid–Stählin, i (1), 265, n. 1, Krafft, pp. 148 f.). But the Hesiodic character of the *Iliad* passage suggests that the relationship is not so simple: note *ἡμιθέων* in 23 (*Op.* 160, Alcm. 1. 7, also in the late hymns xxxi. 19 and xxxii. 19; an un-Homeric idea, see Leaf, ad loc.); *καλλίρροον ὕδωρ* in 33 (*Op.* 737, fr. 70. 18, 185. 12, *h. Ap.* 241, 380; in Homer only *Il.* 2. 752 (catalogue) and in a plus-verse, *Il.* 21. 382a). There are other indications that the beginning of *Il.* 12 is a 'late passage', see Leaf's notes on 11 and 27, and his introduction to the book. Bethe thought that the *Theogony* was its model (*N. Jb.* 1919, pp. 1 f., *G.G.A.* 1919, pp. 141 f., *Hermes*, 1935, p. 55, *Homer*, ii. 303 f.). Probably neither is the direct source of the other. (The names are not listed in the same order.) But it is certainly in earlier poetry about Troy that we must seek Hesiod's source.

The catalogue of Oceanids resembles that of the Nereids in its general character, but the names are less persistently aquatic, and less often transparent. A few coincide; cf. on 241. Some recur in the list of Oceanids who picked flowers with Persephone in *h. Dem.* 418–24 (cf. 5): in this case we may admit direct borrowing, since Hesiodic influence in the hymn to Demeter is marked (cf. C. A. Trypanis, *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 1938, pp. 199–237).

Their importance as individuals is very unequal. Most of them have none, and may have been invented *ad hoc*; some may have been the names of actual springs, though we miss those most famous in myth such as Dirce, Arethusa, Artakie. A few, as Mazon points out, reflect properties of their father, like a few of the Nereids (cf. on 240–64, 261–2, and 209). Others have no essential connexion with water at all, but are names appropriate to fairy godmothers; for the nymphs' only function specified by Hesiod is care of the young. This is why we find dropped apparently at random in the list such significant but not eminently fontane goddesses as Peitho, Metis, Tyche—names which Hesiod can hardly have hit upon by chance, unaware of their meaning for others. He must have worked them in deliberately, but preferred not to interrupt the flow of names by annotations on individuals.

On the rivers see F. Gisinger, *Rh. Mus.* 78, 1929, pp. 315–19 (who attempts to find in the list a principle of order, which I cannot follow); on the Oceanids, besides the works of Schoemann, Fischer, and Deichgräber mentioned on 240–64, Mazon, pp. 44–45, Schwenn, pp. 96–98.

338. **Νεῖλον**: *καὶ ἐκ τούτου φαίνεται Ἡσίοδος Ὁμήρου νεώτερος· καὶ γὰρ Ὅμηρος Αἴγυπτον καλεῖ τὸν Νεῖλον*, sch. (Aristarchus ?), cf. sch. *Od.* 4. 477, Eratosth. *ap.* Strab. 29. The fact is correct; the Nile

is called *Αἴγυπτος* in *Od.* 4. 477, 581, 14. 258. The inference is not valid.

The name *Νεῖλος* is next attested in Solon fr. 6 and the epic *Danais* fr. 1 (p. 78 Kinkel).

Ἠριδανὸν: legendary, but agreed to be in the north-west. It was later identified with the Po (Pherec. 3 F 74) or, because of the similarity of name, with the Rhône (Rhodanos) (A. fr. 73 N. = 107 M.). It is not mentioned in Homer, except, curiously, as a variant for *Ὠκεανοῖο* in *Il.* 16. 151 (the same variants are found at *Batr.* 20). It may have been mentioned in a lost Hesiodic poem (*Catalogue* or *Astronomy*) in connexion with Phaethon and the origin of amber (fr. 311; but the sources may be misleading), and it is restored by Allen in fr. 150. 23 as the river by which the Hyperboreans live (cf. A.R. 4. 610 ff.). Herodotus had heard of it as the source of amber, but did not believe it existed (3. 115, cf. Strab. 215). The name recalls, besides Rhodanos, the Thessalian Apidanos and the Elean and Cretan Iardanos. It was also given to a small tributary of the Ilissos in Athens (Pl. *Critias*, 112A, Strab. 397, Paus. 1. 19. 5 with Frazer).

339. **Στρυμόνα**: known to mythology as the father of Rhesus ([E.] *Rhes.* 920) and of Euadne (Apld. 2. 1. 2), and in connexion with the exploits of Heracles, who made it unnavigable (ib. 2. 5. 10).

On the absence of copula see 245 n.

Ἴστρον καλλιρέεθρον: the Danube is not mentioned in Homer, who indeed refers to no identifiable place reached by sea beyond the Hellespont except the Paphlagonian towns in the suspect lines *Il.* 2. 853–5, and the fountain of Artakie near Cyzicus (*Od.* 10. 108), which is for him the land of the Laestrygonians. Oddly enough, it is only of Artakie that he uses the adjective *καλλιρέεθρος*. It also occurs in the spurious verse *Od.* 15. 295, and in *h. Ap.* 240.

340. **Φᾶσιν**: mentioned in the *Catalogue* (fr. 241) in connexion with the Argonauts. Bolton, *Aristeas* 55–58, shows that this legendary river was not always identified with Rhion at the eastern end of the Euxine, but at an earlier stage with Tanais. It need not be assumed, however, that Hesiod had any fixed idea about where it was; had you asked him the way, he would probably have been able to do no more than point roughly north-east. He seems not to have heard of any exploration as far as the Tanais; cf. p. 42, n. 3.

Ῥῆσον: this is the only one of the Trojan rivers that Demetrius Scepsius (*ap.* Strab. 602–3) could not find (though Plin. *NH* 5. 124 says *ceteri Homero celebrati, Rhesus Heptaporus Caresus Rhodius, uestigia non habent*); he assumed it to be either the one called in his time Rhoeites, or a tributary of the Granikos.

Ἀχελῳόν τ' ἀργυροδίνην: if we accept *τ'*, we must write *-ῳόν* (Rzach's *-ώιόν* amounts to the same thing). *-ώϊος* is the Homeric form (*Il.* 21. 194, 24. 616), and the formula *Ἀχελώιος ἀργυροδίνης* recurs in later poetry (Panyasis P. Oxy. 221, Call. *H.* 6. 13, Epic. adesp. 5. 1 Powell, D.P. 433). But the absence of *τε* other than at the beginning of the line (245 n.) is difficult to support. The only example in early

epic is *Od.* 8. 113 *Ποντεύς τε Πρωρεύς τε, Θόων Ἀναβησίνεώς τε*, where, as here, it is the first name after the caesura that stands without copula. It does not give one much confidence, since the following name begins with a vowel, and *τ'* can so easily be added (E. Schwartz, van Leeuwen). Firmer examples can be found in Orphic verse (*εὐχή* 19, 40, *A.* 753, 1062, 1302); but this is hardly relevant to Hesiod. It is most likely that he wrote *τ'*, distorting the formula in doing so (cf. fr. 257. 4 *ἶξεν δ' Ὀρχομενὸν Μινυῆον· καί μιν ὅ γ' ἤρως*); scribes restored the formula by omitting the particle, and Triclinius restored the particle by conjecture. Antimachus has *-ῶος* in P. Oxy. 2516 fr. 1 (a) i. 4.

Several Greek rivers bore the name Achelous; Hesiod is certainly thinking of the one in Acarnania, the greatest of all Greek rivers both in length and in volume, and the most important in cult and legend.

341. **Ῥοδίον**: the paroxytone accentuation is recommended by Herodian (sch.^{A} *Il.* 12. 20); the MSS. give *ῥόδιον*.

Ἀλιάκμονα: besides the Macedonian river, we are told that this was the old name of the Argive Inachus ([Plut.] *de fluv.* 18. 1).

Ἑπτάπορον: Demetrius Scepsius (*ap.* Strab. 602) found this to be known also as Polyporos.

342. **Γρήνικόν τε καὶ Αἴσηπον**: these two occur together in *Il.* 12. 21, cf. on 337–70. Memnon was buried beside the Aisepos (Strab. 587), and his brother Emathion had an affair with a nymph beside the Granikos (Q.S. 3. 302: *Ἡμαλίωνι* codd.).

343. **Πηνειόν**: no doubt the Thessalian, not the Elean Peneios.

Ἕρμον . . . Κάικον: the two rivers nearest to Cyme, the former home of Hesiod's father. The Kaikos may have been mentioned in the *Catalogue* and *Cycle* in connexion with Telephus, cf. Strab. 615 (E. fr. 696).

344. **Σαγγάριον**: mentioned by Homer in connexion with Phrygians, *Il.* 3. 187, 16. 719.

Λάδωνα: there were two rivers of this name, one a tributary of the Elean Peneios, the other in Arcadia, a tributary of the Alpheios. Ladon was also the old name of the Theban Ismenios (Paus. 9. 10. 6). The Arcadian Ladon is probably the one meant here; it was the most important in mythology (it was the father of Daphne, Paus. 8. 20; cf. also Apld. 2. 5. 3, Eust. in D.P. 416), and according to Pausanias as fair as any river anywhere (8. 25. 13, cf. 8. 20. 1).

Παρθένιον: a small river flowing into the Euxine between Heraclea and Sinope (*Il.* 2. 854, Q.S. 6. 466–7). Its name was explained in a verse quoted by St. Byz. s.v., *ὡς ἀκαλὰ προρέων ὡς ἁβρὴ παρθένος εἶσιν* (cf. [Hes.] fr. 339). Parthenius was also the old name of the Imbrasus on Samos (Call. fr. 599, Strab. 457).

345. **Εὔηνον**: probably the Aetolian river in which Euenus the father of Marpessa drowned himself (Apld. 1. 7. 8). Another river Euenus flowed into the gulf of Adramyttium opposite Lesbos.

Ἀλδῆσκον: the spelling is uncertain. L^{2}*m* give *Ἀλδῆσκον* (so *Suda*, *Ἀλδῆσκος· ὄνομα ποταμοῦ*), the other MSS. *Ἄρδησκον* (*-ισκον k*). In

D.P. 314 MSS. give *Ἀλδήσκοιο* (*-ίσκοιο pauci*), and so Eust. ad loc. and the paraphrase p. 413 Müller; but the MSS. of Avienus *perieg.* 450 have *Ardesci* or *Ardisci*, and those of Priscian *perieg.* 306 *Ardisci* or *Aldesti*. *Ἄλδησκος* is written proparoxytone by Eust. l.c. and ad Hom. p. 720. 22, 1837. 61.

The name of the river shows that it is Thracian (cf. the towns *Γάρησκος*, *Δράβησκος*, and the river *Ἄρτησκός* or *Ἀρτίσκος* mentioned by Hdt. 4. 92 as a tributary of the Hebrus). Dionysius, l.c., tells us that it is north of the Danube (320); its waters and those of Panticapes *Ῥιπαίοις ἐν ὄρεσσι διάνδιχα μορμύρουσι* (315), but no more precise localization is given.

θεῖον: perhaps *δῖον*, cf. *Il.* 12. 21 *δῖόν τε Σκάμανδρον*. *θεῖον* could have come from 342 *θεῖόν τε Σιμοῦντα*; but the two words are in any case sometimes interchanged in manuscripts, cf. *Il.* 24. 251, *Od.* 1. 336, 6. 217, 8. 87, 13. 27, Nic. *Th.* 693.

Σκάμανδρον: *Κάμανδρον* S, cf. on 42 and p. 98.

346. **Κουράων**: the tautological *θυγατέρων γένος* is abnormal for Hesiod (even E. *Or.* 250 is not altogether parallel); we expect a collective name for the Oceanids. Cf. 271, 274, 337, 901, 904, 907. *Κουράων* supplies this, and gives point to *κουρίζουσι* in 347; cf. especially 901–3, *Ὥρας . . . αἵ τ' ἔργ' ὠρεύουσι. θυγατέρων* is a gloss. Hsch. gives exactly this form: *κουράων· παρθένων, θυγατέρων. κούρη* and *θυγάτηρ* are actually variants in *Od.* 5. 382, while *θυγατρὸς* seems to be an intrusive gloss on *κόρης* in Pl. *Rep.* 617D *Ἀνάγκης θυγατρὸς κόρης Λαχέσεως λόγος*. For *Κοῦραι* 'Nymphs' cf. *Od.* 6. 122 ff. *ὥς τέ με Κουράων ἀμφήλυθε θῆλυς ἀυτή, | Νυμφάων αἳ ἔχουσ' ὀρέων αἰπεινὰ κάρηνα | καὶ πηγὰς ποταμῶν καὶ πίσεα ποιήεντα*, Pi. *P.* 3. 78 *Ματρί, τὰν Κοῦραι παρ' ἐμὸν πρόθυρον σὺν Πανὶ μέλπονται θαμά*, E. *HF* 785 *Ἀσωπιάδες Κόραι . . . Νύμφαι*, [E.] *Rhes.* 929, Call. *H.* 3. 66, A.R. 4. 1349 (Fränkel: '*κοῦραι* obscurum'), Theodoridas, *A.P.* 6. 156, [Orph.] *H.* 51. 14, Nonn. *D.* 5. 315, 37. 21.

Κοῦραι or *Νύμφαι*, not *Ὠκεανίδες*, must have been the popular collective name for these goddesses. *Παρθένοι* is occasionally attested too, cf. Wilamowitz, *Gl. d. Hell.* i. 185. The *Κοῦραι* have male counterparts in the *Κουρῆτες* (on the formation cf. Bechtel, *Lexilogus*, pp. 201–2, Schwyzer, p. 499), who are associated with the nymphs in fr. 123, *GDI* 5039. 14, and who nurtured Zeus himself (Strab. 468 *Κουρῆτες . . . ἢ διὰ τὸ κουροτροφεῖν τὸν Δία*, and 472); in [Orph.] *H.* 38. 14 they are called *τροφέες καὶ αὖτ' ὀλετῆρες*.

347. **κουρίζουσι**: the verb is chosen to express the activities of the *Κοῦραι*, cf. on 141. It is usually intransitive, and means 'to be a *κοῦρος*' (*Od.* 22. 185, Call. *H.* 1. 54, 3. 5, etc.). For the transitive use cf. Opp. *H.* 1. 664 (of young dolphins) *ἀλλ' ὅτε κουρίζωσιν ἐὸν σθένος*, unless the accusative is there internal; in that case *ἐὸν* is a little strange, and it would be better to divide *-ωσι νέον* with Guyet.

The scholiast rightly explains, *ἀνατρέφουσιν*. *ἄνδρας* is proleptic. The nymphs are *κουροτρόφοι*, like Hecate in 450 and Eirene (one of the Horai, 902) in *Op.* 228. Just as they and their spring-water are

regarded as bringing fertility to women (see Ninck, pp. 13–15; E. K. Borthwick, *A.J.P.* 1963, pp. 231 ff.), so they foster the children that are born. Cf. A. fr. 155 N. = 277 M. *Ἴστρος τοιαύτας παρθένους ἐξεύχεται | τρέφειν ὅ θ' ἁγνὸς Φᾶσις*, fr. 168. 3 N. = 355. 17 M. *Ἰνάχου Ἀργείου ποταμοῦ παισὶν βιοδώροις*, ib. 24 *παίδων δ' εὔκαρπον τελέθει γένος οἷσ[ιν ἐκεῖναι] ἵλαοι ἀντιάσουσι μελίφ[ρονα] θυμὸν [ἔχουσαι]*, *Suppl.* 854 ff. *μήποτε πάλιν ἴδοιμ' | ἀλφεσίβοιον ὕδωρ | ἔνθεν ἀεξόμενον | ζώφυτον αἷμα βροτοῖσι θάλλει*, E. *El.* 625 f. *Νύμφαις ἐπόρσυν' ἔροτιν ὡς ἔδοξέ μοι. —τροφεῖα παίδων, ἢ πρὸ μέλλοντος τόκου;* Sch. Dan. Virg. *E.* 10. 62 *sane ab ouibus nymphae perimelides . . . ab alimonia infantum curotrophae nominantur*, Long. *Past.* 1. 6 *εὔχεται δὲ ταῖς Νύμφαις ἐπὶ χρηστῇ τύχῃ θρέψαι τὴν ἵκετιν αὐτῶν* (sc. the exposed child), Nonn. *D.* 24. 50 *ὑμετέρου δὲ γέραιρε Λάμου κουροτρόφον ὕδωρ*, Eust. 1293. 3 *κουροτρόφοι οὖν ἐνομίζοντο οἱ ποταμοὶ διὰ τὴν ὑγρότητα*. It is perhaps relevant that young people are often thought of as plants (*θάλος*, *ἔρνος* etc.); cf. H. Fränkel, *Wege und Formen*, 2nd ed., p. 44, A. *Suppl.* 281 *καὶ Νείλος ἂν θρέψειε τοιοῦτον φυτόν* (sc. the Danaids). When a young man comes of age and cuts his hair (*κουρά*), he may dedicate it to the local river or nymphs in thanksgiving for his successful nurture. *Il.* 23. 141 *ξανθὴν ἀπεκείρατο χαίτην, τήν ῥα Σπερχειῷ ποταμῷ τρέφε τηλεθόωσαν*; A. *Cho.* 6 *πλόκαμον Ἰνάχῳ θρεπτήριον*; Theodoridas, *A.P.* 6. 156 *Καλλὼ σὺν Τέττιγι Χαρισθένεος τρίχα τήνδε κουρόσυνον Κούραις θῆκ' Ἀμαρυνθιάσιν*; Paus. 1. 37. 3, 8. 20. 3, and 8. 41. 3 with Frazer; sch. Pi. *P.* 4. 145 *τὰς γὰρ πρώτας κόμας τοῖς ποταμοῖς οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἀπεκείροντο, σύμβολον τοῦ ἐξ ὕδατος εἶναι πάντων τὴν αὔξησιν*; sch. Hes. ad loc. The hair is a dispensable part of the body, and at the same time a suitable one to symbolize growth. Children's hair was perhaps left uncut because it was feared that cutting it might stunt their growth in general.

σὺν Ἀπόλλωνι ἄνακτι: cf. on 253. For Apollo's tutelage of *κοῦροι* cf. *Od.* 19. 85 ff. *εἰ δ' ὅ μὲν ὣς ἀπόλωλε καὶ οὐκέτι νόστιμός ἐστιν, | ἀλλ' ἤδη παῖς τοῖος Ἀπόλλωνός γε ἔκητι, | Τηλέμαχος*, and sch. ib. *ἐπειδὴ τῶν ἀρρένων κουροτρόφος ὁ θεός . . . διὸ κουροθάλεια καλεῖται ἡ δάφνη, διὰ τὸ κουροτρόφον τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος*; [Theophr.] *Char.* 21. 3, Call. *H.* 2. 12 ff., Theodoridas *A.P.* 6. 155. For Apollo as *Νυμφηγέτης* cf. Wilamowitz, *Gl. d. Hell.* 1. 328.

Triclinius' reading *Ἀπόλλωνι ξὺν ἄνακτι* may have been a deliberate change, to avoid the prosody *ᾱπ*. Elsewhere Hesiod uses the form *ξύν* only in compounds (686, 705, *Op.* 240). In Homer too it is only freely used in compounds, though it occurs nine times by itself in cases of metrical need. Cf. Wackernagel, pp. 38–40.

348. **ταύτην δὲ Διὸς πάρα μοῖραν ἔχουσι**: cf. 520.

349. **Πειθώ**: Peitho also appears in *Op.* 73, in association with the Graces; next in Alcm. 64. On her cult see Deubner, *Roscher*, iii. 2138–9. Fr. Solmsen, *T.A.P.A.* 85, 1954, p. 5, n. 14, suggests that 'the name is perhaps the only one in this catalogue that refers primarily to the sound of a spring. If persuasive words *ῥεῖ μείλιχα*, the gentle flow of a well may conversely remind us of persuasive speech.' This

seems to me far-fetched. Peitho's presence would be better explained by reference to *Op.* l.c., where she is one of the goddesses who adorn Pandora. By the same token she may contribute to the formation of mortal *κοῦροι* and *κοῦραι*.

Ἀδμήτη: another propitious name for a *κουροτρόφος*.

Ἰάνθη: perhaps the goddess of a *κρήνη ἰοειδής* (3–4 n.). Compare the similar name *Ϝιανθεμίς* borne by a girl in Alcm. 1. 76. The vau is neglected in *h. Dem.* 418 *καὶ Ἠλέκτρη καὶ Ἰάνθη*.

Ἠλέκτρη: the name of a Messenian stream (Paus. 4. 33. 6) and a Cretan one (Ptol. 3. 15 (17). 4). Cf. Call. *H.* 6. 28 *ἀλέκτρινον ὕδωρ*, Virg. *G.* 3. 522 *electro purior amnis*, and above on 266. There is a Pleiad of the same name (fr. 169. 1).

350. **Δωρίς**: the mother of the Nereids, 241. Occanids with similar names are Polydore 354, Eudore 360. In this case it is the growing children who benefit from the nymphs' good gifts; for this use of *δῶρον* cf. *Op.* 82. Somewhat more material assistance is implied by Pluto (355) and Tyche (360).

Πρυμνώ: 'die am Fuße des Berges entspringt, *ἐν πρυμνωρείᾳ*'—Schoemann, ad loc.

Οὐρανίη: cf. on 78.

351. **Ἱππώ**: perhaps the goddess of a *Ἵππου κρήνη*. Aquatic deities, whether of springs, rivers, or sea, are often represented in equine form, or otherwise associated with the horse, and not only in Greece. Cf. the names Hippothoe and Hipponoe in 251; Poseidon Hippios; Ninck, pp. 23 f. We may also recall that lively youths and girls, whose desired qualities some of the Oceanids' names express, are sometimes (to the offence of modern taste) likened to colts, e.g. Alcm. 1. 45 ff., Anacr. 72. 1, A. *Cho.* 794, E. *Ph.* 947.

Κλυμένη: the wife of Iapetos, 508. The name is given to a Nereid in *Il.* 18. 47.

Ῥόδειά τε Καλλιρόη τε: this hemistich is reproduced in *h. Dem.* 419 (where M gives *Ῥόεια*: the line is omitted in the citation by Paus. 4. 30. 4 and in the Orphic papyrus Berol. 44). *b* gives *Ῥόδια* (K¹ *Ῥοδία*), which might seem to be supported by the François Vase: there PO∆IA stands between Thetis and a fountain (labelled ΚPENE) in a Trojan scene. (On the interpretation of the figure see Höfer, *Roscher*, iv. 113.) But even if she is to be identified with Hesiod's nymph, the vase proves nothing, since (*a*) it also has the Attic spellings *Χιρων* and *Κλιτιας* (cf. on 134), (*b*) *Ῥοδῖᾱ* might be a vase-painter's variant on *Ῥόδεια*, cf. on 78.

Kallirhoe is the mother of Geryoneus, 288 and 981. The name was borne by a fountain at Athens; on which see Kroll, *R.E.* x. 1669–72.

352. **Ζευξώ**: perhaps 'she who joins in marriage', like Hera or Aphrodite *ζυγία. γάμος οὐδεὶς ἄνευ Νυμφῶν συντελεῖται* (sch. Pi. *P.* 4. 106); cf. Ninck, p. 13, and Men. *D.* 36–44.

Ἰδυῖα: the wife of Aietes, 960. S and sch. here give *Εἰδυῖα*, which is the form of the name used by A.R. 3. 243 and 269, Apld. 1. 9. 23;

in 960 all sources give *'Ιδυῖαν*. Cf. on 264. The name is again propitious for the growing youth.

Πασιθόη: the variants are probably ancient. For alternation between *Πασι-* and *Πεισι-* cf. Pfeiffer, *Philol.* 92, 1937, pp. 9 f., and fr. 36. 3; between *-θόη* and *-θέα*, above on 245. *Πασιθέη* was a Nereid in 246.

353. **Πληξαύρη τε Γαλαξαύρη τ'**: *-αύρη* here may be derived from an old word for water, cf. *ἄναυρος*, *Ἄγλαυρος*, *ἔπαυρος* (E. Maass, *Ath. Mitt.* 35, 1910, p. 338, cf. Kretschmer, *Glotta*, 1920, pp. 51 f.). For Galaxaure, cf. Paus. 3. 24. 7 *κρήνη . . . διὰ τὴν χρόαν τοῦ ὕδατος καλουμένη Γαλακώ*, and Ninck, p. 10. In *h. Dem.* 423, M has *Ταλαξαύρη*, but *Γαλ-* is confirmed by P. Berol. 44.

ἐρατή τε Διώνη: cf. on 11–21. Dione was an important goddess only at Dodona: there she was the consort of Zeus *νάιος*, Zeus of the flowing water, whose oracular spring issued forth at the base of the famous oak. See A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. 368 f.; Kern, *Rel. d. Gr.* i. 90. Pherec. 3 F 90 makes Dione one of the nymphs of Dodona.

354. **Μηλόβοσις**: *-σις* (*<τις*) is here the agent termination, as in *μάντις*, *Νέμεσις*, etc. A special class of nymphs who protect herds, the *'Επιμήλιδες*, are mentioned by sch.^{AB} *Il.* 20. 8, sch. A.R. 4. 1322, Paus. 8. 4. 2, Ant. Lib. 31. 3, etc. Cf. sch. Dan. Virg. cited on 347, and note on *Εὐάρνη* in 259. The Cretan Kouretes had a similar function: *GDI* iv, p. 1036 *Κωρῆσι τοῖς πρὸ καρταιπόδων*.

Θόη: cf. on 245. TrU have *θοή*, which seems to have led to *θοὴ καὶ* in Z^2 (anticipating Peppmüller's conjecture); this would involve *καὶ* unshortened in hiatus in thesis, or *ἐῦειδὴς*, for which alternatives cf. on 250.

Πολυδώρη: see on 350.

355. **Πλουτώ**: cf. on 350. For the belief that prosperity is god-given cf. *Op.* 126, 320, Sol. 1. 9, Thgn. 197, Pi. *N.* 8. 17.

βοῶπις: the epithet, which is not found elsewhere in Hesiod, is almost exclusively applied to Hera in Homer. The exceptions are *Il.* 3. 144 (ath. Ar.), 7. 10 (parentage of a Boeotian), 18. 40 (catalogue of Nereids); also the late hymn xxxi. 2.

356. **Περσηίς**: the mother of Circe and Aietes, 957. In *Od.* 10. 139 she is called Perse. Both forms are attested later.

'Ιάνειρα: the name is given to a Nereid in *Il.* 18. 47.

357. **Εὐρώπη**: in Call. fr. 630 Europe appears to be a spring at Dodona; cf. Pfeiffer, ad loc., Cook, *Zeus*, i. 524. For the name cf. the river Europus in Thessaly (Homer's Titaresios), and the *Εὐρωπία κράνα* in Pi. fr. 70. That the names Europe and Asia both occur in this list must be put down to coincidence; the opposition between the continents is not attested before Aeschylus' *Persae*, a list of Oceanids is not the obvious place for it (though Libya and Thrace appear as Oceanids in later writers), and the names are not even adjacent. In *h. Ap.* 251 and 291 Europe denotes continental Greece as distinct from the Peloponnese and islands. Asia first appears in Archil. 23, where it appears to be under one man's rule; the name cannot

therefore yet cover the whole subcontinent, but at most the kingdom of Lydia. In Mimn. 12. 2 it contains Colophon, but its further extent is not clear; in [Hes.] fr. 165. 11 it contains Troy, and in fr. 180. 3 it is apparently associated with the Hermus.

358. **Μῆτις**: Zeus' first wife, 886 ff. Another propitious *κουροτρόφος*. On the Greek admiration of *μῆτις* above all other mental endowments —an admiration amply reflected in their mythology, and especially in the mythology of the *Theogony*—cf. Lawson, p. 31.

Εὐρυνόμη: Zeus' third wife, 907, and mother of the Graces. In *Il.* 18. 398 she is an associate of Thetis, and so presumably a Nereid, though not in the catalogue ib. 39–49; cf. Zenodotus' text at *Od.* 4. 366. She had a shrine and enjoyed an annual sacrifice at Phigalia, where she was represented in mermaid form (Paus. 8. 41. 4): the local people curiously identified her with Artemis. See Wilamowitz, *Gl. d. Hell.* i. 220–1. In another tradition, almost certainly deriving from Pherecydes of Syros, she was consort of Ophion, who was ruler of the gods before Kronos (A.R. 1. 503 = Orph. fr. 29; sch. Lyc. 1191). Cf. *C.Q.* 1963, p. 161.

Τελεστώ: the name perhaps reflects a property of her father, the *τελήεις ποταμός* (242). The variant *Τελεσθώ* was probably caused by *Μενεσθώ* above: there is a similar pair of variants (ancient) at *Il.* 5. 609, *Μενέσθην—Μενέστην*. *Τελευτώ* was a simple misreading, *εσ* and *ευ* being sometimes very alike in early minuscule, especially before *τ*. Cf. 754 *ἔστ'/εὖτ'*.

κροκόπεπλος: see on 273.

359. **Χρυσηΐς**: so *h. Dem.* 421. A form in *-σίη* would give a characteristic assonance with *Ἀσίη*, but this is not a strong point against *Χρυσηΐς*.

Ἀσίη: the name may be formed from *ἄσις* 'mud' (Doederlein, *Gloss. Hom.* i. 161); cf. *Il.* 2. 461 *ἀσίῳ ἐν λειμῶνι* (where *ā* by metrical lenthening), and Eust. 254. 26. Asia later appears as the wife of Prometheus (Hdt. 4. 45. 3) or of Iapetos (Lyc. 1283, Apld. 1. 2. 3, sch. A.R. 1. 444); cf. Wilamowitz, *Aischylos-Interpretationen*, p. 137, n. 1.

καὶ ἱμερόεσσα Καλυψώ: *h. Dem.* 422. It can hardly be maintained that the epithet presupposes the *Odyssey*; it is used non-specifically in fr. 291. 3 *Φαιώ θ' ἱμερόεσσα καὶ Εὐδώρη τανύπεπλος*. Calypso's union with Odysseus appears in 1017 (post-Hesiodic), and in the third book of the *Catalogue* it is mentioned that she and Hermes were the progenitors of the Cephallenians (fr. 150. 31). But here she may be no more than an ordinary nymph. In the *Odyssey* she is the daughter not of Oceanus but of Atlas (1. 52, 7. 245); Apld. 1. 2. 7 makes her a Nereid.

360. **Εὐδώρη**: cf. on 350.

Τύχη: the common noun *τύχη* (first in *h.* xi. 5) and the goddess Tyche signify (*a*) Fortune, Success (*h.* xi. 5; Alcm. 64), (*b*) Chance (Archil.? 8 *πάντα Τύχη καὶ Μοῖρα, Περίκλεες, ἀνδρὶ δίδωσι*). Neither occurs in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*. Tyche was widely worshipped, see Deubner, *Roscher*, iii. 2142–3. Presumably Hesiod classifies her as an Oceanid because she is a desirable patroness of the young.

Fick–Bechtel, *Gr. Personennamen*, 2nd ed., p. 463, regard the combination *Εὐδώρη τε Τύχη τε* as tantamount to *Εὐδώρη τε Εὐτύχη τε*.

Ἀμφιρὼ Ὠκυρόη τε: these names, like the last names in the list of Nereids, appear to refer to qualities of the nymphs' father. *Ὠκυρόη* may have been suggested by *Ὠκεανός*, if Hesiod, like later etymologists, connected it with *ὠκύς* and *νάω* (see Gisinger, *R.E.* xvii. 2310–11).

361. **Στύξ**: the most important is again placed last, cf. on 79 and 137. In 383–403 Hesiod tells how Styx became the *θεῶν ὅρκος*, and in 775–806 he describes her present situation and operation. See notes ad locc.

προφερεστάτη: in 777 she is positively called the eldest of Oceanus' daughters. It is more often the youngest who is placed last, cf. p. 39.

362. **αὗται ἄρ'**: I have found a parallel for the transmitted δ' only in the corrupt verses *ap.* Apld. 3. 4. 4 (Epic. adesp. 1. 10 Powell). The usual particle used in summing up a list like this is *μέν*, cf. on 263. For *αὗται ἄρ'*, cf. *Il.* 2. 760 *οὗτοι ἄρ' ἡγεμόνες Δαναῶν καὶ κοίρανοι ἦσαν*, and 16. 351. Another possibility would be *αὗται δὴ* with synizesis (cf. p. 100). On the frequent synizesis of *δὴ* and its corruption in MSS. to δ' cf. Chantraine, i. 84–5. But *αὗται δὴ* is not likely to have followed so closely after *ἥ δή* in 361. *ἄρ'* could easily become δ' *ἄρ'* (e.g. Q.S. 1. 47 codd.), and the omission of *ἄρ'* would then be the first correction to occur to a metrically minded scribe.

363. **πρεσβύταται**: perhaps *πρεσβύτεραι*. Cf. *Il.* 14. 267 *ἐγὼ δέ κέ τοι Χαρίτων μίαν ὁπλοτεράων | δώσω ὀπυιέμεναι*. Cuthbert Tunstall's manuscript may have had the comparative; see p. 63.

κοῦραι: perhaps *Κοῦραι*, cf. on 346.

πολλαί γε μέν εἰσι καὶ ἄλλαι: cf. *Od.* 21. 251 *εἰσὶ καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ Ἀχαιίδες*.

364. **τρὶς γὰρ χίλιαι**: the variant *τρὶς γὰρ μυρίαι* of the Pindar scholia is no doubt derived from *Op.* 252 *τρὶς γὰρ μυρίοι εἰσὶν ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ*, where Π^5 conversely has *τρεῖς γὰρ χίλιοι*. There is a similar variant in *Il.* 8. 562, where Zenodotus read *μυρί'* for vulgate *χίλι'*. The number 3000 is confirmed by Acusilaus 2 F 1, *Ὠκεανὸς δὲ γαμεῖ Τηθὺν ἑωυτοῦ ἀδελφήν· τῶν δὲ γίνονται τρισχίλιοι ποταμοί*. It is used to express an indefinite large number in Men. *D.* 564 *ἕνεκ' ἐμοῦ τρισχίλιοι | γένοισθ'*.

τανίσφυροι: un-Homeric word. Papyri regularly spell it *τανι-*: fr. 43 (a) 37, 73. 6, 75. 6, 141. 8, 198. 4, Ibyc. 1. 11, Bacch. 3. 60, 5. 59. The iota is by dissimilation from *-σφυρος*, as also in *τανίφυλλος*. Byzantine scribes wrote *τανυ-* (*Sc.* 35, *h. Dem.* 2, 77) by analogy with other words.

Ὠκεανῖναι: another un-Homeric word, again in 389, 507, 956. For the feminine patronymic ending *-ίνη* cf. *Ἀδρηστίνη* (*Il.* 5. 412), *Εὐηνίνη* (9. 557), *Δηωίνη* (Call. fr. 302), *Νωνακρίνη* (Call. fr. 352), *Αἰητίνη* (D.P. 490), *Θειαντίνη* (Max. 191), etc.

365. **βένθεα λίμνης**: in *Il.* 13. 21 and 32 the phrase refers to the sea (*λίμνη* of the sea also *Il.* 24. 79, *Od.* 3. 1). Here the conjunction with *γαῖαν* may suggest the same interpretation, although the sea

is already populated with Nereids; or the reference may be collectively to all open water.

366. θεάων ἀγλαὰ τέκνα: see on 240.

367–8. Chiasmus brings us back to the rivers. Cf. Acusil. cited on 364.

καναχηδὰ: only here in early epic.

369. For similar apologies cf. *Il.* 12. 176 *ἀργαλέον δέ με ταῦτα θεὸν ὣς πάντ' ἀγορεῦσαι*, 2. 488 ff., 17. 260, *Od.* 3. 114, Ibyc. 1. 23 ff.

βροτὸν ἄνδρα: Goettling's change to *ἀνέρ'* is unnecessary. For hiatus at this place in the verse cf. 399 (cj.), *Op.* 410 (v.l.), *Il.* 24. 528 (v.l.), *Od.* 3. 290, 5. 135, 262, 7. 256, 21. 216, 22. 186, 23. 335, 24. 209 (v.l.), and in later poetry *Batr.* 245, A.R. 2. 779 (v.l.), 3. 561 codd., 1112, Q.S. 4. 297. *βροτὸν ἄνδρα*, *βροτῷ ἀνδρί*, etc., regularly occupy this position in the line (*Il.* 5. 604, 18. 362, 19. 22, *Od.* 4. 397, 5. 129, 197, *h. Herm.* 565, *Sc.* 55); *βρ. ἀνέρ-*, on the other hand, is confined to the position before the bucolic diaeresis. Corruption of *ἀνέρ-* to *ἀνδρ-* is not at all common; it occurs in one manuscript at *Il.* 12. 127, while at 21. 586 *ἄνδρες ἔνειμεν* was an ancient variant for *ἀνέρες εἰμέν*.

Triclinius' *ἄνδρ' ἔν'* is a conjecture far in advance of its time. Flach conjectured *βροτῷ ἀνδρί*, comparing *Op.* 484 *ἀργαλέος δ' ἄνδρεσσι καταθνητοῖσι νοῆσαι*. But the accusative is as common as the dative, cf. *Il.* 12. 176, 16. 620, *Od.* 13. 15, 20. 313.

370. On the merely local importance of most rivers, cf. Ephorus 70 F 20 *τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἄλλοις ποταμοῖς οἱ πλησιόχωροι μόνοι θύουσιν, τὸν δὲ Ἀχελῷον μόνον πάντας ἀνθρώπους συμβέβηκεν τιμᾶν.*

ἕκαστοι: Eustathius' *ἕκαστα*, 'the details', may be right. Hesiod might also have written *ἕκαστον*.

ὅσοι περιναιετάουσι: cf. the imitation by D.P. 644 ff. *ἐκ τοῦ ἀπειρέσιοι ποταμοὶ καναχηδὰ ῥέουσιν |. . . τίς ἂν πάντων ὄνομ' εἴποι; | οὐ μὲν ἐπωνυμίην μίαν ἔλλαχεν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἑκάστῃ | οὔνομ' ἔχει στροφάλιγγι· τὰ δ' ἂν κείνοισι μέλοιτο | ἀνδράσιν οἳ κατὰ χῶρον ὁμούριον οἶκον ἔθεντο.* The *ὅσοι* of Q seems slightly preferable to *οἳ ἄν*, cf. *Il.* 17. 172, *Od.* 13. 238 ff. *οὐδέ τι λίην | οὕτω νώνυμός ἐστιν· ἴσασι δέ μιν μάλα πολλοί, | ἠμὲν ὅσοι ναίουσι πρὸς ἠῶ τ' ἠέλιόν τε, | ἠδ' ὅσσοι μετόπισθε ποτὶ ζόφον ἠερόεντα*, Anon. *De herbis* 154 *Αἴγυπτον ὅσοι περιναιετάουσιν*, Opp. *H.* 3. 90–91 *τῶν πάντων καὶ μέτρον ὅσον καὶ κόσμον ἑκάστου | ἀτρεκέως ἴσασιν, ὅσοι τάδε τεκταίνονται.* Tr has *ὅσοι περ ναιετάωσιν*, which Sittl and Mazon injudiciously interpret as a Boeotism *περναιετάωσιν* (apocope of *περί*: p. 83).

371–403. The account of the descendants of Uranos continues with the children of Theia and Hyperion (371–4) and the children and grandchildren of Kreios and Pontos' daughter Eurybie.

371. That the Sun's father was Hyperion was a fixed traditional datum, cf. on 134. Here a complete family is constructed by the addition of a mother and of other children. The Moon is naturally the sister of the Sun, though she is altogether of less importance in Greek religion (except in magic), and does not appear as a goddess

in Homer. The natural dyad Sun–Moon is extended to a typical triad (p. 36, n. 2) by the addition of Eos, Dawn or Daylight, whom we might have expected rather in the company of Hemera (124). She is associated with the Sun and Moon also in 19. Why Theia (135) is chosen to be the mother, we cannot say.

λαμπράν τε Σελήνην: p. 81.

372–3. Cf. *Il.* 11. 1–2 *Ἠὼς δ' ἐκ λεχέων παρ' ἀγαυοῦ Τιθωνοῖο | ὄρνυθ' ἵν' ἀθανάτοισι φόως φέροι ἠδὲ βροτοῖσι.* 2. 48–9 *Ἠὼς μέν ῥα θεὰ προσεβήσετο μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον | Ζηνὶ φόως ἐρέουσα καὶ ἄλλοις ἀθανάτοισιν.* These passages support the authenticity of 373, which is omitted by sch. Pi. *O.* 7. 72, and which as a formulaic line (= *Od.* 4. 479, 11. 133, 23. 280) might be suspected of being a rhapsode's addition. 'Gods and men' excludes the dead, cf. the Sun's threat and Zeus' reply in *Od.* 12. 382–6.

τοὶ is the form usually transmitted in this formula, not *οἱ*. P. Merton 1. 1 has the same variant at *Od.* 6. 243.

375. **Κρείῳ δ' Εὐρυβίη**: Kreios is the first Titan to look beyond his sisters for a wife. He and Iapetos must marry outside the family, because two female Titans, Themis and Mnemosyne, are reserved for the bed of Zeus. Kreios' children are all nonentities.

376. **Ἀστραῖον**: perhaps an invented name for the father of the stars. Astraea (first in Ovid, *M.* 1. 150) is derived from him by way of Arat. 98 *εἶτ' οὖν Ἀστραίου κείνη γένος, ὅν ῥά τέ φασιν | ἄστρων ἀρχαῖον πατέρ' ἔμμεναι.*

Πάλλαντα: this obscure figure appears in *h. Herm.* 100 as the father of the Moon (in Hesiod he is her cousin) and son of one Megamedes, who is otherwise unknown. That genealogy corresponds with the one presupposed by Ovid, who calls Aurora *Pallantias* and *Pallantis* (*M.* 9. 421, 15. 191, 700, *F.* 4. 373, 6. 567). It is not clear whether this Pallas should be regarded as in any sense identical with the giant slain by Athena, or with the Attic and Arcadian heroes of the same name.

377. **Πέρσην**: the father of Hecate. We do not know why Hesiod celebrates his *ἰδμοσύναι*, a quality which distinguishes him sharply from his namesake, Hesiod's brother, *ὁ μέγα νήπιος*. Cf. on 404–52.

καὶ: this may be taken either with *ὃς* (cf. 458, 910, *Il.* 1. 249) or as emphasizing *πᾶσι* (cf. *Od.* 4. 777 *μῦθον ὃ δὴ καὶ πᾶσιν ἐνὶ φρεσὶν ἤραρεν ἡμῖν*).

ἰδμοσύνῃσιν: a rare word, not elsewhere in early literature, but used occasionally by post-Hellenistic hexameter poets.

378. **Ἀστραίῳ δ' Ἠώς**: Dawn is mother of the winds, because the wind tends to rise at dawn in Greece (Solmsen, p. 57); cf. *Op.* 547 *ψυχρὴ γάρ τ' ἠὼς πέλεται Βορέαο πεσόντος*, A.R. 1. 519 ff., 4. 885 f., Arist. *Probl.* 933ª27, 944ª10 ff., 947ª25 ff. That she is mother of the Morning Star needs no explanation; and the other stars follow the Morning Star into the family by association. It is perhaps to make their appearance more logical that Astraios is made the paterfamilias. His connexion with the winds is a little obscure; Sittl suggests

that Hesiod is thinking of their seasonal nature (cf. *Op.* 619–21, 663–70).

καρτεροθύμους: sacrifice was offered to the winds in cases of need, e.g. Hdt. 7. 189, 191 (cited on 253); cf. Steuding, *Roscher*, vi. 513–14. For a supposed 'priestess of the winds' on linear B tablets from Knossos, see Ventris–Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* (1956), pp. 127, 306, 307. Achilles prays to Boreas and Zephyrus in *Il.* 23. 194 ff.

379. **ἀργεστὴν**, 'the cleanser' (cf. Frisk, i. 132), must be taken here and in 870 as an epithet of *Zέφυρον*. In *Il.* 11. 306 and 21. 334 it is applied to *Νότος*. The scholiast says that Acusilaus explicitly supported this interpretation: *Ἀκουσίλαος δὲ* (2 F 15) *τρεῖς ἀνέμους εἶναί φησι κατὰ Ἡσίοδον, Βορρᾶν Ζέφυρον καὶ Νότον· τοῦ γὰρ Ζεφύρου ἐπίθετον τὸ ἀργεστην φησίν*. The winds thus form another Hesiodic triad; cf. Usener, *Rh. Mus.* 1903, pp. 5–6. Those who interpreted Argestes as a separate name did so for two reasons: firstly because Argestes was the name of a wind from at least the fourth century (cf. K. Nielsen, *Classica et Mediaevalia*, 1945, pp. 34 f.), and secondly because the usual classification of winds was according to the cardinal points, so that four (or a multiple of four) was the expected number. So already in the *Odyssey* (5. 295). But this approach led to trouble. For if Hesiod's triad is to be made into a cardinal tetrad, the fourth wind must be an east wind. But Argestes, as an independent name, denotes the WNW. wind: its designation seems in fact to have been suggested by Hesiod's *ἀργεστὴς Ζέφυρος*. The scholium on this line appears to be a confused conflation of the improbable explanation that Argestes is here the east wind with the absurd one that Argestes is the west wind and Zephyrus the east wind.

The MSS. all give *ἀργέστην*, which is the correct accentuation for the proper name; for the epithet the oxytone accent (restored here by Jacoby) is attested by sch. *Il.* 11. 306, though many MSS. there and in 21. 334 accent the word recessively.

αἰψηροκέλευθον: in *Il.* 14. 17, 15. 620, we have the phrase *ἀνέμων λαιψηρὰ κέλευθα*. After an elided vowel this might presumably have been replaced by **αἰψηρὰ κέλευθα*, e.g. *ἀνέμων τ' αἰψηρὰ κέλευθα*. Cf. Pi. fr. 94b. 16–17 *Ζεφύρου τε σιγάζει πνοὰς | αἰψηράς*. *αἰψηροκέλευθος* also occurs in the anonymous poet quoted by Apld. 3. 4. 4 (Epic. adesp. 1. 9 Powell), where *Βορῆς* is the name of one of Actaeon's dogs.

Boreas was the wind most noted for swiftness; cf. Tyrt. 9. 3–4, *οὐδ' εἰ Κυκλώπων μὲν ἔχοι μέγεθός τε βίην τε, | νικῴη δὲ θέων Θρηίκιον Βορέην*.

380. **θεὰ θεῷ εὐνηθεῖσα**: cf. *Il.* 2. 821, 16. 176, *Od.* 5. 97, *Sc.* 6. S has *θεῷ θεὰ*, but the nominative regularly precedes the dative in the parallel passages; cf. also 405 *θεὰ θεοῦ ἐν φιλότητι*, 634 *Ῥείη Κρόνῳ εὐνηθεῖσα*, fr. 30. 33 *μίχθη δ' ἐν*] *φιλότητι θεὸς βροτῷ*.

381. **τοὺς δὲ μέτ'**: cf. 137.

ἀστέρα: the word is often used of planets, cf. *Il.* 22. 317–18, *Od.* 13. 93, Pl. *Epin.* 987c, Arat. 454, Maneth. 2. 14, 142, Max. 136, etc.

τίκτεν: ἔτικτε(ν) is three or four times commoner than τίκτε(ν) at this place in the line, but cf. fr. 135. 8, *Il.* 2. 628, 11. 224, 16. 180.

Ἑωσφόρον: on the form see p. 81. Venus, the only planet mentioned in Greek literature before the fourth century, deserves its individual treatment here, being at its maximum twelve times brighter than Sirius, the brightest of the fixed stars, and more than six times brighter than Jupiter and Mars, its nearest planetary rivals. Because its orbit lies inside that of the Earth, it is never visible all night, but only for a few hours after sunset or before sunrise, as the Evening Star (Ἔσπερος, *Il.* 22. 318) or the Morning Star (Ἑωσφόρος, *Il.* 23. 226; Φωσφόρος, Tim. Locr. 96E, etc.). The discovery of the identity of the two is attributed to Ibycus (fr. 50), Pythagoras (Plin. *NH* 2. 37) or Parmenides (Aët. 2. 15. 7); see however Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, 1883, pp. 417 ff. = *Kl. Schr.* i. 131 ff.

Ἠριγένεια: the epithet stands independently as a proper name in *Od.* 22. 197 and 23. 347.

382. See notes on 110. We might have expected the stars to go with the Sun and Moon. The omission of the line in $\Pi^{22}k$, however, is probably accidental; its authenticity is strongly supported by 110, and cf. 376 n.

τά τ' οὐρανὸς ἐστεφάνωται: so in the vulgate text of *Il.* 18. 485, ἐν δὲ τὰ τείρεα πάντα τά τ' οὐρανὸς ἐστεφάνωται.

383 ff. The reason why Styx is made the mother of Zelos, Nike, Kratos, and Bie is to be sought in the narrative digression that follows. This is an aetiological myth explaining (*a*) why Victory and Power are for evermore on Zeus' side, (*b*) why the gods swear by Styx. The process of thought by which the myth was created may be imagined as follows (cf. Solmsen, p. 33). Why do the gods swear by Styx? Because Zeus so ordained. Why did he do so? In reward for some service performed for him by Styx. In what connexion? Most likely in connexion with the Titanomachy, for that was when Zeus most needed help. Then did she fight for him? Hardly in person: but she might have sent her children to fight for him. Then who can they have been, that he needed their help? Why, Victory and Strength; those were the gods he needed.

Therefore those gods are made the children of Styx. The father's name is inessential. That the names Styx and Pallas both have Arcadian associations (cf. on 376 and 778–9) is perhaps worth remarking, but may well have no significance.

The story does not appear in any other ancient author, except for an allusion in Call. *H.* 1. 67.

On this section see Schwenn, pp. 98–100; P. Walcot, *Symb. Osl.* 1958, pp. 9 ff.; H. Fränkel, *Wege u. Formen*, 2nd ed., pp. 324 ff.

384. Ζῆλον: 'Glory', not envying but being envied, as in S. *Aj.* 503 οἵας λατρείας ἀνθ' ὅσου ζήλου τρέφει, D. 18. 217 ὅτε ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο καὶ ζήλου καὶ χαρᾶς καὶ ἐπαίνων ἡ πόλις ἦν μεστή, ib. 273; 23. 64 ἃ καὶ ζῆλόν τινα καὶ τιμὴν φέρει τῇ πόλει ῥηθέντα; [D.] 60. 33. Hesiod

uses the word in a different and bad sense in *Op.* 195, *Ζῆλος δ' ἀνθρώποισιν ὀιζυροῖσιν ἅπασι | δυσκέλαδος κακόχαρτος ὁμαρτήσει στυγερώπης*. It is not Homeric (*ζηλήμονες Od.* 5. 118, *δύσζηλοι* 7. 307); the verb *ζηλόω* is first found in *Op.* 23, 312, *h. Dem.* 168, 223.

Νίκην: for her subordination to Zeus compare Phidias' colossal statue of the god at Olympia; he carried a Nike on his right palm, and further Nikai were represented dancing at the feet of his throne (Paus. 5. 11. 1–2). Also at Olympia there was an altar of Zeus Katharsios and of Nike (Paus. 5. 14. 8).

385. **Κράτος ἠδὲ Βίην**: Aeschylus' use of this pair in the opening scene of the *PV* has made them more familiar than Zelos and Nike. For the verbal associations cf. 437 *νικήσας δὲ βίῃ καὶ κάρτει*, 73 *κάρτει νικήσας*, etc. A shrine of Bia and Ananke on the way up to the Acrocorinth is mentioned by Paus. 2. 4. 6; the same two deities are invoked with Apollo in *CIG* 4379*o* (Pisidia) (dub., cf. *Epigr. Gr.* 1040).

386–7. **οὐδέ τις ἕδρη**: 'nor do they sit down apart from him', an expression like Homer's *οὐχ ἕδος*, 'there's no time to sit down' (*Il.* 11. 648, 23. 205); *Op.* 572 *τότε δὴ σκάφος οὐκέτι οἰνέων. οὐδ' ὁδός* in the next line is used in a similar way, 'they do not go anywhere'. Cf. *Od.* 12. 57 *ὁπποτέρῃ δή τοι ὁδὸς ἔσσεται*, 'which way you will go'. The children of Styx are always with Zeus, whether he stands still or travels about (cf. S. *Aj.* 1237 *ποῦ βάντος ἢ ποῦ στάντος οὗπερ οὐκ ἐγώ;*).

ὅππῃ: *ὅποι c.* But *ὅππῃ* is the regular type of adverb in this kind of context, cf. *Op.* 208 *τῇ δ' εἶς, ᾗ σ' ἂν ἐγώ περ ἄγω*, *Il.* 6. 41, 15. 46, *Od.* 12. 57 (cited above).

ἡγεμονεύει: for the indicative with *μή* in an indefinite relative clause cf. *Op.* 31 *ᾧτινι μὴ βίος ἔνδον ἐπηετανὸς κατάκειται* (though Homeric MSS. often give *-κειται* for the subjunctive, besides *-κῆται*: Chantraine, i. 457); ib. 225 f. *οἳ δὲ δίκας ξείνοισι καὶ ἐνδήμοισι διδοῦσιν | ἰθείας καὶ μή τι παρεκβαίνουσι δικαίου*, *Il.* 2. 302; Monro, § 359 (b).

388. **βαρυκτύπῳ**: an un-Homeric epithet, applied to Zeus in *Op.* 79, *Sc.* 318, Sem. 1. 1, and four times in *h. Dem.* (3, 334, 441, 460); to Poseidon, below, 818. Cf. on 441.

389. **Στὺξ ἄφθιτος**: cf. 397 and note on 805.

390. **πάντας . . , | ἀθανάτους**: cf. on 67.

391. **ἐκάλεσσε . . . ἐς μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον**: cf. *Il.* 1. 402 *ὤχ' ἑκατόγχειρον καλέσασ' ἐς μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον*. It is from Olympus that the younger gods fight (633); they are not fighting to depose the Titans from Olympus (cf. on 112–13). It is only in the present passage that Hesiod tells us anything about the beginning of the Titanomachy, for in 617 ff. the narrative begins in the tenth year of the war. The younger gods here appear to have been the aggressors.

392. Oratio obliqua is rare in epic narrative. Cf. *Op.* 60–68, *h. Dem.* 331–3; Kühner–Gerth, ii. 542–3; L. R. Palmer in Wace–Stubbings, *Companion to Homer*, p. 157.

ὅς ἄν: the retention of *ἄν* in the past sequence *ὅς . . . μάχοιτο* is abnormal; parallels are collected by Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, § 702, cf. Kühner–Gerth, ii. 549.

μετὰ εἶο: here and perhaps in 401 we find *μετά* constructed with the genitive singular for the first time. In Homer it is only constructed with plural nouns (except where it means 'after' and takes the accusative), or collective singulars (as *Il.* 22. 49 *μετὰ στρατῷ*, etc.), and means 'among' rather than 'with'. Cf. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax*, ii. 242–3.

θεῶν: for the delayed position of the genitive depending on *ὅς* cf. on 213.

393. τιν': Scheer's *τὸν* and Rzach's *μιν* are unnecessary, despite the parallel of 395.

ἀπορραίσειν: the form is guaranteed by *Od.* 1. 404, 16. 428 and Emped. 128. 10, where it is constructed with a double accusative. Attempts to recognize in it the same stem (*ϝρα*) as in *ἀπηύρα*, *ἀπούρας* (Schulze, p. 87, n. 1) can account neither for the form nor for the construction here with the genitive *γεράων*. It is presumably a compound of *ῥαίω*, meaning 'strike down from (possession of)'.

γεράων, τιμὴν: the two words are synonymous, cf. 395–6, 426–7. On their meaning cf. on 74 and 112–13.

394. τὸ πάρος γε: i.e. before Zeus' anticipated reorganization; he is talking of the perpetuation of existing privileges, not of the restitution of former ones that have been withdrawn.

γε μετ': *περ ἐν* (conjectured by Hermann) is slightly more facile. For *μετ'* cf. 424 and 449.

395. ὑπὸ Κρόνου: probably 'by Kronos' rather than 'under Kronos', which would be *ἐπὶ Κρόνου* (*Op.* 111) or *ὑπὸ Κρόνῳ*.

396. τιμῆς καὶ γεράων: picking up *ἄτιμος ἠδ' ἀγέραστος*. Cf. p. 76 (viii).

ἐπιβησέμεν: cf. *h. Herm.* 172–3 *ἀμφὶ δὲ τιμῆς | κἀγὼ τῆς ὁσίης ἐπιβήσομαι ἧς περ Ἀπόλλων*. The verb is not uncommon in the metaphorical sense, both in transitive and intransitive tenses: *Op.* 659 *λιγυρῆς ἐπέβησαν ἀοιδῆς*, *Il.* 8. 285 *ἐυκλείης*, *Od.* 22. 424 *ἀναιδείης*, 23. 13 *σαοφροσύνης*, 52 *ἐυφροσύνης*, Alcm. 1. 91 *ἰρήνας*, etc.

ἥ θέμις ἐστίν: even in antiquity it was uncertain whether *ἡ* or *ἦ* should be written in this phrase. In *IG* 2^2. 1364 (*s.* i A.D.) we have *θυειν τους γεωργους και τους προςχωρους τοιν θεοιν ηι θεμις*, but as *ι* in the original diphthongs *ι*, *ηι*, *ωᾶι*, had ceased to be audible some two centuries earlier, written evidence of this period is anything but decisive. Herodian argued for *ἥ* as an adverb equivalent to *ὥς* (ii. 516 L., cf. Ap. Dysc. *Adv.* 148–9). It is better to write *ἥ* as a nominative pronoun attracted into the gender of *θέμις*. Cf. *h. Ap.* 541 *ὕβρις θ' ἥ θέμις ἐστὶ καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων*, *Od.* 24. 286 *ἦ γὰρ θέμις*; without attraction *Il.* 11. 779 *ξείνια . . . ἃ τε ξείνοις θέμις ἐστίν*. *Ut* would have been expressed by *ὡς*: *ἦ* does not occur in this sense before Aeschylus.

397. ἄρα: the particle here acknowledges fulfilment of that for which the listener has already been prepared (in 389).

398. σὺν σφοῖσιν παίδεσσι: in *h. Ap.* 148 the MSS. give *αὐτοῖς σὺν παίδεσσι*, while Thucydides quotes in the form *σὺν σφοῖσιν τεκέεσσι*.

σφός does not occur elsewhere in Hesiod. In Homer it means 'their' (15 times); for its use with singular reference cf. Alcm. 88, Thgn. 712.

φίλου διὰ μήδεα πατρός: cf. on 180. Hesiod does not tell us why Oceanus, though a Titan, abetted Styx in this piece of *ambitio*; cf. on 133 *ad fin.* For the use of διὰ cf. 465 *al.* *Διὸς μεγάλου διὰ βουλάς.*

399. Cf. fr. 240. 6.

περισσὰ: the word does not occur elsewhere in Hesiod or Homer, though περισσεύειν was used in the *Melampodia* (fr. 278. 4). Cf. Thgn. 1386–7 *σοὶ τί περισσὸν Ζεὺς τόδε τιμήσας δῶρον ἔδωκεν ἔχειν;*

ἔδωκεν: most editors except Jacoby follow Aldus in printing the aorist. It is altogether more natural in this narrative context and in association with *τίμησε*, cf. 412 *τὴν περὶ πάντων | Ζεὺς Κρονίδης τίμησε, πόρεν δέ οἱ ἀγλαὰ δῶρα*, Thgn. l.c., A. *Eum.* 850. The hiatus at this place in the verse, though rare, is not unique, see on 369, and especially fr. 14. 7]ῳ δῶρα ἔδωκε. Other conjectures avoid it: δῶρ' ἀπέδωκεν Scheer, δῶρον ἔδωκεν Peppmüller (περισσά adverbial!), ἔδωκε δὲ δῶρα περισσά Bergk, δῶρά ϝ' (= ϝοι) ἔδωκεν Rzach. (For the late position of οἱ in Rzach's conjecture cf. the examples in Monro, pp. 337 f., and van Leeuwen, *Ench.*, 2nd ed., p. 415. There is, however, no certain example of the elision of (ϝ)οἱ, cf. Monro, p. 350.)

The perfect given by all MSS. (δ' ἔδωκεν Q) might be defended by *Il.* 5. 428 (Zeus to Aphrodite) *οὔ τοι τέκνον ἐμὸν δέδοται πολεμήια ἔργα*, Tyrt. 2. 2 *Ζεὺς Ἡρακλείδαις τήνδε δέδωκε πόλιν.* In *Op.* 279 Porphyry gives *ἀνθρώποις δὲ δέδωκε δίκην.* We have further perfects in 414, 415, 426, 449. But none of these is in a narrative context.

400. θεῶν μέγαν . . . ὅρκον: 784, cf. *Il.* 15. 38, etc. Styx is to the gods much as Horkos to men (see on 231). A god takes an oath by Styx, not merely by mentioning her name, but by making a libation with her water, cf. 793 and note. This constitutes an effective curse on the perjurer. Hirzel, *Der Eid*, pp. 174 f., thinks that the oath by Styx must once have been sworn by men (cf. Hdt. 6. 74—but this is a piece of eccentricity by Cleomenes), and was attributed to the gods because it was the oldest ritual of the kind. 'Mit dem Eide der Götter wird es daher keine andere Bewandtniss haben als mit ihrer Sprache. Wie diese keineswegs eine freie Schöpfung der Dichter war, sondern sich zumeist aus Wortdoubletten zusammensetzte, die der menschlichen Rede entbehrlich, der göttlichen aber durch Sinn, Wohllaut und auch durch Alter um so würdiger schienen, so war offenbar auch der Schwur bei der Styx nur ein besonders alter und heiliger, bei den Menschen aber ausser Gebrauch gekommen, der sich eben deshalb von selbst zum Schwur der Götter anbot.'

It is true at any rate that the gods' oath has points of contact with that sworn by men. Both are, or may be, invocations of chthonic powers, cf. *Il.* 3. 278, 19. 259, and the association of Horkos with the Erinyes in *Op.* 804; both may take place at springs or beside water, perhaps because a spring is a place where a chthonic deity may issue forth (on the chthonic nature of spring water see Ninck, pp. 1 ff.).

Cf. Demosth. *ap.* Dem. Phal. fr. 163 *μὰ γῆν μὰ κρήνας μὰ ποταμοὺς μὰ νάματα* (cf. sch. Ar. *Av.* 194; Fraenkel, *Beob. z. Aristoph.*, pp. 71–75); *SIG* 527. 34 ff. (*c.* 220 B.C.) (*ὀμνύω*) *ἥρωας καὶ ἡρωάσσας καὶ κράνας καὶ ποταμοὺς καὶ θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας*; Alciphr. 3. 33 *ὅρκῳ τὸ πᾶν ὁ χρυσοῦς ἐπέτρεψεν. ἀγαγοῦσα οὖν αὐτὸν ἡ γυνὴ εἰς τὸ Καλλίχορον τὸ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι φρέαρ ἀπωμόσατο καὶ ἀπελύσατο τὴν αἰτίαν*; Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 7. 33 f. Similarly outside Greece, cf. Arrian 156 F 94 *καὶ Βιθυνίας ποταμὸς Ὅρκος ὄνομα, ὃς φρικωδέστατος ὅρκων τοῖς ἐκεῖ ἐνομίζετο, πρὸς βίαν εἰς τὰς δίνας ἕλκων τὸν ἐπίορκον, εἰ μὴ δρόμῳ ἐξεπήδησεν*; Genesis xxi. 31 (with Jos. *AJ* 1. 212), xlvi. 1; H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda* (1894), p. 520, n. 5; J. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer*, 3rd ed. (1881), p. 897. A subterranean spring is therefore ideal for a divine oath.

ὅρκος is here not the oath itself, i.e. the act of swearing, but that by which the oath is sworn. On this not uncommon use see Buttmann, *Lexilogus*, pp. 433–9. Leumann, *Hom. Wörter*, pp. 81 ff., regards it as having its origin in misunderstanding of *Il.* 15. 38 ff.

401. ἤματα πάντα: 305 n.

ἑοῦ: this form was read by Zenodotus in *Il.* 2. 239 and 19. 384 (probably also in *Od.* 7. 217) for vulgate *ἕο*, and it is used by A.R. 4. 803 and attested by Ap. Dysc. *Pron.* 77. 10. A similar form *ἑοῖο* is found at A.R. 1. 1032, 2. 6 (with v.l. *ἑείο*), and corresponding forms *τεοῦ* and *τεοῖο* occur in the second person pronoun.

The variant *ἑοὺς* no doubt = *suos*, though Boeotism-hunters will probably want to see in it the genitive pronoun *ἑοῦς* used by Corinna fr. 9. Rzach adopts Brugmann's conjecture *ἕο*, which is arbitrary in view of the evidence for the existence of *ἑοῦ*. Another form, *ἕω*, is given by some MSS. in *Il.* 2. 239, *Od.* 5. 459 (*contra metrum*), 7. 217, and as a variant by the scholiast in 2. 247; if genuine, it could be a metathesized form of *εἷο*.

μεταναιέτας: the verb *μεταναιετάω* is used in *h. Dem.* 87, the noun *περιναιέτης* in *Il.* 24. 488. For the use of *μετα-* instead of *συν-* cf. above on 392; for *-ᾱς*, p. 85.

402–3. The narrative, like the narratives to follow, ends with a tribute to Zeus' absolute power. Cf. 506, 613–16, 881 ff.

αὐτὸς δὲ μέγα κρατεῖ ἠδὲ ἀνάσσει: cf. *Il.* 16. 172 *αὐτὸς δὲ μέγα κρατέων ἤνασσεν*.

404–52. Hecate. The account of the descendants of Uranos continues with the daughters and a granddaughter of Phoibe and Koios. The more celebrated of the two daughters of this pair is Leto. Leto's main claim to fame is that she is mother of Apollo and Artemis (918–20); but this cannot be related yet (cf. p. 38), and she is accordingly well praised and set on one side.

Her sister Asteria becomes the wife of Perses and the mother of the much more renowned Hecate. Upon Hecate there follows an extensive encomium, the passage generally described as the 'Hymn to Hecate', though it is in reality not so much a hymn as a gospel. It is a section of

extreme interest for the student of Greek religion; for seldom elsewhere do we find a Greek setting out in so full a statement his personal beliefs concerning the nature and powers of a god. Many scholars since Goettling have held that it is not by Hesiod, some of them with vehemence: 'Wer es noch nicht eingesehen hat, versteht nichts von Stil und von Hesiods Göttern auch nichts.' (Wilamowitz, *Gl. d. Hell.* i. 172.) But let us consider the evidence undeterred.

The incidence of theophoric names strongly suggests that Hecate came to Greece from Caria (E. Sittig, *De Graecorum nominibus theophoris*, Halle, 1911, pp. 61 f.), but we do not know when. By the fifth century we know that she was being worshipped in Aegina, in Selinus, and by many people in Athens. Earlier than that there seems to be no archaeological evidence except in Asia Minor; but Hecate was mentioned in the hymn to Demeter (24 f., 51 ff., 438 ff.), and in the *Great Ehoiai* (fr. 262). She was always a goddess of private rather than public cult, and this is sufficient to account for her absence from the Homeric pantheon (Pfister, *Philol.* 84, 1928, p. 8). She must have been known in Greece by 700 B.C., perhaps much earlier. Her worshippers may have been few at that date, but we cannot say within what geographical limits they were contained. That one of them should speak forth from Boeotia is unexpected, but there is absolutely no reason for holding it impossible.

The Hecate described is one very different from the Hecate familiar from later centuries. She is completely free from lunar, magical, chthonic, and bloody associations; indeed, of the four realms that constitute the universe in 736–7, Tartarus is the sole one in which she has no share (cf. 413–14, 427). She is a healthy, independent and open-minded goddess, ready to help different kinds of men in different situations: a universal goddess in the sense that she encroaches upon the provinces of all the other gods (with their entire approval), yet working with them, not displacing them, and always subordinate to Zeus. She does not, therefore, disrupt the Hesiodic scheme of distribution of *τιμαί* among the gods. Hers is a special kind of *τιμή*, superimposed upon the formal scheme, but harmonizing with it.

The multiplicity of functions attributed to her is in fact much less remarkable than is usually made out. We are accustomed to think of the ancient gods in pigeon-holes: Hephaestus as the god of fire, Poseidon as the god of the sea, and so forth. In reality they can very seldom be summed up so neatly. A god's functions are as wide as the needs of his worshippers. Every town, every social or professional group, every family, generally has one principal deity whom it worships above all others; and the demands of that band of worshippers, in so far as they are not answered by other gods, will determine what different faces the principal god's predicated power will assume. So it is with Hecate. Her *τιμή* is different in kind, more 'universal' than that of other gods, precisely because she is drawn from the life, because she is the chief goddess of her evangelist.

From the point of view of *Religionsgeschichte*, then, there is no reason

why the zealot who composed these lines should not have been Hesiod. Hecate is not mentioned elsewhere in the *Theogony*; but there is nowhere else where we should expect her to be mentioned. It is not difficult to suggest how Hesiod might have come in contact with the Hecate-cult. His father came from Aeolian Cyme. This is well north of the Asiatic Hecate-zone; but we have already had reason to conjecture that his trading activities brought him within hail of Miletus (p. 42), and Miletus is the site of the oldest known piece of archaeological evidence for Hecate-worship, namely the archaic altar in the shrine of Apollo Delphinios with a bustrophedon inscription recording its dedication to Hecate by the prytaneis Euthras (?) and Leodamas. (The inscription is sixth century, the altar may be seventh. See C. G. Yavis, *Greek Altars*, 1949, p. 137.) If Hesiod's father was a Hecate-worshipper, it will be no coincidence that he gave one of his sons the name Perses, the name which Hesiod attributes to Hecate's father. (Kr(e)ios, Koios, Astraios also appear as men's names in the Archaic period, perhaps for similar reasons.) It is further to be remarked that enthusiasm for Hecate is entirely in accord with the praise which Hesiod bestows on each of her immediate relations. Her father Perses is praised for his wisdom (377), her mother Asteria is *εὐώνυμος* (409), her aunt Leto is mild and gentle (406–8), and her cousins Apollo and Artemis are *ἱμερόεντα γόνον περὶ πάντων Οὐρανιώνων* (919).

We must now turn to the stylistic arguments which have been advanced. 'Totus ille numinis alicuius prolixus honor non decet simplicissimam theogoniae Hesiodeae expositionem' (Goettling). This begs the question; we cannot expect a man to show this sort of feeling for more than one or two individual deities, and the hymn to the Muses shows that Hesiod is capable both of religious enthusiasm and of prolixity in expressing it (cf. p. 75). Goettling's further arguments concern particular linguistic points. They were sufficiently answered by Klausen, *Rh. Mus.* 1835, pp. 453 ff., and Schoemann, pp. 219 ff. But impugners of the authenticity of the section have continued to look for linguistic 'oddities' to give substance to their case. The assumption seems to be that if a poet is famous, he never says anything strange or unparalleled; that even if he is an unskilled amateur, burdened with the unfamiliar technique of written composition and struggling to say things that had never been said before, his expression will never be strained or awkward if his name is Hesiod, only if he is a nameless interpolator. Let someone find in Hesiod a passage of fifty lines or so that is perfectly faultless, and contains not a word that is in any degree remarkable—and then there will be real ground for suspicion that it is not by Hesiod. The nearest approach to such a passage is in fact the end of the *Theogony*: and that is defended by no one.

However, we ought to review the alleged peculiarities of the present section and see what they amount to.

1. 'Contra Hesiodum v. 411[a] auctorem fort. vox *ὑποκυσαμένη* facit (308[i] ~ 125, 405)' (Jacoby, ad loc.). The argument is that the

compound *ὑποκυσαμένη* is used in another passage which Jacoby has athetized, whereas the simple verb is used in two passages which Jacoby has not athetized. I suppose I need not answer this. Cf. on 308.

2. The un-Hesiodic use of *τιμή* in 414 and 418 (Sellschopp, *Stilistische Untersuchungen*, p. 52, n. 83). 418 corresponds closely to the use of *τιμάω* in 81; 414 is a natural continuation of 412–13, and 412 is exactly parallel to 399.

The remaining arguments are those of G. S. Kirk, *Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique*, vii. 80.

3. *μάλιστα* at the end of the sentence in 415. Kirk does not put much weight on this himself, and indeed there is nothing in the least remarkable about it. See ad loc.
4. 'The new use of *νόμος* = "custom" in 417'. The use is un-Homeric, but has perfectly adequate parallels at *Op.* 276 and 388; and there is also a good parallel in the *Works and Days* for the thought, see ad loc.
5. *μεγάλως παραγίνεται* in 429. This may be admitted as an unusual phrase.
6. 'Transitive *μεταπρέπει* in the next line'. This is a misinterpretation of the Greek.
7. '*γλαυκὴν . . . ἐργάζονται* meaning "work the sea", excessively bold in construction and ambiguous in result'. The construction is ordinary, cf. *Op.* 623 *γῆν δ' ἐργάζεσθαι*, and taking the phrase in its context, I can see no ambiguity. The line seems to me to exhibit several specially Hesiodic characteristics, see ad loc.
8. '*ἄγρην* = "commercial gain" in 442'. Another misinterpretation.
9. 'The purely decorative variation of *ἐθέλουσά γε θυμῷ* and *θυμῷ γ' ἐθέλουσα* in 443 and 446'. I explain the variation differently; but let it be 'purely decorative': what bearing would that have on the authorship?

That is all. It amounts to *one* unusual phrase; and that much less difficult than *μετ' ἐκείνην* in 450, which I will add myself for good measure—it may be corrupt. To assume an interpolation of 42 lines in order to account for these two phrases (not that it would account for them) is obviously unjustified; and I can see no good reason for denying either of them to Hesiod.

To turn from negative to positive arguments: there are three structural considerations which go to support the genuineness of the passage. (1) As Jacoby himself says, 'certum Asteriam e Persei [*sic*] coniugio sive marem sive feminam procreasse, *ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἀποφώλιοι εὐναὶ ἀθανάτων*'. This principle admittedly breaks down at the end of the poem, but it is maintained throughout the earlier part. (2) *ποτε* in 409 heralds a sizeable digression; cf. on 22. (3) As has been pointed out in the Prolegomena, pp. 38–39, such a digression is presupposed by the order of the Titans' families in the whole section 337–616.

There is one further argument. The section is agreed to be early,

even by those who deny it to Hesiod, such as Wilamowitz and Nilsson. 'Sicher ist die Hekatepartie um so verständlicher, je früher sie abgefasst ist' (T. Kraus, *Hekate*, p. 60). But I have argued (p. 45) that the audience to whom it appears to be addressed is exactly the audience that was gathered before the poet Hesiod at a recorded occasion in his life, the same occasion that is suggested by an allusion in the proem of the *Theogony*. This is hardly a coincidence.

On the internal structure of the passage see note on 415.

This section is discussed by R. H. Klausen, *Rh. Mus.* 1835, pp. 453–8; E. Gerhard, *Zeitschr. f. Altertumsw.* 1852, pp. 97–111; Schoemann, pp. 215–49; G. Némethy, *Egyet. Philol. Közl.* 11, 1887, pp. 8–13; V. Puntoni, *Riv. Fil.* 21, 1892, pp. 201–19; G. C. W. Warr, *C.R.* 1895, pp. 390–3; Farnell, ii. 501 ff.; Pizzagalli, *Mito e Poesia*, pp. 230–6; O. Kern, *Ath. Mitt.* 1925, pp. 157–64, and *Rel. d. Griechen*, i. 245–7; F. Pfister, *Philol.* 84, 1928, pp. 1–9; Mazon, *Hésiode*, pp. 21–24; P. Friedländer, *G.G.A.* 1931, pp. 261–3; Schwenn, pp. 100–5; Paula Philippson, *Thessalische Mythologie*, 1944, pp. 89–98; Nilsson, *Gesch. d. gr. Rel.*, 2nd. ed., i. 722–5; Walcot, *Symb. Osl.* 1958, pp. 10–14; van Groningen, pp. 89–90, 267–70; T. Kraus, *Hekate*, 1960, pp. 57–64.

404. **Φοίβη δ' αὖ Κοίου**: on Leto's parentage cf. 136 n.

πολυήρατον ἦλθεν ἐς εὐνήν: cf. *Od.* 23. 354.

405. **δῆπειτα**: see p. 100.

θεὰ θεοῦ: cf. on 380.

406. **κυανόπεπλον**: this epithet is applied to Leto again in [Orph.] *H.* 35. 1. It has the appearance of a cult title. Black clothing is elsewhere associated with mourning (*μέλας* for mortals, *κυάνεος* for gods: *Il.* 24. 94, *h. Dem.* 183, 319, etc., A. *Cho.* 11, E. *Alc.* 427, 819, *Ph.* 372, *IPE* I. ii. 34. 24, ps.-Scymn. 401, Dion. Hal. 2. 19, etc.) or with deities such as Night (Bacch. 3. 13, E. *Ion* 1150, Alexis 89), Death (E. *Alc.* 843), the Erinyes (A. *Eum.* 370). Leto has ordinarily nothing to do with any of this; but we may recall the cult of Leto *Μυχία* or *Νυχία* attested by Plut. *Daed. Platae.* 3 (*Mor.* vii. 44 Bern.), on which cf. Cook, *Zeus*, iii. 1042.

μείλιχον: cf. Pi. *Pae.* 12. 12 *ἀγανόφρων | Κοίου θυγάτηρ*, Pl. *Crat.* 406A *Λητὼ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πραότητος τῆς θεοῦ, κατὰ τὸ ἐθελήμονα εἶναι ὧν ἄν τις δέηται. ἴσως δὲ ὡς οἱ ξένοι καλοῦσιν· πολλοὶ γὰρ Ληθὼ καλοῦσιν. ἔοικεν οὖν πρὸς τὸ μὴ τραχὺ τοῦ ἤθους ἀλλ' ἥμερόν τε καὶ λεῖον Ληθὼ κεκλῆσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦτο καλούντων*. In a Thespian inscription of the third or second century B.C., *IG* 7. 1814 *Θυνοκλίδας Διονυσίω Διὶ Μιλίχυ κὴ Μιλίχη*, Zeus Meilichos' consort Meilicha may be Leto (Sittl; cf. Cook, l.c., for Leto Mychia as Zeus' consort on Cithaeron), though we find him coupled with Hera Meilichia in a Cretan inscription, *GDI* 5046. *μειλιχ(ι)ος* is a common attribute of gods apart from the widespread cult of Zeus Meilichios; see Pfister, *R.E.* xv. 340–5.

The series of masculine for feminine endings in 406–8 is remarkable. Single examples occur here and there in Homer (cf. K. Witte, *Glotta*, 3, 1912, pp. 106–10; Shipp, op. cit. (on 266), pp. 68–70). The

accumulation here is probably due to attraction, the first *μείλιχον* (perhaps even *κυανόπεπλον*) drawing the remaining adjectives after it.

408. The repetition of *μείλιχον* has aroused suspicion. Guyet condemned the line, Hermann put it down as a doublet. Rzach's transposition of it to follow 406 gives an epanalepsis of the usual type in which the end of one line is immediately picked up by the beginning of the next: cf. *Il.* 6. 395–6, 20. 371–2, 22. 127–8, 23. 641–2; above, p. 76. But there are cases where a line intervenes: *Od.* 4. 814–16 *ἦ πρὶν μὲν πόσιν ἐσθλὸν ἀπώλεσα θυμολέοντα,* | *παντοίῃς ἀρετῇσι κεκασμένον ἐν Δαναοῖσιν,* | *ἐσθλόν, τοῦ κλέος εὐρὺ καθ' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος*; A.R. fr. 7, Virg. *A.* 6. 162–4. The verse which Rzach cites from an Egyptian sepulchral epigram (*Archiv f. Pap.* 5. 166), *μειλείχιον πάντ[εσσ]ι καὶ ἤπιον ἀνθρώποισι* (referring to the character of the deceased young man), seems to have no bearing on the matter.

ἀγανώτατον: for a superlative used as an adjective of two terminations cf. *Od.* 4. 442 *ὁλοώτατος ὀδμή*, *h. Dem.* 157 *κατὰ πρώτιστον ὀπωπήν*, Thuc. 3. 101. 2, 5. 110. 1, Pl. *Rep.* 518A. *ἀγανός* is associated with *ἤπιος* in *Od.* 2. 230, 5. 8, with *μειλίχιος* in *Il.* 9. 113. It is used of the fatal shafts of Leto's children.

ἐντὸς Ὀλύμπου: 37 n.

409. Ἀστερίην: the same parentage for Hecate (but with Perses cuckolded by Zeus) is given by Musaeus (fr. 16) *ap.* sch. A.R. 3. 1035 (cf. 3. 467). That Leto's sister should be called Asteria must somehow be related to the fact that Asteria is given (besides Ortygia) as the original name of Delos (Pi. fr. 52e. 42, cf. 33c. 6, Call. *H.* 4. 36–40, 197–316, Plin. *NH* 4. 66, Apld. 1. 4. 1, Ant. Lib. 35, etc.). In the version of Callimachus, and perhaps also in Pi. fr. 52h. 35 ff., Asteria jumped into the sea to avoid the embrace of Zeus. But Hesiod may have known nothing of this.

It is interesting that he makes Hecate a first cousin of Apollo and Artemis. Her name evidently corresponds to Apollo's title Hekatos, and were her character and attributes more like those of Artemis, one would regard her as a hypostasis of *Ἄρτεμις ἑκάτα* (A. *Suppl.* 676), with whom she was in fact later identified. Like Apollo she is of Asiatic origin. Clearly there is a historical kinship, and Hesiod's genealogies reflect it.

εὐώνυμον: probably 'whom it is good to speak of', for the word is presumably the opposite of *δυσώνυμος* (see on 171). It occurs as a cult epithet of Artemis, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1914, p. 20.

ἥν ποτε: cf. on 22 and 404–52 (p. 279).

410. φίλην κεκλῆσθαι ἄκοιτιν: cf. *Il.* 3. 138, 14. 268, *h. Dem.* 79. This phrase, together with *ἠγάγετ' ἐς μέγα δῶμα*, suggests a formality and ceremony not attained by any of the other marriages in the *Theogony*, which seem to belong rather to the age of nature. I doubt if this is unconnected with the special esteem in which Hesiod holds Hecate.

412. Cf. 399.

413–14. Hecate has a portion of honour in earth, sea, and sky

(cf. 427); that is to say, her power is not restricted to one of these realms. (This is far from saying that she is all-powerful throughout them.) Many gods enjoy a similar freedom, but it is not usual for the point to be made explicitly, especially in the Archaic period. Nilsson (*Gesch. d. gr. Rel.*, 2nd ed., i. 722) regards it as a mark of Orphic influence, referring in particular to the Orphic Phanes. But Phanes was a demiurge rather than a power now ruling the world; and it is unlikely that 'Orphism' yet existed. Even if it did, the individuality of its modes of thought must not be overrated. As for the Orphic idea of Hecate, although it includes universal power (cf. *H.* 1. 2 *οὐρανίαν χθονίαν τε καὶ εἰναλίαν*), in other respects nothing more dissimilar to the Hesiodic goddess can easily be imagined: cf. [Orph.] *H.* 1, fr. 41–42, *A.* 975 ff.

Maas, *Epidaurische Hymnen*, p. 140, n. 2, compares the hymn to Rhea which he ascribes to Telesilla, Mel. adesp. 17. 19 ff. *καὶ οὐκ ἄπειμι εἰς θεούς, | ἂν μὴ τὰ μέρη λάβω, | τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ οὐρανῷ, | τὸ δ' ἥμισυ γαίας, | πόντῳ τὸ τρίτον μέρος, | χοΰτως ἀπελεύσομαι*, and postulates an epic Meter-hymn as the common source. The hymn in the Homeric collection (xiv) contains no suggestion of omnipotence or omnipresence.

γαίης . . . καὶ ἀτρυγέτοιο θαλάσσης: *Il.* 14. 204. Hesiod could have said *γαίης τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἠδὲ θαλάσσης*, cf. 427, 847. The way he has expressed himself suggests either that the sky was an afterthought, or that he wished to give it special emphasis.

ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ: for the preposition Maas, l.c., compares *Od.* 5. 40 *λαχὼν ἀπὸ λαίδος αἶσαν*. L has a suprascript *ὑ*, sc. *ὑπ'*.

ἔμμορε τιμῆς: the perfect form *ἔμμορε* is used only in this formula in early epic (426, *Il.* 1. 278, 15. 189, *Od.* 5. 335, 11. 338, *h. Aphr.* 37), except at *Op.* 347 *ἔμμορέ τοι τιμῆς ὅς τ' ἔμμορε γείτονος ἐσθλοῦ*.

415. This line, echoing 411–12, though not equivalent to it, rounds off the first 'period' of the section. Ending as it does on a general note, it enables Hesiod to go on to a new point: Hecate's responsiveness to the prayers of men. This leads back to a more extended and detailed account of the ways in which she can exercise it in the world of men (429–47, perhaps with 450–1) and a conclusion that completes the ring (448–9). Van Groningen, p. 89, well speaks of a 'spiral' structure of composition: two main rings, the second larger than the first.

θεοῖσι τετιμένη: cf. *Il.* 24. 533, *h. Dem.* 397, *Aphr.* 205.

μάλιστα: for the position of the adverb cf. *Il.* 16. 146 *τὸν μετ' Ἀχιλλῆα . . . τῖε μάλιστα*, 14. 460, 22. 321, *Od.* 17. 257, *h. Ap.* 170, etc.

416. **γὰρ**: justifying the change from aorist to perfect in the preceding lines, rather than the actual propositions they contain.

ὅτε πού τις: *που* makes the clause vaguer; not so much 'if anyone anywhere' as 'if someone somewhere'. Cf. *Il.* 11. 292, *Od.* 18. 7.

417. **ἔρδων ἱερὰ καλὰ**: cf. fr. 283. 3 (*ἔρδειν*), *Od.* 11. 130 (*ῥέξας*).

κατὰ νόμον: cf. *Op.* 136 *οὐδ' ἔρδειν μακάρων ἱεροῖς ἐπὶ βωμοῖς, | ἣ θέμις ἀνθρώποισι κατ' ἤθεα*. Sacrifice is to Hesiod a ritual to be performed regularly; libations twice daily, and more substantial offerings

when possible (*Op.* 336 ff.). Hecate does not seem to require a different type of offering from other gods. On *νόμος* see 66 n.

ἱλάσκηται: the object to be supplied is probably *θεούς* (so sch.), as in *Op.* 338, though there the ellipse is admittedly easier after *ἔρδειν ἱέρ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι.*

418. **κικλήσκει**: cf. *Il.* 9. 568 *πολλὰ δὲ καὶ γαῖαν πολυφόρβην χερσὶν ἁλοία, | κικλήσκουσ' Ἀΐδην καὶ ἐπαινὴν Περσεφόνειαν | . . . | παιδὶ δόμεν θάνατον*, A. *Suppl.* 212, 217. Hecate is presumably one of a number of gods that the suppliant names in his invocation. Compare the long catalogue in Ar. *Av.* 865 ff. (with 889 *παῦσαι καλῶν*).

Invocations of Hecate were probably not common west of the Aegean at this period; but perhaps Hesiod does not mean 'everyone nowadays is invoking Hecate', but rather (paratactically) 'a man invokes Hecate, and she hears him', i.e. if he invokes her, she hears him.

πολλή τέ οἱ ἔσπετο τιμή: Koechly's *δέ* for *τε* receives some support from fr. 141. 18 *πολ]λὴ δέ οἱ ἔσπετο τιμή*, and may have stood in Tunstall's MS., see p. 63. For the *τιμή* (not mere benevolent regard, but practical advancement) accorded to the worshipper by the goddess, Kraus, *Hekate*, p. 63, n. 202, compares the formula *τιμηθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἑκάτης* on Phrygian inscriptions of the imperial period (cf. A. D. Nock, *J.H.S.* 45, 1925, pp. 100–1). But there are sufficient earlier parallels to show that Hesiod is not using a technical term of the Hecate-cult: see on 81.

419. **ᾧ πρόφρων γε**: a typical qualification, like the type discussed on 28. *πρόφρων* is often so used of a favourably disposed deity, e.g. 433, *Il.* 22. 303, *Od.* 8. 498, 13. 359, *h. Dem.* 487, 494, xxx. 8, 18. For its conjunction with *ὑποδέχεσθαι* (in different senses) cf. *Il.* 9. 480, *Od.* 2. 387, 14. 54, 20. 372, 23. 314, *h. Dem.* 226.

ὑποδέξεται: not merely 'receives' but 'accepts'.

εὐχάς: the word occurs at *Od.* 10. 526, but not elsewhere in Homer, and in the Hesiodic corpus only in fr. 321. The usual epic word is *εὐχωλή* or *ἀρή* (once *λιτή*).

420. **ὄλβον ὀπάζει**: cf. 96, *Od.* 18. 19, *h. Dem.* 487, xv. 9, xxx. 8, etc.

ἐπεὶ δύναμίς γε πάρεστιν: this declaration is a frequent element in prayers themselves, e.g. *Il.* 16. 515 *δύνασαι δὲ σὺ πάντοσ' ἀκούειν*, Pi. *N.* 7. 96, Call. *H.* 4. 226, Procl. *H.* 1. 46; see Norden on Virg. *A.* 6. 117 and *Agnostos Theos*, pp. 154 and 221, and, for examples from Augustan and Silver Latin poets, G. Appel, *De Romanorum precationibus*, 1909, p. 153. Cf. also *Od.* 5. 25 (Zeus to Athena). For the use in the third person, cf. Call. *H.* 2. 28 f. *τὸν χορὸν ὡπόλλων, ὅτι οἱ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀείδει, | τιμήσει· δύναται γάρ, ἐπεὶ Διὶ δεξιὸς ἧσται.* Verbally Hesiod's expression resembles *ὅση δύναμίς γε πάρεστι Il.* 8. 294, 13. 786, *Od.* 23. 128, *εἴ μοι δύναμίς γε παρείη Il.* 22. 20, *Od.* 2. 62.

421. The line is the same as 154, where it referred to the Titans. Here too it may refer to them (and not loosely to the younger gods): Hecate has a share in all the provinces of the world as they were divided up among the Titans (cf. 423–5).

422. **τιμὴν**: 'a province', cf. on 74.

ἔλαχον: the word means 'receive in consequence of a distribution'; we cannot infer from it how the distribution was made.

τούτων: there is a slight anacoluthon of thought; Hesiod ends the sentence as if he had said *ὅσα γὰρ οἱ θεοὶ διεδάσαντο.*

ἔχει: there is something to be said for Koechly's *ἔχεν*, seeing that the régime of the Titans belongs to the past; the following sentence 423–5 then brings us up to the present and justifies the *γάρ* in 421. But by keeping *ἔχει* we can more easily reconcile this passage with 412–14, where it is Zeus who gives Hecate her shares in earth and sea. If this is an increase beyond what she had under the Titans, then she cannot previously have had shares in all the Titanic provinces. She had a province, but a smaller one: Zeus took none of it away from her (423–5), and in fact extended it.

Possibly the inconsistency is not serious enough to require this interpretation, which is admittedly not the obvious way of taking 421–5. The important thing for Hesiod is the extent of Hecate's power now: his first impulse is to explain it as the ordinance of Zeus, and a little further on he decides to claim a higher antiquity for it, not realizing the contradiction. Cf. on 450.

423–4. Zeus' treatment of Hecate in this respect matches his promise in 392–4 to those who would fight on his side against the Titans. It is noteworthy that she performs no special deed or service to merit her honourable treatment, as Styx does; she is in fact a goddess with very little activity to her credit in mythology.

ἐβιήσατο: with double accusative, as in *Il.* 21. 451.

οὐδέ τ': Denniston, p. 529. The reading of Π^{25} is doubtful: *ουδ'* is certain, *ο* is possible for *ε*, *ετ* is impossible.

μέτα: almost all editors wrongly print *μετὰ*. Cf. Bühler, op. cit. (on 142), p. 228, n. 1.

προτέροισι θεοῖσιν: see on 133 and 486.

425. Cf. *h. Dem.* 85 f. *ἀμφὶ δὲ τιμὴν | ἔλλαχεν ὡς τὰ πρῶτα διάτριχα δασμὸς ἐτύχθη.*

ἀλλ' ἔχει, ὡς τὸ πρῶτον: cf. *Il.* 24. 27 (the gods wanted Hermes to save Hector's body from Achilles: Hera, Poseidon, and Athene did not approve) *ἀλλ' ἔχον ὥς σφιν πρῶτον ἀπήχθετο Ἴλιος ἱρή.*

ἀπ' ἀρχῆς: apparently equivalent to *ἐξ ἀρχῆς* (45). If so, this is the only occurrence in Hesiod or Homer (except perhaps below, 609) of *ἀπό* in a temporal sense; in the Homeric phrase *ἀπὸ δείπνου* it can be taken locally. A conceivable alternative interpretation would be 'the distribution from the kingdom' (cf. 112), with *ἀπό* as in *Od.* 5. 40 (cited on 413–14); but this use of *ἀρχή* is not found earlier than the fifth century.

δασμός: the word is used in *Il.* 1. 166.

426. **μουνογενής**: cf. 448 *μουνογενὴς ἐκ μητρὸς ἐοῦσα*, A.R. 3. 847, 1035. Hesiod also uses the word in *Op.* 376. Presumably an only daughter might be in danger of *βλάβη* in the sense of 89, having no brother to protect her interests.

427. In its transmitted form, this line cannot be accepted. ἔμμορε could be construed with an accusative γέρας (cf. A.R. 3. 3, 208, 4. 1749), but not side by side with a genitive (cf. E. Löfstedt, *Syntactica*, ii. 22). Heyne condemned the line; Goettling, followed by Rzach, transposes it to follow 425 (but καὶ is then meaningless), Schoemann more satisfactorily to follow 422. Others have thought it might be an alternative to 413 (Hermann, *Opusc.* vi. 174) or to 413–15 (Jacoby: '412/5' must be a misprint). The simplest solution is van Lennep's γεράων for γέρας ἐν. This gives us at once the indispensable genitive and the preferable plural (cf. 393, 396, 449); for τιμῆς καὶ γεράων we have an exact parallel in 396, and the combination is supported by 449 τετίμηται γεράεσσιν, for 448–9 mirror 426–8. For the simple datives γαίῃ, etc. (ἐν γῇ Schoemann), see Monro, § 145: 'The Locatival Dative . . . is used—(1) . . . (2) Of the great divisions of the world . . . as αἰθέρι, οὐρανῷ', etc.

428. **ἔτι καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον**: *Il.* 23. 429. Instead of 'because' she is an only child, we must now understand 'although'.

τίεται: this verb is not used elsewhere in the middle except perhaps at [Orph.] *A.* 807.

429 ff. The repetition of phrases and ideas in the following section is remarkable: ᾧ δ' ἐθέλῃ 429, ὅν κ' ἐθέλῃσιν 430, οἷς κ' ἐθέλῃσι 432 and 439, ἐθέλουσά γε θυμῷ 443, θυμῷ γ' ἐθέλουσα 446. ἐσθλὴ δ' 435, 439, 444. παραγίνεται ἠδ' ὀνίνησι 429 and 436, παραγίνεται 432, παρεστάμεν 439. We see again the limited range of Hesiod's expression. For the insistence on the deity's free will cf. on 28.

429. **ἐθέλῃ**: we have the subjunctive (with κε) in 430, 432, 439; the indicative could also stand.

μεγάλως: not only with ὀνίνησιν but also with παραγίνεται. She comes and stands by a man 'greatly', i.e. with her full presence and power.

παραγίνεται: cf. παρίστασθαι of divine assistance in *Il.* 15. 255, etc., παρεῖναι *Od.* 13. 393. A deity does not (as a rule) help a man from afar, but by coming to him; cf. 434, *Sc.* 325 ff., *Il.* 5. 116, 10. 285, Sappho 1. 5 τυίδ' ἔλθε, etc.

-γίνεται, not -γίγνεται, is the form given by all MSS. except S; also by Venetus A and most other MSS. (including papyri) in Homer. Eust. 1064. 2 explicitly vouches for it as the Homeric form. Cf. Von der Mühll, *Homeri Odyssea*, on 2. 320, 'γίνομαι Ω, quod apud Iones mature in usum venit, ideoque in Homero relinquendum est'. Note the phonetic resemblance with μέγα σίνεται ἠδ' ὀνίνησι, *Op.* 318 = *Il.* 24. 45. S introduces γιγν- also in *Op.* 280, 281, 323, Triph. 147.

434. Schoemann's transposition is very probable. ἀγορή and δίκη are closely related ideas, cf. 86–91, *Il.* 16. 387–8, 18. 497–506, and the line fits much better here than after 433. Sittl argues that it is appropriate after 433 because νίκη is at stake in δίκαι too: this argument would have more point if Hecate were said to help the litigant.

The dislocation is easily explained by the homoearchon | ἔν τε . . . | ἔν τ'. It is significant that the line is out of place in Π^{25}.

βασιλεῦσι παρ' αἰδοίοισι: cf. 80.

430. The change from plural to singular kings (if this verse follows 434), and the change of subject from Hecate to the king, are both paralleled in 436–7; for the former cf. also 88–92.

λαοῖσι μεταπρέπει: this should refer to a king, as in 92; cf. on 84 ff. This is a further point in favour of the transposition of 434.

431. Cf. *Il.* 10. 78 *ζώννυθ' ὅτ' ἐς πόλεμον φθισήνορα θωρήσσοιτο.*

πόλεμον φθισήνορα: the phrase occurs altogether five times in the *Iliad*, and in fr. 25. 9 (restored). All MSS. give the spelling *φθισ-*; cf. Wackernagel, p. 77, and *LSJ* s.v.

432. **ἔνθα θεὰ**: cf. 436.

οἷς κ': in 430 *a* gives *μεταπρέπει ᾧ κ' ἐθέλῃσιν*. As this does not make sense, and as 431–2 are omitted in *a*, we may take *ᾧ κ'* to be really a variant for *οἷς κ'* here; in other words, what is omitted in *a* is really not two whole lines, but 430 *ὅν κ' ἐθέλῃσιν*–432 *παραγίνεται*. However, *οἷς* (supported by Π^{25}) makes better sense, for in war, even in ancient war, victory is not given to an individual.

The end of the line is echoed in Thgn. 139 *παραγίνεται ὅσσ' ἐθέλῃσι* (*ὅσσα θέλῃσιν* A).

433. **προφρονέως**: Rzach's report that S has *προφρονέουσ* is incorrect.

ὀπάσαι . . . ὀρέξαι: possibly these infinitives should be taken as epexegetic after *παραγίνεται*, since in 430 and 439 the phrase *ὅν/οἷς κ' ἐθέλῃσιν* is used absolutely, the infinitive being understood from the preceding verbs. *ὀρέξαι* may be taken literally: the goddess carries victory and *κῦδος* in her hand (*Sc.* 339 *νίκην ἀθανάτῃς χερσὶν καὶ κῦδος ἔχουσα*), and holds them out to the man who earns them, as in statues of Athena.

κῦδος: the proud superiority that victory brings. On the range of meaning covered by this word cf. Gruber, op. cit. (on 167), pp. 73 ff.

439. In its transmitted position, this verse lacks connexion both with what precedes and with what follows (Peppmüller went so far as to excise it); here the *ἱππῆες* make an excellent link between war and athletics, and the initial *ἐσθλὴ* supplies a precedent for *ἐσθλὴ δ' αὖτε* in 435. The assumed dislocation will be connected with that of 434. Let us call the two lines 429a and 433a, after their original positions. Both were accidentally omitted in copying, and for the same reason, viz. homoearchon with the following lines 430 and 435. They were restored in a lower margin, and the correct position at least of 433a was marked by some symbol in the text. But 429a was put there instead, becoming our 434, and 433a remained at the bottom of the column or page, becoming our 439.

ἐσθλὴ: cf. 435, 444, 972, *Op.* 123, 774 *al.*, *Od.* 16. 263, etc.

ἱππήεσσι: the Lelantine War was a cavalry war, cf. p. 43. The aristocracy at Chalcis at that time were known as the Hippobotai (Aristotle fr. 603), a fact which gives a special point to Hesiod's words if we are right about the occasion of the *Theogony*.

παρεστάμεν: cf. on 429.

435. **αὖθ'**: *αὖ* is better supported, but the two forms are often

interchanged in MSS., e.g. *αὖτε* for *αὖ* in *a*, below, 834 and 835, *αὖ* for *αὖτε* some or all MSS. at Q.S. 2. 453, 3. 409, 4. 17, 33, 545.

ἀεθλεύωσ' ἐν ἀγῶνι: Koechly has generally been followed in writing *ἀεθλεύωσιν ἀγῶνι*, the transposition being supported by metrical considerations (p. 94) and by the practice of other poets, cf. Nonn. *D.* 19. 73 *ἀεθλητῆρες ἀγῶνος*, Musae. 197 *ἀεθλεύσειεν ἀγῶνα*, *Il.* 23. 737 *ἀεθλεύωσιν Ἀχαιοί*, ib. 274. (Similarly the words *γυναικὸς ἐυζώνοιο* in *Il.* 23. 760 are transposed by Nauck, this being supported by *Il.* 1. 429.) I accept the transposition, but retain the preposition *ἐν* given by *b*: the other MSS. probably omitted it to restore a semblance of metre. *ἐν* conforms to the usual usage: Pl. *Lg.* 873E *πλὴν τῶν ὅσα ἐν ἀγῶνι τῶν δημοσίᾳ τιθεμένων ἀθλεύοντά τι τοιοῦτον δράσῃ*, Theocr. 24. 117 *ἀεθλεύοντ' ἐν ἀγῶνι*, Q.S. 4. 113 *ἀεθλεύσοντες ἀπειρεσίῳ ἐν ἀγῶνι*. I know no parallel for *ἀεθλεύειν ἀγῶνι*. In late poetry we find *ἀεθλεύειν ἀγῶνα*, cf. Nonn. *D.* 37. 149, 42. 513, *Metaphr. E* 113; Musae. l.c.

436. τοῖς παραγίνεται: all MSS. give *τοῖσι* except Q, which has *τοῖσ* (*sic*), and Π^{25}. *τοῖς* is overwhelmingly probable; but there is a chance that *τοῖσι* is right and that *παραγίνεται* has come from 429/32, replacing *παρίσταται* (cj. Stephanus, anticipating Paley, to whom Rzach attributes this conjecture).

437. βίῃ καὶ κάρτει: *Od.* 13. 143, 18. 139; cf. on 385. A comma must be placed after *κάρτει*; *νικήσας* is intransitive.

438. φέρει: equivalent to *φέρεται*, 'wins'. For the active in this sense cf. *Il.* 18. 308 *ἤ κε φέρῃσι μέγα κράτος ἦ κε φεροίμην*, Q.S. 4. 322. Even athletic success can be given by a god, e.g. *Il.* 4. 389 f. *ἀλλ' ὅ γ' ἀεθλεύειν προκαλίζετο, πάντα δ' ἐνίκα | ῥηιδίως· τοίη οἱ ἐπίρροθος ἦεν Ἀθήνη*.

τοκεῦσι δὲ κῦδος ὀπάζει: rightly explained by sch., *ἀναγορεύεται γὰρ τίνος πατρός ἐστιν*.

440. γλαυκὴν: 'the gray' for 'the sea', see on 244. Homer uses *ὑγρή* in a similar way, *Il.* 10. 27, 14. 308, *Od.* 4. 709, 20. 98. On Hesiod's use of *kenningar* (especially in the *Works and Days*) cf. p. 89.

δυσπέμφελον: this adjective is applied to the sea in *Il.* 16. 748 and to seafaring in *Op.* 618; otherwise in early epic it is found only at *Op.* 722, apparently of a man whose behaviour is surly. It may be related to *πέμφιξ*, *πομφός*, *πομφόλυξ*, and so signify 'nastily bubbling'; if so, its application to the sea is the most original of those attested.

The attitude towards the sea is characteristic of Hesiod (*Op.* 618–94) and of his time (cf. Hom. *epigr.* 8, Aristeas fr. 7, Sem. 1. 15–17, 7. 27 ff.).

ἐργάζονται: the metaphor of a landlubber farmer. Cf. E. fr. 670. 4 *θάλασσα· τήνδ' ἀροῦμεν, ἐκ ταύτης βίος*, etc., Theocr. fr. 3. 2 (*ἀνήρ*) *ἐξ ἁλὸς ᾧ ζωή, τὰ δὲ δίκτυα κείνῳ ἄροτρα*. (The sense is different in Call. fr. 572 *ἀρότας κύματος Ἀονίου*, as the imitations quoted by Pfeiffer show.)

441. εὔχονται δ': note the initial position of the verb, in contrast to its final position in the clause before. Hence δ' and not θ'.

ἐρικτύπῳ Ἐννοσιγαίῳ: cf. 456, 930, fr. 17(a)15. *ἐρίκτυπος*, like

βαρύκτυπος (388 n.), is un-Homeric. In fr. 150. 19 *κρείοντος Ἐρικτύπου*, it is used absolutely for Poseidon, as *Ἐννοσίγαιος* here and in Homer.

The fisherman would ordinarily pray only to Poseidon (or other marine gods). Cf. Luc. *Piscator* 47 *σὺ δὲ Πόσειδον ἀγρεῦ καὶ Ἀμφιτρίτη φίλη, πολλοὺς ἡμῖν ἀνάπεμπε τῶν ἰχθύων*. Ael. *NA* 15. 6 *τῷ οὖν δικτύῳ ἤδη περιπλακέντων αὐτῶν* (sc. *τῶν θύννων*) *Ποσειδῶνι πάντες εὔχονται ἀλεξικάκῳ τηνικάδε*. For Poseidon as patron of fishermen cf. also A. fr. 464. 10 M., Opp. *H.* 2. 29–35, 5. 339, Ath. 297E, 346 BC. His most constant attribute, the trident, is a fishing implement. As for Hecate, red mullets were sacrified to her in the Eleusinian Mysteries; see Ath. 325 B–D, especially Melanthios there quoted (= *FGrHist* 326 F 2) *καὶ τρίγλην καὶ μαινίδα* (*φησὶ θύεσθαι*), *ὅτι καὶ θαλάττιος ἡ Ἑκάτη*. But I doubt whether this has any relevance to Hesiod; Hecate there may be equivalent to Artemis (cf. Apollonidas, *A.P.* 6. 105). The *ἀγραῖοι δαίμονες* invoked by Opp. *H.* 3. 28 are Poseidon and Hecate, according to his scholiast; but the scholiast may only be remembering his Hesiod.

442–3. A god's power is often emphasized by saying that he can do either of two opposite things: cf. 447, *Op.* 3–6, *Il.* 20. 242, 24. 343–4, *Od.* 10. 22, 16. 212, Emped. 111. 3–8, etc.

ῥηιδίως . . . ῥεῖα δ': cf. on 90. There is no δ' after *ῥηιδίως* in either L or *m*.

ἄγρην: often used in connexion with fishing, e.g. *Od.* 12. 330, S. *Aj.* 880, Theocr. 7. 60, [21]. 31, Mosch. fr. 1. 10, *Ev. Luc.* 5. 9, Luc. *Pisc.* 47, Aesop. *fab.* 13 and 21 Hausrath, Ael. *NA* 15. 6, Opp. *H.* 1. 426, Nonn. *D.* 20. 377.

κυδρὴ θεὸς: *h. Dem.* 179, 292, xxviii. 1. Similarly *δεινὴ θεός* seven times in the *Odyssey* (cf. *Il.* 18. 394), *σεμνὴ θεός h. Dem.* 1, xiii. 1. Hesiod uses *θεά* elsewhere in the *Theogony* (e.g. 419, 426, 432, 436 in this section); here he has *θεός*, not to avoid the correption of *θεά* (cf. 426), but because it is regular in the formula. He has *θεός* feminine again at *Op.* 764.

ῥεῖα δ' ἀφείλετο: cf. *Il.* 16. 689 = 17. 177 *καὶ ἀφείλετο νίκην | ῥηιδίως*.

φαινομένην: when it is sighted in the water. Besides lines and nets, the Greek fisherman used (and still uses; I have been out with him) the harpoon or the trident. In fishing by this method the fish have to be seen before an attempt can be made to catch them. The same applies to one kind of net-fishing, that using a casting-net (explained with references by A. W. Mair in his introduction to the Loeb Oppian, pp. xl–xli).

The variant in L is *φαινομένη*, not *-μένης* as Rzach reports.

444 ff. Cf. Call. *H.* 2. 50 ff. (of Apollo Nomios) *ῥεῖά κε βουβόσιον τελέθοι πλέον, οὐδέ κεν αἶγες | δεύοιντο βρεφέων †ἐπιμηλάδες* (*ἐπιμήλιος* Hecker) *ἧσιν Ἀπόλλων | βοσκομένης ὀφθαλμὸν ἐπήγαγεν· οὐδ' ἀγάλακτες | οἶιες οὐδ' ἄκυθοι, πᾶσαι δέ κεν εἶεν ὕπαρνοι, | ἥ δέ κε μουνοτόκος διδυμητόκος αἶψα γένοιτο*.

444. σὺν Ἑρμῇ: cf. on 253. Hermes is a herdsman's god, among

his many other activities: see *h. Herm.* 567–71, and Allen–Sikes–Halliday on 568. For worship of Hermes and Hecate by a farmer see Porph. *abst.* 2. 16. In the later Orphic cult of Hecate there seems to have been an official who carried a shepherd's crook and was called the *βουκόλος*, see A. Dieterich, *Kl. Schr.* (1911), p. 103; but I doubt whether this has the least bearing on Hesiod.

The contracted form *Ἑρμῆς* is found again in 938, fr. 1. 21, fr. 170, five times in Homer; it is used throughout the hymn to Hermes. In *Op.* 68 Hesiod has *Ἑρμείην*.

445. **βουκολίας δὲ βοῶν**: see *C.Q.* 1962, pp. 178 f.

446. **θυμῷ γ' ἐθέλουσα**: the word order of 443 *ἐθέλουσά γε θυμῷ* (which Koechly conjectured here) is varied because of its proximity. Cf. *Op.* 678 *ἄλλος δ' εἰαρινὸς πέλεται πλόος* ~ 682 *εἰαρινὸς δ' οὗτος πέλεται πλόος*, K. J. Dover, *Greek Word Order*, p. 68. For variation in the choice of words cf. below on 559.

447. Cf. *Op.* 5 *ῥέα μὲν γὰρ βριάει, ῥέα δὲ βριάοντα χαλέπτει.*

κἀκ: the MSS. give *καὶ ἐκ*. Neither word can be dispensed with, and we must assume the crasis (cf. on 336). Cf. Thgn. 431 *ᾧ τις σώφρον' ἔθηκε τὸν ἄφρονα κἀκ κακοῦ ἐσθλόν*. *κἀκ* is the correct Ionic form, *κἠκ* (Fick) is late, see Schulze, p. 472, n. 2. It first occurs as a doubtful reading in Call. fr. 195. 11; Herondas 2. 28 still has *κἀκ*.

θῆκεν: the augment is seldom omitted in gnomic aorists, but cf. *Op.* 345, *Il.* 9. 320.

448–9. The lines complete the ring by responding to 426–8.

μουνογενὴς: cf. on 426. I do not know what is the point of the addition *ἐκ μητρὸς*.

πᾶσι: prima facie with *ἀθανάτοισι* (cf. *h. Dem.* 397, *Aphr.* 205), but can be taken instead with *γεράεσσι*.

450–2. In *C.Q.* 1962, p. 179, I argue that 450–1 should be placed before 448, and 452 expunged. But Professor Fr. Solmsen has suggested to me that Hesiod added the lines here as an afterthought. In this case he had to compose some such line as 452 to conclude the section, though one must agree with Jacoby that it is a *versus taeterrimus*. There is perhaps a parallel in *Op.* 76, if 73–75 were similarly added as an afterthought to 72.

450. **θῆκε δέ μιν Κρονίδης**: the same phrase in *Op.* 18.

κουροτρόφον: the tutelage of the young devolves on several different deities, cf. on 347. Hecate is called *κουροτρόφος* also in A.R. 3. 861 and [Orph.] *H.* 1. 8; cf. sch. Ar. *V.* 804 *Ἑκαταῖον· ἱερὸν Ἑκάτης, ὡς τῶν Ἀθηναίων πανταχοῦ ἱδρυομένων αὐτὴν ὡς ἔφορον πάντων καὶ κουροτρόφον*. The goddess Kourotrophos to whom Samian women sacrificed at cross-roads ([Hdt.] *vit. Hom.* 30) must have been Hecate too. See further Kern, *Ath. Mitt.* 1925, p. 159.

οἳ: the antecedent is *κοῦροι* understood from *κουροτρόφον*.

μετ' ἐκείνην: this phrase is surprising both in sense and as language. Zeus cannot have given Hecate any privileges before the Titanomachy. But she was born before the Titanomachy (424); so Zeus

cannot have given her tutelage of all children born since her own birth. However, the contradiction is reinforced by 452 ἐξ ἀρχῆς κουροτρόφος, and paralleled by 412–14/421–5 (cf. on 422), and we must suppose that Hesiod so naturally said 'Zeus made her—' for 'she is—', and was so unpractised at thinking historically, that he failed to realize that an adjustment was necessary in speaking of the period of the Titans' rule.

Allowing this, we should still have expected μετέπειτα or μετόπισθε, not μετ' ἐκείνην. But none of the conjectures is convincing.

451. φάος πολυδερκέος Ἠοῦς: Eos is imagined as seeing by her own light, like the Sun ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷ. In 755 the phrase is modified, to the detriment of sense, to φάος πολυδερκές. The epithet is un-Homeric.

Rzach's apparatus is inaccurate. Only *k*S have the correct reading; *b*Q have πολυδέρκεον, *a* πολυκέρδεον.

452. Cf. on 450–2. If the verse is Hesiod's, it is another example of his inability to escape from words already written (cf. on 67, 144–5, 429 ff., 555). οὕτως is repeated from 448, but here, instead of introducing a summary of several facts, it introduces a mere restatement of a single fact; κουροτρόφος is repeated from 450, with the addition of the formulaic ἐξ ἀρχῆς (cf. especially 203 and 408); while αἵ δέ τε τιμαί, 'and these are her provinces', corresponds to 449. For αἵ cf. *Od.* 1. 286 ὃς γὰρ δεύτατος ἦλθεν, 24. 286 ἣ γὰρ θέμις.

453–506. **The Birth of Zeus.** The next Titan pair is Kronos and Rhea. The story of how Kronos swallowed his children to avoid being overthrown by one of them, and how Zeus avoided this fate by being smuggled away to Crete, grew up there and eventually overcame his father and rescued his brothers and sisters, constitutes the second episode of the Succession Myth. It represents a conflation of two originally separate accounts of Zeus' birth: an account deriving from the Near East and forming part of the Succession Myth complex, and an account deriving from Minoan Crete in which Kronos and the Titans in all probability had no place.

The Near Eastern element is thrown into relief by comparison with the Hurrian–Hittite story of Kumarbi. Kumarbi has the Weather-God (and two other gods, to whom less attention is paid) inside him; not because he has swallowed him, but because he has swallowed the seed of Anu. Anu, the Sky, has told him of his condition, and has prophesied his downfall. Kumarbi apparently (see p. 20) swallows, or tries to swallow, a stone—not of course as a substitute for a child, but presumably in the hope of destroying the god growing in his belly and of avoiding the fate foretold by Anu. The attempt is unsuccessful, and the stone seems to be in some way involved in ordinances for a new cult. The Weather-God is eventually delivered from Kumarbi's body in some way that is obscure to us, but which may have been very crude indeed. The Hesiodic version differs from this mainly in that Zeus is himself never inside Kronos, and the stone is swallowed for a

different reason.[1] It is impossible to derive either version directly from the other, and hard to say which is the more original: each has its own peculiar logic.

Immediately after his birth, Zeus is entrusted to Earth and hidden in a cave in Crete until he is grown up. Other classical sources say that he was actually born in the cave, but differ regarding its location: it is usually on Mt. Ida or Mt. Dicte, and only Hesiod puts it near Lyctus. It has been found that a number of caves in central Crete were holy places in the Minoan period and in some cases later, even down to Roman times. To these caves offerings of double axes, knives, pottery, and other articles were brought; where the offerings are of the same kind, there is nothing against the assumption that the same deity was worshipped. There is no doubt that the Zeus-caves of Greek tradition were Minoan cult caves, Zeus having taken the place of the Minoan deity, and that the cave-Zeus, being in some respects different from the Hellenic Zeus, has inherited some of his predecessor's characteristics. He was represented as a beardless youth (*Et. magn.* s.v. *Δίκτη*, and coins from Phaestos). He was apparently reborn every year (cf. Ant. Lib. 19. 1–2), and he also died, though in classical times only his tomb, not his death, was spoken of. In the Palaikastro hymn (Powell, *Coll. Alex.*, p. 160) he is addressed as 'greatest kouros'. The chorus say he has 'gone to earth' (*γᾶν ὃς βέβακες*) and pray that he will return to Dicte *εἰς ἐνιαυτόν*, and spring up in the crops, the herds, and the people themselves. (See *J.H.S.* 1965, pp. 149–59.)

It is universally acknowledged that he was a vegetation- or year-god like the Semitic Adonis and the Egyptian Osiris, and not unlikely that he was the son of the earth or of the great goddess of Minoan art. The original version is obviously that in which he was born in the cave, not the Hesiodic version in which he was brought from overseas to escape an anxiously gobbling Kronos. This is a convenient combination such as we found in the account of Aphrodite's birth (Cythera and Cyprus).

If we examine the evidence for Kronos in Cretan tradition, his adventitious nature is everywhere apparent.

(1) Zeus' birth was attended by the Kouretes, gay male nymphs (cf. on 346, 354, 484 *ad fin.*) who danced noisily round about, clashing shields together. In the version of Hyginus, *fab.* 139, they dance round a tree, in which Zeus' cradle is suspended. This mythical dance must be interpreted as the projection of an annual ritual, and it is doubtless connected with the Minoan representations of dancing before a

[1] I recall a nursery story that gives a different version again. A wolf devours a family of children—all except one, who hides in a grandfather clock. The wolf falls asleep after his heavy meal. The surviving girl creeps up to him, slits his belly open and so rescues her brothers and sisters. Then she fills the wolf's belly up with stones and sews it up. The wolf wakes up with a thirst, goes to the well, falls in and is drowned by the weight of the stones. The story seems to be widespread; I find a version of it (but without the stones) in A. Tolstoy, *Russian Tales for Children*, 1940, pp. 26–30.

sacred tree. (See Nilsson, *Minoan–Mycenaean Religion*, 2nd ed., pp. 262 ff. The end of a dance with shields is possibly depicted on a signet ring in Copenhagen, Nilsson, p. 280, fig. 140, if genuine.) The purpose of the dance is to promote fertility and growth; the shield-clashing may be apotropaic (cf. Immisch, *Roscher*, ii. 1613), or the noise may be meant to rouse the powers of the earth from their slumber. The explanation offered by Callimachus and later writers, that it was to drown the infant's cries in case Kronos should hear them, is artificial aetiology, and evidently secondary. If you really want to hide a baby, you do not set up a great din and commotion in the precise place where he is.

(2) The fact that the κοῦρος is addressed as *Κρόνειε* in the Palaikastro hymn (Hölscher, *Hermes*, 1953, p. 406) proves nothing for the original cave-Zeus: the hymn is unlikely to be earlier than the fourth century, and its metre, dialect, form, and content show that it owes much to literary influences.

(3) Agathocles of Cyzicus (*FGrHist* 472: probably third century B.C.) tells what appears to be a genuine Cretan myth about the birth of Zeus on Dicte and his suckling by a sow, whose grunts prevented the child's snivelling from attracting the attention of passers-by (F 1 a). It is significant that Kronos is not mentioned here. Agathocles is also said to have mentioned the stone swallowed by Kronos, and to have reported that Rhea got it from Proconnesus (F 1 c = sch. Hes. *Th.* 485). Here he is clearly departing from Cretan traditions, and connecting the Kronos-myth with a sacred stone at Proconnesus near his native town, much as Hesiod connects it with one at Delphi.

(4) Xenion (460 F 1) explained the name of the cave Arkesion on Ida from its having served the Kouretes as a refuge when they were fleeing from Kronos. There is nothing to indicate that this is a pre-Hellenistic tradition, or indeed a tradition at all.

(5) Istros (334 F 48) *ἐν τῇ Συναγωγῇ τῶν Κρητικῶν θυσιῶν φησιν τοὺς Κουρῆτας τὸ παλαιὸν τῷ Κρόνῳ θύειν παῖδας*. 'Kronos' is here obviously not the Greek Kronos but the Semitic Baal-Ammon or Moloch, whose child-sacrifices were notorious as early as Sophocles (fr. 126); cf. [Pl.] *Min.* 315c, D.S. 13. 86, etc. Istros transfers the practice to Crete in order to connect it with the Hesiodic myth: so D.S. 20. 14. 7 and others. The Kouretes to whom he attributes it are the early inhabitants of Crete, according to the euhemeristic interpretation as seen, for example, in D.S. 5. 65.

(6) There is a group of catasterisms, ascribed to 'Cretan myth' (sch. Arat. 46) or to Epimenides' *Cretica* ([Eratosth.] *catast.* 27 = Epimen. fr. 24), which bring in Zeus' conflict with Kronos and the Titans, though they do not refer to the time of his birth. (*a*) The 'Cretan story' about the constellation Draco is that once when Kronos was coming Zeus turned himself into a snake, and his nurses into bears. This seems to be modelled on the Egyptian myth of the flight of the gods before Seth, which apparently became known in Greece in the fifth century (see p. 380). It is a literary, not a cult myth, and

unlikely to be early. Cf. Nilsson, p. 574, n. 39. (*b*) The story about Capricorn ([Eratosth.] l.c.), in which Zeus is assisted against the Titans by Pan or Aigipan, seems to be a version of the south Anatolian myth discussed on 853, which did not become known in Greece before the Hellenistic age.

In sum, there is no reason to think that Kronos played any part in the original Minoan cult myth. But the Greek theogonic tradition, having to reconcile the Cretan account of Zeus' birth with that of the Succession Myth, produced a composite story in which he was smuggled away to Crete instead of being actually born there. The development of the myth was influenced by several common folk-tale motifs: the father who tries to dispose of his children in order to prevent the fulfilment of a prophecy that one of them will overthrow him; the child who is exposed, but who grows up safely nevertheless[1] and returns to claim his inheritance; the man who is swallowed by a monster or demon, and afterwards rescued alive and whole from his belly;[2] the ogre who cannot be defeated by strength, but can easily be outwitted by a trick.

In this form the myth reached Delphi, where it was attached to a sacred stone on view there (cf. on 498–500); and by way of Delphi it reached Hesiod.

On this section cf. Schoemann, pp. 250–63; V. Puntoni, *Stud. Ital.* i, 1893, pp. 41–73; Schwenn, pp. 127–30; Cook, *Zeus*, iii. 927–38; U. Hölscher, *Hermes*, 1953, pp. 406 ff.

453. **δμηθεῖσα**: cf. 1000, 1006, *Sc.* 48. Most MSS. have *ὑποδμηθεῖσα*, as in 327, 374, 962, *Sc.* 53, fr. 23 (a) 28, 35, *h.* xvii. 4: it is impossible here, for δὲ is indispensable, and there is no parallel for the form *Ῥεῖα*. For the different forms of Rhea's name see on 135 and 467.

454–8. This family too is triadic; the three daughters are named before the three sons (cf. on 133), and Zeus is made the last and youngest son with two lines to himself (cf. on 137).

454. **Ἱστίην**: Hestia, who alone of Kronos' children remained a virgin, is not mentioned in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*. She next appears in *h. Aphr.* 22–23 *Ἱστίη, ἣν πρώτην τέκετο Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης, | αὖτις δ' ὁπλοτάτην βουλῇ Διός*. This is to be understood as a reference to the swallowing and regurgitation by Kronos (Solmsen, *Hermes*, 1960, pp. 2–3); the idea that the regurgitation was a second birth may have been developed so that Zeus, who grew up before any of these secondary births, could be counted as the eldest as well as the youngest. Cf. on 456.

The variant *Ἑστίην* is a constant one, cf. Allen on *h.* v. 22 and xxiv. 1. For the prosody *-ίη* cf. *Od.* 14. 159, 19. 304, 20. 231 *ἱστίη*, *Op.* 311 *ἀεργίη*, 319 *ἀνολβίῃ*, etc.; Schulze, pp. 219 ff. Jacoby writes *Ἱστίην*

[1] See H. Lessmann, *Die Kyrossage in Europa*, Progr. Charlottenburg, 1906. In some versions Zeus is suckled by a goat or sow: this, too, is a typical motif.

[2] The parent who devours his children is a very common sub-type; cf. Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index*, iii. 281.

καὶ from the citation of Ammonius. The prosody is possible, cf. *Il.* 2. 537 Ἰστίαιαν, *GVI* 708. 8, 2018. 9 Ἑστιαῖος, and literature referred to by Maas, *Greek Metre*, § 120, to which add R. Sjölund, *Metrische Kürzung*, pp. 39–42. But the καὶ is quite dispensable, for in a list of three items we quite often find the scheme α β καὶ γ: see Denniston, pp. 290 and 501, Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 1432 f. The testimony of the MSS. is to be preferred to that of a casual citation which is in any case unmetrical, as it has the vulgar form Δήμητραν.

καὶ Ἥρην χρυσοπέδιλον: the formula recurs only in 952 = fr. 25. 29 = fr. 229. 9 = *Od.* 11. 604. Cf. on 12. In *Il.* 4. 59 Hera claims to be Kronos' eldest daughter.

455. *Il.* 15. 187 f. *τρεῖς γάρ τ' ἐκ Κρόνου εἰμὲν ἀδελφεοί, οὓς τέκετο Ῥέα,* | *Ζεὺς καὶ ἐγώ, τρίτατος δ' Ἀίδης ἐνέροισιν ἀνάσσων.*

ἴφθιμόν τ' Ἀίδην: cf. 768, *Od.* 10. 534. Elsewhere in Homer ἴφθιμος is used of women, and only indirectly of men in phrases like ἴφθιμαι κεφαλαί. Hesiodic poetry is freer with the word; cf. 698, 987, *Op.* 704, fr. 22. 7, 37. 12.

δώματα: described in 767 ff.

456. **νηλεὲς ἦτορ ἔχων**: cf. *Il.* 9. 497.

ἐρίκτυπον Ἐννοσίγαιον: see on 441. In the *Iliad* (13. 355, 15. 166, 182) Poseidon is said to be younger than Zeus.

457. **Ζῆνά τε μητιόεντα**: p. 78. Homer uses μητιόεις only of drugs, *Od.* 4. 227.

θεῶν πατέρ' ἠδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν: see on 47.

458. **τοῦ καὶ**: cf. on 377.

ὑπὸ βροντῆς: *Il.* 13. 796. βροντῇς in both places might seem to be suggested by Q.S. 11. 401–3 ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἐν οὔρεσι πρῶνας Ὀλύμπιος οὐρανόθι Ζεὺς | . . . | ῥήξῃ ὑπὸ βροντῇσι καὶ αἰθαλόεντι κεραυνῷ. But there is no clear instance of the plural of βροντή earlier than Euripides; and the use of the genitive is similar to that in *Il.* 4. 276 and 13. 334.

459. **κατέπινε**: the imperfect is appropriate not only because the action was repeated (cf. 157), but because it was not completed: Zeus was never swallowed. The verb is un-Homeric, and recurs in 467, 473, 497. For its use with reference to solid food see *LSJ* s.v.

μέγας Κρόνος: cf. on 168. *ak* give *Κρόνος μέγας*: similarly in *h.* xxii. 1 the MSS. give *θεὸν μέγαν* for the usual *μέγαν θεόν* (which Hermann conjectured, perhaps rightly).

ὅς τις: the reading of B is supported by 156 *ὅπως τις πρῶτα γένοιτο.*

460. **ἱερῆς**: of a deity's bodily parts, cf. *h. Herm.* 133, and below on 524.

πρὸς γούναθ' ἵκοιτο: Hesiod probably thought of Rhea as giving birth in a kneeling posture. This manner of parturition is common in many societies, and is attested for ancient Greece by *h. Ap.* 117–8 (Leto), Paus. 8. 48. 7. See Frazer on Paus. l.c.; Back, *Indog. Forsch.* 40, 1922, pp. 162 ff.; Simonyi, *Zeitschr. f. vgl. Sprachforschg.* 50, 1923, pp. 152 ff.

461. **τὰ φρονέων, ἵνα**: *Il.* 5. 564, cf. 10. 491, etc.

462. **ἄλλος . . . ἔχοι βασιληίδα τιμήν**: cf. 892 f. *ἵνα μὴ βασιληίδα τιμὴν | ἄλλος ἔχοι Διὸς ἀντὶ θεῶν αἰειγενετάων*, where *ἄλλος* again occupies the initial position in the verse. For *βασιληίδα τιμήν* cf. also *Il.* 6. 193, Orph. fr. 101. 2, orac. *ap.* D.S. 8. 29 (71. 3 Parke–Wormell) and 35. 13 (431. 1 P–W).

This is the first time we have been told that Kronos was a king. Hesiod takes it for granted that his hearers understand this, and they must have done so.

463. Earth and Heaven again show knowledge of the future in 891 ff. They seem to be impartial in revealing it, cf. 475. Uranos does not appear elsewhere in an oracular capacity. But Gaia is said to have been the first occupant of the Delphic oracular seat (A. *Eum.* 2, cf. E. *IT* 1248, Aristonous 1. 21 (p. 163 Powell), D.S. 16. 26. 3, Plut. *Mor.* 402C, 433E, Paus. 10. 5. 5), and elsewhere too there are traces of her in oracular connexions. Cf. *Leg. Sacr.* i, no. 26 B 13 (Attic tetrapolis) *Γῆι επι τωι μαντειωι οις* Δ⊦; A. *PV* 209 ff.; Paus. 7. 25. 13; Plin. *NH* 28. 147 (Aegeira); Drexler, *Roscher*, i. 1572. Uranos probably appears here and in 891 ff. merely as a complement of Gaia; his forecast in 210, which corresponds to Anu's forecast in the Kumarbi story, is a threat rather than a revelation of destiny.

464. **οὕνεκα**: so used at *Il.* 11. 21 and several times in the *Odyssey*. Cf. Monro, § 268.

465. **καὶ κρατερῷ περ ἐόντι**: *h. Herm.* 386, cf. *Il.* 15. 195.

Διὸς μεγάλου διὰ βουλάς: the phrase recurs at *Op.* 122 (codd.), *Od.* 8. 82, and resembles 730 *βουλῇσι Διὸς νεφεληγερέταο*, etc. The scholiast records an ancient conjecture *πατρὸς* for *Διὸς*: *ὁ γὰρ Ζεὺς πῶς εἶχε συμβουλεῦσαι τῷ Κρόνῳ μήπω γεννηθείς;* The same difficulty has troubled some modern critics, and Guyet condemned the line. But Kronos was not told 'Zeus has a mind to overthrow you', only 'You will be overthrown by your own son'. It is from Hesiod's viewpoint that the overthrow occurred *Διὸς διὰ βουλάς*, and the phrase naturally comes to his mind when he thinks of that event. *πατρὸς* would incidentally not change matters, for it would naturally mean Zeus.

466. **τῷ ὅ γ' ἄρ'**: conjectured by Peppmüller and confirmed by Π^{25}; cf. *ἀλλ' ὅ γ' ἄρ'* (*οὐδὲ*) *Il.* 5. 434, 12. 305, 13. 523, 15. 586, 21. 581.

ἀλαοσκοπιὴν: written as one word by the MSS., though *αλλὰ-σκοπιὴν* in B looks like a corruption of *ἀλαὸν σκοπιὴν*, the oblique stroke representing *ον* being mistaken for an accent. (Conversely at 727, *b* made *τριστοιχεὶ* into *τριστοίχειον*.) The vulgate has *ἀλαοσκοπιὴν* in the four places where the expression occurs in Homer: *Il.* 10. 515, 13. 10, 14. 135, *Od.* 8. 285. Zenodotus however read *ἀλαὸν σκοπιὴν*, and Aristarchus apparently *ἀλαὸς σκοπιὴν* (so Ven. A and a papyrus of *s.* iii–iv at *Il.* 13. 10). These have the air of conjectures; *οὐκ ἀλαο-σκοπιὴν ἔχεν*, on the other hand, 'no blind-man's-watch he kept', sounds like a genuine mode of poetic expression. Cf. Leaf on *Il.* 10. 515. It seems to have suggested the phrase *οὐχ ἅλιος σκοπὸς ἔσσομαι* in *Il.* 10. 324. *ἀλαοσκοπος* is restored for *ἀλαοσκοπος*, clearly rightly, in

a Greek–Coptic glossary written by Dioscorus of Aphrodito, *Aegyptus*, vi, p. 192, no. 264; it is rendered ⲈⲖⲖⲈ, 'blind'.

ἔχεν: Homer always has *εἶχ'* or *εἶχεν* in this phrase (*ἔχεν* one MS. at *Il.* 10. 515); but cf. *Od.* 8. 302 *σκοπιὴν ἔχεν*.

467. **Ῥέην**: this form of the name recurs in *h. Dem.* 459, Call. *H.* 1. 21, A.R. 1. 506; cf. on 135. The conjecture *Ῥέαν*, which Rzach ascribes to Fick, should in fact be given to F. Schneidewin, *Exercitationes criticae in poetas Graecos*, Göttingen, 1837, p. 45.[1]

468. **ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ Δί' ἔμελλε**: cf. 888, *Od.* 6. 110 (*δὴ ἄρ'*).

469. **λιτάνευε**: the imperfect is confirmed by *Il.* 9. 581, 22. 414, 23. 196, *Od.* 7. 145. B gives *λιτάνευσε*: we find the same variant at *Il.* 23. 196, Musae. 320. Cf. *Il.* 9. 660, 15. 545, etc.

470. **τοὺς αὐτῆς**: cf. 754 *τὴν αὐτῆς ὥρην ὁδοῦ*, *Il.* 9. 342 *τὴν αὐτοῦ φιλέει καὶ κήδεται*, Tyrt. 6. 3, Thgn. 1009. The definite article takes the place of the personal pronoun, so that *τοὺς αὐτῆς* is to the third person what *τοὺς ἐμοὺς αὐτῆς* would be to the first (cf. *LSJ* s.v. *αὐτός* i. 10d). Older editors wrote *αὑτῆς*, which is not an epic form; *αὑτῷ* is a false reading at *Op.* 293.

471. **λελάθοιτο**: for the reduplicated aorist middle in the sense of the active *λάθοι* cf. [Orph.] *A.* 1227 *οὐ γάρ τοι λελάθεσθε, τά περ ῥέξαντες ἵκεσθε*. The active *λελάθοιμι* is so used by A.R. 3. 779, cf. [Orph.] *A.* 876. In Homer the middle means 'forget' and the active 'make to forget'.

472. **τείσαιτο δ' ἐρινῦς πατρὸς ἑοῖο**: 'and that she might make him pay her father's erinyes'. Cf. *Il.* 21. 412 (Athene to Ares, having laid him out with a stone): *οὕτω κεν τῆς μητρὸς ἐρινύας ἐξαποτίνοις, | ἥ τοι χωομένη κακὰ μήδεται*. Someone who is wronged has his own personal erinyes; cf. *Od.* 17. 475 *εἴ που πτωχῶν γε θεοὶ καὶ ἐρινύες εἰσί*, A. *Ag.* 1433, E. *Med.* 1389, *Ph.* 624. Those of a parent are particularly potent: *Od.* 11. 279 f. *τῷ δ' ἄλγεα κάλλιπ' ὀπίσσω | πολλὰ μάλ', ὅσσά τε μητρὸς ἐρινύες ἐκτελέουσι*, A. *Th.* 70 *Ἀρά τ' Ἐρινὺς πατρὸς ἣ μεγασθενής*. Uranos threatened vengeance in 210; Rhea now offers to help him take it, if a way can be suggested.

473. **παίδων**: as the text stands in the MSS., this could only be construed as a genitive of the thing paid for, as *Il.* 3. 366 *τείσασθαι Ἀλέξανδρον κακότητος*, etc. But the swallowing of the children is not the wrong for which Uranos' erinyes demand payment. The difficulty is easily avoided by the addition of *θ'*. Even young children have erinyes, cf. E. *Med.* 1389. This conjecture, having escaped the wit of man until 1843, was proposed in that year by three scholars independently: van Lennep (ad loc.), Schoemann (*Opusc.* ii. 408–9), and J. Cäsar (*Zeitschr. f. Altertumsw.* 1843, p. 318).

474. **μάλα μὲν κλύον ἠδ' ἐπίθοντο**: *Il.* 7. 379, *al.*

475–6. It is interesting as a point of narrative technique that Hesiod does not, in the usual epic manner, relate the content of the prophecy and then its fulfilment, but holds it in reserve until it is fulfilled. Similarly in 175 *δόλον δ' ὑπεθήκατο πάντα*, though there Kronos

[1] It also appears as a copyist's error in cod. Barocc. 60.

has been placed in ambush with the sickle in his hand, and we have more idea of what to expect.

καὶ υἱέι καρτεροθύμῳ: cf. *Il.* 13. 350.

477. πέμψαν: 'they told her to go'.

Λύκτον: one of the seven principal towns of Crete listed in *Il.* 2. 646 ff. It is not elsewhere associated with the birth of Zeus, but there are several Minoan holy caves in its neighbourhood, and the tradition followed by Hesiod presumably attached to one of them. They are as follows.

(1) Psychro. This was mainly used in the Late Minoan period, and to some extent down to the seventh century. (Evans, *J.H.S.* 17, 1897, p. 356; J. Boardman, *The Cretan Collection in Oxford*, 1961, p. 5.) Evans identified this cave with Hesiod's and also with the 'Dictaean cave' of later writers. The latter identification cannot be upheld, for it has since been shown that the ancient Dicte was nowhere near Lyctus but much further east. See Cook, *Zeus*, ii. 925 ff.; Nilsson, *Min.–Myc. Rel.*, 2nd ed., pp. 458–60. Even if the name Dicte survives in *Ἐντίχτη*, which is now applied to part of Mt. Lasithi in the Lyctus area (N. Platon, *Κρητικὰ Χρονικά*, 5, 1951, p. 141, n. 108), this proves nothing for antiquity against the ancient geographers, since geographical names can wander in the course of time. It is therefore quite misleading to use the term 'the Dictaean Cave' when speaking of Psychro, as modern writers persistently do (most recently Boardman, op. cit.). There is in fact no good evidence that there ever was a Dictaean cave. Dicte was certainly an important centre of Zeus' cult, and the site of his archaic temple has been discovered at Palaikastro. But no Dictaean Cave has been found, and the earliest ancient writers who mention one (A.R. 1. 509 and 1130, Arat. 33–34) both confuse Dicte with Ida (as does Callimachus, *H.* 1. 4–6, 47–51).

(2) Arkalochori. This cave was in use down to the LM II period, when its roof collapsed. Offerings continued to be brought to the entrance down to the end of LM III, and there are a few doubtful Protogeometric finds. See Nilsson, op. cit., pp. 60 f.

(3) A cave at Phaneromeni in the foothills of Lasithi, used from the beginning of the LM period down to the Roman period, but altogether poorer than the other two caves.

Which of these was Hesiod's cave, we have no means of telling. Marinatos argues for Arkalochori (which he excavated) on the ground that it is only $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours from Lyctus, whereas Psychro is 5 hours (*Arch. Anz.* 1934, pp. 253 f.). This is not decisive; both caves were used, and both are in the district of Lyctus, which is all we can gather from Hesiod. Lines 483–4 perhaps suit Psychro best, since it is most in the mountains, the other two being in the foothills (cf. Nilsson, p. 460, and below on 483). See the photograph of its situation in *B.S.A.* 6, 1899–1900, facing p. 98. It was connected with Lyctus by an ancient road.

Apart from Hesiod, the classical sources which speak of a cave of Zeus locate it on Ida. The Idaean cave is very probably identified

with one at the summit of the mountain (description in Cook, *Zeus*, ii. 935 ff.), which seems to have been the most important cave sanctuary in Iron Age Crete (Boardman, op. cit., p. 79). In Hesiod's time it was certainly more important than any of the caves near Lyctus, and in the second century B.C. the Lyttians themselves swear by Idaean Zeus in a treaty with Olous (*GDI* 5147 b 6). Nilsson has inferred that the tradition followed by Hesiod dates from the heyday of the cult at Psychro, that is from the Minoan period, when (he thought) the Idaean cave was not yet in use. It has since been discovered that the Idaean cave was used in Minoan times: Marinatos, *Κρητικὰ Χρονικά*, 9, 1956, pp. 409 f., and *B.C.H.* 81, 1957, p. 632; Hood, *Archaeological Reports for 1956*, p. 23. But the fact remains that Psychro, though still visited, was quite eclipsed in importance by the Idaean cave in the Geometric period, and Nilsson's hypothesis is much less difficult than any alternative.

Κρήτης ἐς πίονα δῆμον: cf. 971; *Il.* 16. 514 (*Λυκίης*), *Od.* 14. 329 (*Ἰθάκης*), *h.* xxvii. 14 (*Δελφῶν*). The genitive in this formular series may be either partitive or specific. The phrase *πίονα δῆμον* seems to have been generated from *πίονα δημόν*, cf. on 66 and 971.

478. **παίδων**: cf. 234.

ἤμελλε τεκέσθαι: Kinkel conjectured *τέξεσθαι ἔμελλε*, cf. 468–9 and 888–9 *ἔμελλε . . . | τέξεσθαι*, 898 *ἤμελλεν τέξεσθαι*, *Il.* 19. 98–99 *ἔμελλε . . . τέξεσθαι*, *h. Ap.* 101 *τέξεσθαι . . . ἔμελλεν*. But while *μέλλω* is usually constructed with a future infinitive in epic, there are parallels for an aorist: *Il.* 16. 46, 18. 98; v.l. in 23. 773, *Od.* 17. 412. The form *ἤμελλε* occurs in 898, as a variant in 888, and in fr. 54 (a) 5. Zenodotus read it at *Il.* 12. 34; Aristarchus rejected it as *βάρβαρον*. It occurs again in Theognis (906, dub. in 259) and Callimachus (*H.* 4. 58 *τεκεῖν ἤμελλε*). I see no reason to banish it from the text of Hesiod—certainly not by such a wretched expedient as Herwerden's *ἦ μέλλε*.

479. **Ζῆνα μέγαν**: *μέγας* is, of course, a stock epithet of Zeus, but it is interesting that *Ζῆνα μέγαν*, a phrase not found elsewhere in Hesiod or Homer, should be used in this context, when *μέγας Ζάν* seems to have been a cult title of the Cretan Zeus (Cook, *Zeus*, ii. 344 f.).

οἱ: dative with *δέχομαι* as in *Il.* 2. 186, 15. 88, 17. 208, *Od.* 15. 282, 16. 40.

ἐδέξατο: the word is used in *h. Ap.* 64 of Delos 'accepting' the birth of Apollo, and in *h.* xxvi. 4 of the Nysaean nymphs accepting the new-born Dionysus to nurse; cf. fr. 30. 30, 165. 6–7. Here the following lines are easier to understand if *ἐδέξατο* refers to verbal rather than physical acceptance; cf. on 481 ff.

In the original Cretan myth, the child may have been the son of Earth herself, or of a Rhea much more clearly recognizable as a personification of Mother Earth than Hesiod's 'mythological' Rhea is. This would explain the part played here by Ge. Cf. Nilsson, *Min.–Myc. Rel.*, 2nd ed., p. 572.

480. **Κρήτῃ ἐν εὐρείῃ**: *Il.* 13. 453.

τρεφέμεν ἀτιταλλέμεναί τε: cf. *Il.* 14. 202 (≏ fr. 165. 6) *ἐὺ τρέφον ἠδ' ἀτίταλλον*, *Il.* 24. 60 *θρέψα τε καὶ ἀτίτηλα*, *Od.* 11. 250 (= fr. 31. 3) *σὺ δὲ τοὺς κομέειν ἀτιταλλέμεναί τε*. S a.c. gives *τραφέμεν*, which seems to be Planudean preference: the same MS. has *ἔτραφεν* for *ἔτρεφεν* in [Opp.] *C.* 3. 518.

Winterton's addition of *τ'* is unnecessary, cf. p. 96.

481 ff. These lines have puzzled editors, because they seem to narrate Rhea's journey to Lyctus for the second time. Various excisions have been proposed, among them that of 481–4 (A. Meyer, *De comp. theog.*, p. 29; Peppmüller; Schwenn) or of 481–3 (Guyet; Wilamowitz, *Isyllos*, pp. 108–10). 483–4 seem to me to offer no ground for suspicion; and 481–2 can be understood, if 477–80 are taken not as the report of Rhea's journey, but as the arranging of it between Rhea and her parents: 481 ff. then duly record its fulfilment. For this typical sequence cf. Arend quoted on 159.

481. μιν: cf. sch. *ἤγουν ἦλθε φέρουσα τὸν Δία*. Rzach records *μιν* as Hermann's conjecture, though in his edition of 1884 he had rightly reported it (after Robinson) as the reading of a Bodleian MS. (apograph of U). *μιν* and *μέν* are frequently confused in MSS., cf. *Il.* 5. 181, 24. 4, *Od.* 4. 500, 11. 264, A.R. 2. 8, 4. 880, 1489, Q.S. 2. 251, 5.353, 6.221, Musaeus 320.

φέρουσα: although *φέρω* is sometimes used of carrying a child in the womb, this is usually made clear by the addition of *γαστρί*, etc. The natural interpretation is that Rhea has already given birth to Zeus and is now carrying him in her arms. But Hesiod is curiously non-committal about where the birth actually occurred.

θοὴν διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν: the phrase occurs in *Il.* 10. 394, 468, 24. 366, 653, *Carm. Naupact.* fr. 8 (p. 200 Kinkel), always with a verb of motion expressed or implied. *θοὴν* is strange; cf. *Od.* 12. 284 *διὰ νύκτα θοήν*, *Il.* 12. 463 and 14. 261 *Νυκτὶ θοῇ*. The problem is well discussed by Buttmann, *Lexilogus*, pp. 365–70, who argues that the adjective, besides meaning 'swift', also carries the association of terror and danger. An alternative possibility is that *ἰέναι θοὴν διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν* originally meant 'to go swiftly through the dark night': *θοήν* then naturally came to be construed as an epithet of *νύκτα*, and *Νυκτὶ θοῇ* was modelled on it.

Antimachus may have had the Homeric phrase in mind when he wrote *Ἄιδος ἐκπρολιποῦσα θοὸν δόμον* (fr. 187).

482. πρώτην: Solmsen, p. 22, n. 55, compares *πρῶτον* in 192: 'an indication that Hesiod is anxious to do justice to the claims of more than one place in Crete'. But there is no following *αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα*, and Solmsen's assumption that Lyctus and the cave in the *Αἰγαῖον ὄρος* are two different places is not plausible. The point of *πρώτην* is, I think, that Lyctus was the first place on earth to which Zeus came.

χερσὶ λαβοῦσα: this is a little odd, if she has been carrying him in her arms the whole time.

483. ἄντρῳ: on the identification of this cave see on 477.

ἠλιβάτῳ: in Homer this adjective is only applied to *πέτρη*, and means 'steep'. Here it may refer either to a cave set in a steep mountain-side, or to one that descends steeply inside. Stesichorus used the word of Tartarus, apparently meaning simply 'deep' (fr. 77); cf. E. *Hipp.* 732 *ἠλιβάτοις ὑπὸ κευθμῶσι γενοίμαν*. Neither of these two meanings would be inappropriate to the cave at Psychro.

ζαθέης ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης: see on 300 and 334.

484. **Αἰγαίῳ ἐν ὄρει**: an *Αἰγαῖον ὄρος* is nowhere else attested; on the other hand, no other ancient name for Mt. Lasithi near Lyctus is known. The name must be classed with the *Αἰγαῖος πόντος* (first in Ibycus; variously explained) and the *Αἰγαῖον πεδίον* adjoining Crisa (fr. 220). The scholiast says *τὸ σημεῖον ὅτι καὶ οὗτος αἰγίοχον ἤκουσεν τὸν Δία ἀπὸ τοῦ Αἰγαίου ὄρους . . . ἀφ' οὗ ἐν Κρήτῃ καὶ Αἰγὸς ὄρος καλεῖται, καὶ Αἰγαῖον τὸ ὑπ' ἐνίων Αἰγιδόκον* (*ἔκδικον* codd., corr. Schoemann from sch.A *Il.* 2. 157) *καλούμενον*. The name seems to have vanished early, cf. sch. Arat. 33 *ὄρεος σχεδὸν Ἰδαίοιο· τινὲς γράφουσι "σχεδὸν Αἰγαίοιο" παρ' Ἡσιόδου λαβόντες . . . εἰ δὲ μηδέν ἐστιν ὄρος ἐν Κρήτῃ Αἰγαῖον, ἄμεινον διαστέλλειν τῇ ἀναγνώσει "ὅ μιν—ὅτε αὐτὸν —κουρίζοντα"*, etc. *Αἰγαίοιο* was clearly an ancient conjecture in Aratus, designed to eliminate the contradiction between Ida and Dicte (cf. on 477). The Marcianus 476, one of the best MSS. of Aratus, gives the conjecture as *Αἰγείοιο*, and Wilamowitz (*Isyllos*, p. 109) would write *Αἰγείῳ* in Hesiod.[1] But Hesiod seems to know nothing of the myth of Amalthea; and there is really no more reason to make his Aegean Mountain into a Goaty Mountain than to do likewise for the Aegean Plain and Sea.

There is much more to be said for *Ἀργαίῳ*, first found in Frobenius' edition of 1521 (cf. p. 61). This is probably a conjecture suggested by the well-known *Ἀργαῖον ὄρος* in Cappadocia; see Muetzell, p. 253. It was conjectured again, much more cleverly, by K. Hoeck, *Kreta* (Göttingen, 1823), i. 409, who seems not to have known that the reading stood in early editions. Hoeck compared [Plut.] *de fluv.* 16. 3 *Ζεὺς δι' ἐρωτικὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἐκ Λύκτου πόλεως Κρητικῆς Ἄργην νύμφην ἁρπάσας ἀπήνεγκεν εἰς ὄρος τῆς Αἰγύπτου Ἀργιλλον* (*Ἀργαῖον* Bernardakis) *καλούμενον*. A Lyctian nymph Arge, after whom an Egyptian mountain was named, may very well have been the eponym of a mountain near Lyctus too.

πεπυκασμένῳ: the word is not so used in Homer. The Cretan mountains were once richly forested with cypress and cedar; the lower slopes are still extensively covered with cypress and olive woods. The Kouretes were particularly associated with *τῶν ὀρῶν οἱ σύνδενδροι καὶ φαραγγώδεις τόποι* (D.S. 5. 65).

[1] Rzach attributes *αἰγείῳ* to Salmasius, *Exercitationes Plinianae in Solini Polyhistora*, Paris, 1629, p. 626A. The reference is wrong; on p. 891D Salmasius in fact conjectures *Αἰγαίῳ* in place of *Ἀργαίῳ*, which most printed editions gave between 1521 and 1667, see below. The same conjecture was afterwards made by Guyet. If anyone deserves credit for *Αἰγείῳ* before Wilamowitz, it is Paley, who says it is 'the more correct orthography', though he does not put it in his text.

485. σπαργανίσασα μέγαν λίθον: see on 498–500. Kronos was supposed to have swallowed the stone at Petrachos, a crag above Chaeronea (Paus. 9. 41. 6). The Arcadians told a similar story about Poseidon: when Rhea bore him, she gave Kronos a foal to swallow instead (Paus. 8. 8. 2).

486. Οὐρανίδῃ: the Cyclopes are called *Οὐρανίδαι* in 502; otherwise the patronymic does not occur in Hesiod or Homer, but cf. *Οὐρανίωνες* apparently of the Titans at *Il.* 5. 898.

μέγ' ἄνακτι: the adverb qualifies the noun by analogy on the one hand with *μέγ' ἀνάσσειν* (*h. Ap.* 181, *Il.* 1. 78, etc.) and on the other with *μέγ' ἔξοχος*, *μέγ' ἄριστος*, etc. Cf. Hdt. 6. 30 *ἀνδρὸς μεγάλως . . . εὐεργέτεω*, Anon. bucol. fr. 2. 8 (p. 168 Gow, 57 Heitsch) *ὦ νομέων μέγα κοίρανε*, *A.P.* 16. 6. 2 *τόσσον ἄναξ θνατῶν Ζεὺς ὅσον ἀθανάτων*, Opp. *H.* 2. 539 *ὅσσον . . . ἄνακτες*.

θεῶν προτέρων: a Hesiodic phrase, above, 424; cf. A. *Eum.* 721 *παλαιτέροις θεοῖς*, ib. 162 *al. νεώτεροι θεοί*, Antim. fr. 45 *προτερηγενέας Τιτῆνας*, Pherenicus *ap.* sch. Pi. *O.* 3. 28 *προτέρων . . . Τιτήνων*, Call. fr. 177. 8 *θεῶν τοῖσι παλαιοτέροις*, [Orph.] *A.* 428 *ὁπλοτέρων μακάρων*, Nonn. *D.* 24. 232 *πρότεροι Τιτῆνες*, Agath. *A.P.* 4. 3. 115 *προτέροις μακάρεσσιν* (metaph.). No such expression as 'the former king' is elsewhere found in epic; and in Herodotus at any rate the Greek for it is *ὁ πρότερον βασιλεύς* (1. 84. 3, 186. 1, 2. 161. 2, 3. 1. 3, sometimes with v.l. *πρότερος*). Hence Peppmüller conjectured *πρότερον* here.

487. ἐὴν ἐσκάθετο νηδύν: the manuscript evidence for this and the variant *ἐγκάθετο* in the four places where this phrase occurs is as follows:

	ἐσ-	*ἐγ-*
487	B*ak*S	*b*Q
890	*ak*S	*b*QU[1], Galeni cod. H
899	*ak*LS	*m*QU[1]
fr. 343. 7	—	Galeni cod. H

The reading of *Π*[15] in 890 is uncertain (*C.Q.* 1962, p. 180). *ἐσκατατιθέναι* does not occur elsewhere; *ἐγκατατιθέναι* occurs in *Op.* 27 and Homer, etc., but always with the dative. See also p. 84.

488. σχέτλιος, οὐδ' ἐνόησε: *σχέτλιος, οὐδὲ . . .* occurs in *Il.* 9. 630, *Od.* 4. 729, 21. 28, 23. 150. But the corresponding idiom with *νήπιος* is usual in contexts of fatal ignorance; cf. *h. Aphr.* 223 *νηπίη, οὐδ' ἐνόησε μετὰ φρεσί*, *Il.* 20. 264, 22. 445; *νήπιος, οὐδὲ τὰ ἤδη Il.* 2. 38, 5. 406 etc., cf. *Op.* 40, 456.

489. ἀνίκητος καὶ ἀκηδὴς: cf. 797 *ἀνάπνευστος καὶ ἄναυδος*, p. 76. *ἀκηδής* is equivalent to *securus*, as perhaps in *Il.* 21. 123.

490. βίῃ καὶ χερσὶ: *Il.* 3. 431.

491. ἐξελάαν: the diectatic form in *-άαν* is confirmed by *Il.* 8. 527, *Od.* 11. 292. *-άειν* given by S seems to be Planudean preference; the same MS. has *ἀφριάει* for *-ᾶᾳ* at [Opp.] *C.* 2. 437.

ὁ δ': equivalent to *αὐτὸς δέ*. The nearest Homeric parallel is perhaps *Il.* 22. 206 *οὐδ' ἔα ἱέμεναι ἐπὶ Ἕκτορι πικρὰ βέλεμνα, | μή τις κῦδος*

ἄροιτο βαλών, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ἔλθοι. Cf. also 24. 608 φῇ δοιὼ τεκέειν, ἡ δ' αὐτὴ γείνατο πολλούς, 1. 191, 4. 491.

492. **καρπαλίμως**: rapid growth is characteristic of the divine child, cf. *h. Dem.* 241, *Ap.* 127 ff., *Herm.* 17 f., Call. *H.* 1. 55, Q.S. 6. 205. It is particularly understandable in the case of a year-spirit like the cave-Zeus. Cf. on 493.

μένος καὶ φαίδιμα γυῖα: *Il.* 6. 27.

493. **τοῖο ἄνακτος**: this is one of the phrases in which epic admits the definite article. It appears below, 859, and thrice in Homer. *τοῖο γέροντος* (6 times) is closely similar, but has a corresponding nominative *ὁ γέρων* (and *ὁ γεραιός*). Cf. also *τοῖο πελώρου* below, 845.

ἄναξ is equivalent to *θεός*. Cf. on 543.

ἐπιπλομένου δ' ἐνιαυτοῦ: the singular and plural are variants. (Cf. on 184.) There can be no certainty which is right. It might be inferred that Zeus attained full growth in a year from Arat. 34 f. *ἄντρῳ ἐγκατέθεντο καὶ ἔτρεφον εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν | Δικταῖοι Κουρῆτες ὅτε Κρόνον ἐψεύδοντο*. The overthrow of Kronos presumably took place as soon as Zeus was grown up.

ἐπι- for the usual *περι-πλόμενος* is used in *Od.* 7. 261, *Sc.* 87.

494. **Γαίης ἐννεσίῃσι**: cf. 626, 884, 891 *Γαίης φραδμοσύνῃσι*. The reference is to the advice given to Rhea. *ἐννεσίη* appears only once in Homer (*Il.* 5. 894).

πολυφραδέεσσι δολωθείς: both words are un-Homeric. For *πολυφραδής* cf. fr. 310, Sem. 7. 93.

495. **γόνον**: collectively of several children, as in 919, *Il.* 20. 409, Hdt. 7. 2, etc.

ἀνέηκε: of vomiting, cf. *Od.* 12. 105, A. *Eum.* 183.

496. Heyne suspected the line, but it is supported by *h. Aphr.* 22–23 cited on 454.

τέχνῃσι βίηφί τε: the two do not always go together, cf. *Il.* 7. 142 *τὸν Λυκόοργος ἔπεφνε δόλῳ, οὔ τι κράτεΐ γε*. Zeus' use of strength to overcome his father is mentioned in 73 and 490. The *τέχναι* must have been used in inducing Kronos to bring up his children, but Hesiod does not explain how it was done. According to Apld. 1. 2. 1 Zeus simply administered an emetic; Nonnus simplifies the story further, and represents the stone itself as having emetic effect (*D.* 12. 50–51, 25. 557–62, 41. 68–76). In the rather different version of Orph. fr. 154, Zeus makes Kronos drunk on honey, ties him up and castrates him: again a combination of stratagem and force.

497. The items Kronos has swallowed naturally (in folk-lore terms) reappear in reverse order; cf. on 454.

πρῶτον . . . πύματον: cf. p. 76, § 1 (ii).

ἐξήμησε: *ἤμεσα* is the only form of the aorist certainly attested elsewhere, for at *Il.* 14. 437 (*ἀπέμεσσεν* vulg.) Zenodotus' reading *ἀπέμασσεν* has the support of two papyri and may well be right, and in Hippocr. vii. 30 and 32 *ὑπερεμήσ-* is probably to be emended to *ὑπεραιμήσ-*, cf. Kühner–Blass, ii. 418, *LSJ* s.v. *ὑπερεμέω*. Passow and

Hermann proposed *ἐξήμεσσε*: this is possible, but aorists in *-εσα* alternate in epic both with *-εσσα* (*ἐκάλεσσε*, *ὀλέσσαι*, etc.) and with *-ησα* (*ἐπήνησα*), irrespective of whether the stem ends in *-εσ-*; and as the MSS. here give *-ησε* (except *k*, which has the vulgar form *-εσε*), it is best to follow them. There is no evidence for Fick's *ἐξείμεσσε*, which Rzach adopts.

καταπίνων: imperfect participle, equivalent to *ὃν πύματον κατέπινε*. Cf. Kühner–Gerth, i. 200. The imperfect is appropriate because the swallowing was only temporary and is now reversed. Goettling's *καταπιών* (he compares *πῖέμεν Il.* 16. 825, *al.*) is hardly to be supported by Tz. *Th.* 209–10 *καταπιὼν δ' ἐξήμεσεν οὓς ἐβεβρώκει πάλιν, | καὶ λίθον τὸν πελώριον ἐξήμεσε σὺν ἄλλοις.*

498–500. The stone was shown at Delphi in Pausanias' time. He describes it (10. 24. 6) as of no great size, and says that oil was poured on it daily and unspun wool put over it on festival-days. Probable representations of it in vase-paintings are discussed by F. Lenormant in Daremberg–Saglio, i. 645. It has long been conjectured that it was of meteoric origin: meteorites come directly from heaven, and are regarded as holy in many parts of the world. On the customs of oiling and draping sacred stones, see Frazer on Paus. l.c. and Cook, *Zeus*, iii. 888, 898, 906, 918, 922. Of particular interest is the story in the Orphic *Lithica* (360 ff.) of the prophetic siderites-stone given by Apollo to Helenos. Helenos bathed it and dressed it *φάρεσιν ἐν καθαροῖσιν ἅτε βρέφος* (370), and fondled it in his arms, *μητέρι νήπιον υἱὸν ἐοικὼς ἀγκὰς ἐχούσῃ* (375). If such a stone is rocked long enough, it will eventually cry like a baby, and you may then ask it anything you want to know (378 ff.). One wonders whether the Delphic stone too was supposed to have mantic properties. One may also wonder whether it has any connexion with the 'natural concretion grotesquely resembling an infant' and the 'three similar but smaller concretions of quasi-human appearance' which Evans found in the Little Palace at Knossos (Nilsson, *Min.–Myc. Rel.*, 2nd ed., p. 91, with photograph).

Another myth giving a celestial origin for particular terrestrial objects appears in the lines reported to have been read by some after *Il.* 15. 21, presumably in place of the following lines. They concern the anvils which Zeus unkindly tied to Hera's feet to increase her pain when he hung her up: *πρίν γ' ὅτε δή σ' ἀπέλυσα ποδῶν, μύδρους δ' ἐνὶ Τροίῃ | κάββαλον, ὄφρα πέλοιτο καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι.*

498. κατὰ: cf. *Il.* 13. 504, 21. 172.

499. Πυθοῖ ἐν ἠγαθέῃ: *Od.* 8. 80, *h.* xxiv. 2. Cf. Pi. *P.* 9. 71, Bacch. 3. 62, 5. 41.

γυάλοις ὕπο Παρνησσοῖο: cf. *h. Ap.* 396 *γυάλων ὕπο Παρνησσοῖο*. *ὑπό* again means 'down in', cf. Rzach, *Bursian*, 100, 1899, p. 122. The spelling of Parnassus with *σσ* is supported by inscriptions (e.g. *SIG* 826 E III 35, *s.* iv B.C.); cf. Kühner–Blass, i. 270.

500. θαῦμα θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσι: cf. *Od.* 11. 287, and above on 223.

501. πατροκασιγνήτους: a word of this shape is seldom placed

anywhere but in the initial position. For the displacement by an initial dactylic word-group cf. fr. 37. 5 *μνᾶτο γὰρ αὐτοκασιγνήτῳ*.

The *πατροκασίγνητοι* must be the Cyclopes, cf. 504 with 141; but it is surprising that Hesiod does not designate them more precisely. Merkelbach, *Stud. Ital.* 1956, p. 290, would add a line between 501 and 502, *Βρόντην τε Στερόπην τε καὶ Ἄργην ὀβριμόθυμον* (= 140). This would deal with the difficulty very well, but it is hard to see why such a line should have fallen out, and there is no other clear instance of a lacuna in the tradition of the *Theogony*.

It was because Zeus freed the Cyclopes that they gave him the thunder with which he defeated the Titans (687 ff.) and Typhoeus (853 ff.), and on which his power still depends (72, 506). The story had to be put in either here, where Zeus grows up and delivers his brothers and sisters from Kronos' belly, or in the Titanomachy. But in the Titanomachy there is a somewhat similar story concerning the Hundred-Handers (617 ff.), and two such episodes would have been awkward to fit into the narrative. Cf. also Buse, *Quaest. Hes. et Orph.*, pp. 53–54.

ὀλοῶν ὑπὸ δεσμῶν: see on 502. *ὑπὸ* is supported against *ἀπὸ* by the parallels of *Sc.* 43, *Il.* 1. 401. The same variants are found at 652, 659, cf. 653 and 658.

502. **Οὐρανίδας**: cf. on 486.

οὓς: Schoemann's *τοὺς* was based on the mistaken belief that accusative *-ας* in the first declension is always short in Hesiod. It is long in 53, 220, 631, 663, 675, 712, *Op.* 645, 828.

δῆσε πατὴρ: *πατήρ* must surely be *their* father, especially after *Οὐρανίδας*, not Zeus' father (as apparently understood by the author of the version in Apld. 1. 1–2, and by Tz. *Th.* 213). Cf. the *πατήρ* in 207, and 617 n. Hesiod refers to the binding of the Cyclopes, and in 617 to that of the Hundred-Handers, as if he had already told the story. This is connected with the difficulties in the castration episode: see on 139–53 and on 158.

503. **οἵ οἱ ἀπεμνήσαντο**: cf. *Il.* 24. 428 *τῷ οἱ ἀπεμνήσαντο*. The sequence *οἵ οἱ* is not avoided; cf. fr. 165. 5, *Il.* 1. 251, *Od.* 4. 653, Schulze, *Kl. Schr.*, p. 222.

χάρῑν: cf. *Il.* 5. 874 (v.l.), *h. Ap.* 477. *ἀπομνήσασθαι χάριν* is a regular phrase, cf. E. *Alc.* 299, Thuc. 1. 137. For *χάριν εὐεργεσιάων* cf. *Od.* 4. 695 (≃ 22. 319) *οὐδέ τίς ἐστι χάρις μετόπισθ' εὐεργέων*. *εὐεργεσίη* occurs in Homer only in *Od.* 22. 235 and 374: in the former place we have *εὐεργεσίας ἀποτίνειν*, which, with Thgn. 337 *Ζεύς μοι τῶν τε φίλων δοίη τίσιν οἵ με φιλεῦσιν*, makes *τίσιν* a possible reading here.

504. Cf. 141, and on 140 and 72.

505. **τὸ πρὶν δὲ**: *τὴν πρὶν* (*k*) might conceal *τὴν πρῑ̀* = *τὴν πατρὶ*. **Γαῖα κεκεύθει**: this is not quite consistent with 141, where the Cyclopes are said to have made the thunderbolt themselves, but the essential fact is that it never belonged to Kronos. Hesiod is probably thinking of volcanic fire (though he can have known of it only by hearsay) and/or of seismic thunder (*βροντήματα χθόνια*, A. *PV* 993,

cf. fr. 57. 10 N. = 71 M., S. *OC* 1606, etc.). The Cyclopes are earthborn themselves. For the use of κεκεύθει cf. *h. Dem.* 452 (ἄρουρα) ἔκευθε δ' ἄρα κρῖ λευκόν, *Od.* 3. 16 ὅπου κύθε γαῖα (sc. Ὀδυσσέα), *Il.* 23. 83a; more generally in the sense 'contain', *Il.* 22. 118 ὅσα τε πτόλις ἥδε κέκευθε, *Od.* 6. 303, 9. 348, [Hes.] fr. 200. 6.

506. This section too ends with the picture of Zeus ruling in majesty and power (cf. on 402–3).

θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἀνάσσει: *Il.* 12. 242.

507–616. **Iapetos' family** occupies the last place in the Titan group, because of the length of the mythical digression to which it leads (p. 39) and because the myth cannot well be told before the birth of Zeus, who is involved in it. The Titan has four sons. Three of them are rebels against Zeus, and the fourth a culpable fool. Hesiod relates the fate which befell each of them (512 ff.), ending with Prometheus (521–34). The circumstances of Prometheus' offence are then explained at length. His punishment is mentioned again as a conclusion, and the moral is drawn that Zeus is not to be outwitted or his purpose thwarted (535–616).

The Prometheus myth is aetiological through and through. First it explains why at sacrifices the slaughtered animal is so divided that the gods are given bones wrapped in fat, while the flesh and offal is reserved for the sacrificers themselves. Prometheus was carving at a feast at which both men and gods took part, in the days when they both lived together. He set the best meat before Zeus, but wrapped it in skin and paunch so that it looked a poor portion; while on the other side he arranged what appeared to be a succulent helping of rich fat, being in reality largely a pile of bones. Zeus commented on the unfair distribution, and the cunning Prometheus invited him to choose his own helping. Of course he seized the bony portion that had been set for mankind, and man has enjoyed Zeus' helping ever since.

Next we learn how men come to have fire. Angered by their luck in getting his meat, Zeus decided that fire should be reserved for the gods. But Prometheus tricked him again, and stole some fire in a fennel-stalk, where it burns without being seen.

Finally we learn why there are women, and why they are so perniciously designed that man's life is as insupportable without them as with them. This was Zeus' second attempt at retribution upon mankind; it was he who bade the gods construct such a creature, and this time it was not Prometheus' cleverness that was decisive, but the folly of Epimetheus, who accepted her into his house. She became the ancestress of all mortal women. Meanwhile Prometheus atones for his sins in grievous bondage.

The first of these three main aitia is an attempt to explain a custom that was frequently to be used by the Attic comedians as evidence of the irreligious meanness of men: cf. Pherecr. fr. 23, Eub. fr. 95, 130, Men. *D.* 451–3, *Sam.* 184–7, Com. adesp. 1205. Here, as in Hesiod,

the sacrificial ritual is thought of primarily as an offering of nourishment to the gods, the accompanying feast being, as it were, a pleasant indulgence occasioned thereby. But originally—and often still in Homer—the operation was intended simply as a regular meal for humans; the inedible parts of the animal were treated with care and arranged in a special way, apparently designed to permit its later resurrection. This may from the start have involved commending the remains to the care of a god. The Homeric practice of laying pieces of raw meat upon the bones (*ὠμοθετεῖν*) probably originated as sympathetic magic, assisting the flesh to grow again. It was only later, when the god was held to come and feast with the men (Homeric *θεῶν* or *μακάρων ἐν δαιτὶ θαλείῃ*, later *θεοξενία*; hence the myth of a time when gods and men regularly dined together, [Hes.] fr. 1. 6–7, Paus. 8. 2. 4, Babr. *prol.* 13, Sen. *Phaedra* 525; cf. *Op.* 108), or when the smoke and vapour was held to carry the god's share of the meal up to him in heaven, that a sense of the unfairness of the apportionment developed and gave rise to the Prometheus myth.[1] We do not know precisely why Prometheus was assigned the task of dividing the portions of meat, or why he was so friendly towards mankind—he was himself a god, not a man. His philanthropy is shown again in his theft of fire, and it is greatly developed in Aeschylus' account of his benefits to mankind (especially *PV* 442–506); it can hardly be a characteristic derived wholly from interpretation of his name (see on 510).

The myth of the theft of fire is of a type common all over the world. See Frazer, *Myths of the Origin of Fire* (1930) and *Apollodorus*, ii, pp. 326–50. Man everywhere seems to feel that fire does not belong on earth but in heaven, where are the burning sun and the bright sky (*αἰθήρ*), and from where the lightning breaks. Hesiod's myth explains not only how men acquired this useful element, but also why it was confined to heaven in the first place and not allowed to course freely across the earth. The part played by Prometheus is here easier to understand, for Prometheus (or more probably Promethos: Wilamowitz, *Aischylos-Interpretationen*, p. 144) was worshipped together with Hephaestus by the potters of Athens, and was something of a craftsman himself. The moulding of mankind from clay is often attributed to him (Philemon 89, Apld. 1. 7. 1, Ov. *M.* 1. 81, Hor. *C.* 1. 16. 13, Paus. 10. 4. 4, etc.). Such a god must have been the teacher of human craftsmen; and who more likely to have given them fire, the divine element with which they work?

Many peoples, again, have myths of the origin of woman, it being widely assumed that man existed first. The most familiar of such myths is the creation of Eve from Adam's rib; but there are many

[1] A similar story, in which Jupiter was tricked by Numa, is told by Valerius Antias fr. 6 (*ap.* Arnob. 5. 1). The evidence for the above view of sacrifice will be found in the masterly discussion of K. Meuli, 'Griechische Opferbräuche', in *Phyllobolia für P. Von der Mühll*, Basel, 1945, pp. 185–286. It does not apply to holocausts and sacrifices to the dead, heroes, or chthonic deities; or to first-fruit offerings. These have separate origins.

others. See Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index*, i. 210 f. In the version of the *Theogony*, Prometheus plays no part; it is his improvident brother Epimetheus who accepts the woman from Zeus. Epimetheus seems to be a figure specially designed for this role (see on 511): invented by a poet (possibly Hesiod himself) who wished to connect the origin of women with Prometheus as the wages of his sin, but who regarded Prometheus himself as too clever to be deceived by the trick.

What we have in Hesiod, then, is a combination of three myths, all probably traditional, which could have been told separately, though we cannot prove that they ever were. It is useless to assert that Hesiod did or did not reshape them; we have no means of telling. But he did tell the story a second time, with certain differences and additions, in the *Works and Days* (42–105). There it is introduced to explain why man cannot live at ease and without working. Zeus took away fire from man, because Prometheus had deceived him (sc. in the division of the meat). Prometheus stole some fire for men; so Zeus ordered the woman to be made. She was named Pandora. (In the *Theogony* she is nameless.) She was sent to Epimetheus as a gift, and he accepted her, forgetting that Prometheus had warned him not to accept any gifts from Zeus. And she opened the jar in which all the world's evils and hardships were confined, releasing them into our life; only Hope remained in storage.[1] The most essential difference from the *Theogony* is the appearance of the jar—probably a pre-Hesiodic motif, though the combination with the myth of Prometheus may well be new. In the *Theogony* the woman herself is the evil with which Zeus makes mankind suffer for Prometheus' deed. But this did not answer Hesiod's purpose in the *Works and Days*, which was to explain the hardship of life in general, not just the hardship caused by woman. So the woman is made the instrument of a comprehensive calamity. It is interesting to note that from 57 to 89 Hesiod fails to adapt his narrative to the new ending, and still thinks in terms of the *Theogony* version where the woman herself is the evil: an unusually clear instance of the way narrative inconsistencies arise as old stories are retold.

This section of the *Theogony* has a peculiar individuality and charm; Hesiod's hobnailed hexameters effectively enhance the irony inherent in the story. Cf. p. 74.

A great deal has been written on Hesiod's Prometheus, much of it of little or no importance. The bibliography that follows is ruthlessly

[1] A closed vessel can be used either for keeping evil spirits in bondage (cf. C. Bonner in *Quantulacumque, Studies Presented to K. Lake*, 1937, pp. 1–8) or for storing good things. So everything, good or ill, is best inside a jar. The ills have got out, but one good thing is still inside. Hesiod's use of the same jar for both is confusing, but easier for the fact that he does not mention Hope as being in the jar until all the ills have escaped; in other words, he does not have to speak or think of goods and evils being in the jar together. Cf. A. Lesky, *Gnomon*, 1933, p. 174; G. Fink, *Pandora und Epimetheus* (Diss. Erlangen, 1958), p. 70; P. Walcot, *Hermes*, 1961, pp. 249–51.

select: Jane Harrison, *J.H.S.* 20, 1900, pp. 99–114; P. Friedländer, *Herakles* (1907), pp. 39–45; Ada Thomsen, *Arch. f. Rel.* 1909, pp. 460–90; C. Robert, *Hermes*, 49, 1914, pp. 17–38; E. Schwartz, *Sitz.-Ber. Berl. Ak.* 1915 (1), pp. 133–48 = *Gesammelte Schriften*, ii. 42–62; S. Eitrem, *Eranos*, 1946, pp. 14–19; M. Pohlenz, *Die griech. Tragödie*, 2nd ed. (1954), Erläuterungen, pp. 30–35; I. Trencsényi-Waldapfel, *Acta Ethnogr. Acad. Scient. Hung.* iv, 1955, pp. 99–128 (in English); W. Kraus, *R.E.* xxiii. 657–64; O. Lendle, *Die Pandora-Sage bei Hesiod* (1957); G. Fink, op. cit.

508. **Κλυμένην**: 351. Iapetos cannot marry a Titan, because there is none available, cf. on 375.

ὁμὸν λέχος εἰσανέβαινεν: cf. *Il.* 8. 291, fr. 129. 7, 21; 180. 11; 193. 12; *ἱερὸν λέχος εἰσαναβαίνων* above, 57, *-βᾶσα* 939 *al.* The *-ανα-* element in the compound refers not to getting up onto the bed but to the bedroom being upstairs; cf. *Od.* 17. 101, 19. 594 *ὑπερώιον εἰσανα-βᾶσα*, and in a genealogical context *Il.* 2. 514.

509. **κρατερόφρονα**: with *παῖδα*, cf. 385. Similarly in *Il.* 14. 324, *Od.* 11. 299.

Homer calls Atlas *ὀλοόφρων* (*Od.* 1. 52), an epithet applied also to Aietes and Minos in the *Odyssey*. The early poets do not tell of any particular trouble caused by Atlas; later mythographers (*Mythogr. Vat.* 2. 53, Hyg. *fab.* 150) make him the leader of the Titan revolt (D.S. 3. 60 makes him a brother of Kronos), while in Orph. fr. 215 he is one of the Titans who rend Dionysus in pieces, but these are probably inventions designed to account for the task inflicted upon him. There is no hint of his association with the Titans in the early period, and if he had committed their crime he ought to have shared their punishment. Cf. on 516.

510. **τίκτε δ'**: cf. on 212.

ὑπερκύδαντα: the adjective is applied to the Achaeans by the gods in *Il.* 4. 66 and 71. Its formation may be compared with *ἀδάμας*, *ἀκάμας* and the like.

Μενοίτιον: an obscure figure, said by Apld. 1. 2. 3 to have fought in the Titanomachy, though this, like Atlas' crime, appears to be a secondary systematization. His name (*μένω*, *οἶτος*, cf. (*a*) *Μενε-λαος*, *-χαρμος*, *-πτόλεμος*, *-αίχμης*, (*b*) *Μενοίτης*, *Ἐχοίτας*, *Διοίτας*, *Φιλοίτιος*) is appropriate to a man, not a god, and is familiar as the name of Patroclus' father. It is curious that Prometheus and Epimetheus too are more closely associated with men than with gods.

Προμηθέα: ancient attempts to derive the name from *μήδεα* or *μῆτις* or *μανθάνω*, and modern connexions with Sanskr. *pramantha* 'fire-sticks', are alike inadmissible. See Bapp, *Roscher*, iii. 3033 f., Fink, op. cit., pp. 45 ff. It would be linguistically possible to take it as a direct formation from the verb stem *προμηθε-* (cf. *Ἐπειγεύς*, *Καινεύς*, etc.). But there are two difficulties: firstly, *προμηθεῖσθαι*, *-εια* have themselves no known etymology or cognates, they are not found in epic, and conceivably developed from the name Prometheus interpreted as *προμηδεύς* (though such a development would be hard

to parallel); secondly, Greek gods only have meaningful names where the name is originally an epithet (e.g. *Φοῖβος*), or where a name had to be invented, sc. where the god was anonymous (as in the case of individual members of divine guilds like the Nymphs or Fates), and it is doubtful whether Prometheus can by any device be reckoned in either of these classes.

But if his name is opaque to us, the invention of Epimetheus as his counterpart shows that it was interpreted in Hesiod's time: perhaps from *μήδεα*, cf. 559.

511. **ποικίλον**: in Homer the word is applied only to inanimate things. Cf. A. *PV* 308. Cunning was clearly a traditional aspect of Prometheus' character, as of Hermes'. Cf. 521, 546 f., 559 f., 616, *Op.* 48, 54.

The words that follow, as far as *παρθένον* in 514, are athetized by Jacoby on the ground that 585–9 represent a simpler version of the woman's transmission, without Epimetheus. This has found the approval of Jachmann (*N.G.G.* i (1), 1934–6, p. 131) and others. But it raises more difficulties than it meets. If the interpolator wanted to make the *Theogony* version agree with the *Works and Days*, why did he not interpolate at the place where the versions diverge, and interpolate something that would make them agree? It is easier to assume that Hesiod had the acceptance of the woman by Epimetheus in mind from the start, and refrained from mentioning it in 585 ff. because he had mentioned it here, or for the reason suggested on 585–9.

αἰολόμητιν: *αἰολομήτης* is found in fr. 10. 2 (of Sisyphus), and may have been an ancient variant at *Op.* 48 (*Philol.* 106, 1962, p. 315).

ἀμαρτίνοον: cf. *Od.* 7. 292 *οὔ τι νοήματος ἤμβροτεν ἐσθλοῦ*. The compound recurs in Solon 18. 2, A. *Suppl.* 542, Rhian. fr. 1. 1, and several times in Nonnus. It has a Homeric analogy in *ἁμαρτοεπής* (*Il.* 13. 824). Note the word order.

Ἐπιμηθέα: the name is evidently invented as the opposite of Prometheus, 'Afterthought' as opposed to 'Forethought'. For *ἐπί* in contrast to *πρό*, cf. *Il.* 13. 799 f. (waves) *πρὸ μέν τ' ἄλλ', αὐτὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλα· | ὣς Τρῶες πρὸ μὲν ἄλλοι ἀρηρότες, αὐτὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλοι*. Similarly *πρόλογος/ἐπίλογος*, etc. The pair of brothers, one clever and one stupid, or one good and the other bad, is a common Märchen-motif; cf., for example, the Hittite story of the brothers 'Good' and 'Bad', edited by Friedrich, *Zeitschr. f. Assyriol.* 49, 1950, pp. 213 ff. Fink, p. 60, points out that originally Iapetos' sons may have formed a typical triad without Epimetheus.

Epimetheus is treated just as if he were a mortal. It was his acceptance of Pandora that brought trouble into the world of men, and there is no hint that he still exists somewhere. Besides the Pandora myth he appears also in genealogies as the father of Pyrrha (sch. Pi. *O.* 9. 68) or as the son of Prometheus and brother of Deucalion (sch. Pl. *Tim.* 22A) or as husband or father of Ephyra (Eumelus and/or Simonides *ap.* sch. A.R. 4. 1212, Anon. ibid., Hecat. 1 F 120). There too he seems to be an artificial figure, secondary to Prometheus; his

connexion with Ephyra–Corinth is probably the complement of Prometheus' connexion with Mecone–Sicyon, below, 536 n.

In the following lines, which tell what happened to the four brothers, they are taken in reverse order, except that Prometheus is postponed to the last according to the usual principle: cf. p. 38.

512. **ἐξ ἀρχῆς**: cf. on 45.

ἀλφηστῆσι: this epithet of *ἄνδρες* is found in *Op.* 82 (again in the context of Pandora), *Sc.* 29, fr. 73. 5, 211. 12–13, *Od.* 1. 349, 6. 8, 13. 261, *h. Ap.* 458. In meaning it corresponds to (*βροτῶν*) *οἳ ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἔδουσιν*, *Il.* 6. 142; cf. S. *Ph.* 707 f. *οὐ φορβὰν ἱερᾶς γᾶς σπόρον, οὐκ ἄλλων αἴρων τῶν νεμόμεσθ' ἀνέρες ἀλφησταί.* On *-ηστής* see the authorities cited on 300.

513. **πρῶτος**: not strictly logical, but we may translate 'For he was the original one who . . .'.

πλαστὴν: she was moulded from earth by Hephaestus (571, *Op.* 61, 70).

γυναῖκα | παρθένον: a strange phrase, especially as the two words are sometimes contrasted (S. *Tr.* 148 *ἀντὶ παρθένου γυνή*, [Theocr.] 27. 65; in *A.P.* 14. 42 *παρθένος εἰμὶ γυνή* is a riddle). But it can be understood in the sense 'a virgin wife', like X. *Cyr.* 4. 6. 9 *θυγάτηρ παρθένος*. There are two possible alternative interpretations, but they are both awkward: 'he received the moulded maiden as his wife', or 'he received the moulded maiden, Woman' (so Fick). Lehrs long ago suggested that *Op.* 80 *ὀνόμηνε δὲ τήνδε γυναῖκα* originally meant 'and he named her woman', 81–82 being a later addition (*Quaestiones Epicae*, 1837, pp. 225, 228): in 94 it is *γυνή* (or *Γυνή*) who opens the jar, where we might expect Pandora's name. *Γυνή* as a proper name would be paralleled by *Βροτός* in fr. 400, and perhaps by *Μέροψ*; cf. also Hebr. *Adam* (= 'man'). But as regards the *Works and Days*, Lehrs' speculation does not entirely account for the awkwardness of 80 (*τήνδε* remains odd), and it is really hard to take the *Theogony* passage in a corresponding way.

514. **παρθένον. ὑβριστὴν δὲ**: it is common enough for a sentence to end after the first longum, trochee, spondee, or dactyl of the line, but very unusual for such a stop to represent so complete a break in sense as here.

For *ὑβριστὴν* preceding the proper name cf. 996 *ὑβριστὴς Πελίης*.

515. **Ἔρεβος**: see on 123. Whether it means Tartarus or Hades here (the distinction is preserved in Homer and the genuine Hesiod, cf. on 720–819) depends on whether Hesiod thought of Menoitios as god or mortal; it refers to Hades in *h. Dem.* 335 *εἰς ἔρεβος πέμψε χρυσόρραπιν Ἀργειφόντην*.

βαλὼν ψολόεντι κεραυνῷ: fr. 51. 2, cf. *Od.* 23. 330, *h. Aphr.* 288. *ψολόεις κεραυνός* also in *Sc.* 422, *Od.* 24. 539, and as a variant in 72 above.

516. The ground for Menoitios' elimination may seem insubstantial, but it is sufficient in Hesiodic mythology. Cf. 155 n., 619 f. Similarly Atlas seems to be made to support the sky merely because he is *κρατερό-* or *ὀλοό-φρων* (509 n.).

ἠνορέης ὑπερόπλου: cf. 619; 670 *βίην ὑπέροπλον*.

517. This line with the first half of the next recurs as Orph. fr. 215. Another such agreement was mentioned on 141.

οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχει: cf. 746. The use of *ἔχει* resembles that in *Od.* 1. 52 ff. *Ἄτλαντος . . . ὅς τε θαλάσσης | πάσης βένθεα οἶδεν, ἔχει δέ τε κίονας αὐτὸς | μακράς, αἳ γαῖάν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν ἀμφὶς ἔχουσι. Il.* 12. 381–2 (*μάρμαρος*) *οὐδέ κέ μιν ῥέα | χείρεσσ' ἀμφοτέρῃς ἔχοι ἀνὴρ οὐδὲ μάλ' ἠβῶν.* On the Cypselus chest Atlas was identified by the legend *Ἄτλας οὐρανὸν οὗτος ἔχει, τὰ δὲ μᾶλα μεθήσει* (Paus. 5. 18. 4).

Four different versions of what Atlas does may be distinguished. (1) He stands at the world's end and supports the sky on his head and hands. So Hesiod. (2) He stands under the earth and supports both earth and sky. This was represented, according to Pausanias, on the chest of Cypselus and in the painted screens which surrounded Phidias' Zeus at Olympia (5. 11. 5, 18. 4); but it has been suggested that Pausanias misinterpreted a globe on Atlas' shoulders (the usual art type) which really represented only the sky. (3) He lives in the sea and supports the columns which hold the sky up from the earth. So Homer, quoted above; cf. A. *PV* 348–50. This may seem to be a conflation of two separate conceptions; but Lesky, *Anz. d. Öst. Ak.* 1950, pp. 148 ff., has pointed out that there is a close parallel in the giant Upelluri in the *Song of Ullikummi*. He has heaven and earth built upon him, and he apparently lives under the sea, since the stone child Ullikummi is placed on his shoulder and is said to be growing in the sea. (4) 'Atlas' is the African mountain, and so he is himself the column that supports the sky. Hdt. 4. 184. 3. (For a mountain as the pillar of heaven cf. Pi. *P.* 1. 19.) This is evidently a rationalistic reconciliation of the divergent myths.

κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης: *Cypr.* fr. 7. 3, orac. *ap.* Hdt. 1. 67, Thgn. 387; cf. *Il.* 6. 458, *Od.* 10. 273, *h. Aphr.* 130.

518. **πείρασιν ἐν γαίης**: see on 335.

πρόπαρ': un-Homeric. Except for Sittl, editors print *πρόπαρ*, but the word must be *πρό-παρα*.

Ἐσπερίδων λιγυφώνων: see on 275.

519. The line is suspected by Guyet as a possible interpolation from 747; and certainly there is some harshness in the separation of *κεφαλῇ—χέρεσσιν* from *ἔχει*, with which it must be taken, by the intervening line.

Hesiod perhaps imagines Atlas not with his head bowed as in most monuments, so that the burden is supported partly by his shoulders, but with head erect, like an architectural Telamon or Caryatid: Telamones are in fact sometimes called *Ἄτλαντες*, see *LSJ*. Atlas is so depicted on a vase at Naples (Reinach, *Répertoire*, i. 236).

ἑστηώς: in art he is sometimes shown kneeling on one or both knees. *ἑστειώς* is a variant both here and in 747; similarly at *Il.* 17. 161 and elsewhere *τεθνειώς, -ειῶτος, -ειότος* are variants for *-ηώς*, etc. Aristarchus commended the latter, which shows that the former was known to him. *-ηώς* and *-ηότ-* are original, but *-ειώς, -ειότ-*, and *-ειῶτ-*

could have been produced under the influence of the quantitative metathesis which engendered *-εώς*, *-εῶτος*. Cf. Werner, op. cit. (on 257), pp. 51–56.

ἀκαμάτῃσι: cf. on 39. *-οισ(ι)* is weakly supported here and in 747; cf. 39 *ἀκάματος . . . αὐδή*, and Vian, op. cit. (p. 100), p. 167.

χέρεσσι: the only example in Hesiod or Homer of the short stem *χερ-* (except in the form *χερσί*). Many MSS. here and in 747 in fact have *χείρεσσι*, so one could write *ἀκαμάτῃς χείρεσσι* (*ἀκαμάτοισ χείρεσσι* U here a.c.).

520. Cf. 348.

ἐδάσσατο: in Homer this verb is only used of people sharing out among themselves, not allotting to someone else.

521. **δῆσε δ'**: on the *δήσας* attested here by grammarians see p. 85. Goettling, Muetzell, and Schoemann accounted for it by assuming a lacuna after 520, but nothing is missing in the narrative.

ἀλυκτοπέδῃσι: un-Homeric. It is presumably equivalent to *ἀλυκτοις πέδαις*, as *ἀκρόπολις* = *ἄκρα πόλις*: see Debrunner, § 91, Frisk, *Indog. Forsch.* 52, 1934, pp. 282–96, Schwyzer, i. 453, n. 5. But what *ἀλυκτος* means is uncertain, cf. Frisk, i. 80. It occurs as an epithet of *φόνοι* in *Epigr. Gr.* 793. 4. The *Suda* and Zonaras gloss it *ἄφυκτος*, while *ἀλυκτοσύνη* is glossed *ἔκκλισις* (*Suda*) and *ἀκοσμία* (Hsch.). *ἀλυκτέω*, *-άζω*, mean to be in torment or distress.

ποικιλόβουλον: not elsewhere in early epic. The word is used to gloss the Homeric *ποικιλομήτης*, and could have displaced it here; a gloss that is similar in form to the word to which it refers is particularly liable to be mistaken for a variant or correction. Cf., for example, Call. *H.* 3. 243, where *ῥήσσωσιν* has been replaced by *πλήσσωσιν*: in 4. 322 *ῥησσόμενον* is glossed *πλησσόμενον*.

522. **δεσμοῖς ἀργαλέοισι**: cf. 718, *Od.* 11. 293, 15. 444. The phrase may be intended as an aid to the understanding of the unfamiliar word *ἀλυκτοπέδῃσι*. For this kind of 'glossing' in epic cf. *Od.* 13. 79–80, 23. 343 (both quasi-etymological), and on 316.

μέσον διὰ κίον' ἐλάσσας: it is uncertain whether this means 'driving a pile through in the middle' of the bonds, or 'through the middle' of Prometheus, or 'driving them (the bonds) through the middle of a pile'. The first is perhaps the least natural; we should expect Hesiod to say rather that Zeus fastened the bonds round a column. The second would correspond to certain archaic vase-paintings where Prometheus appears to be impaled upon a column which goes right through him (Beazley, *ABV* 97, nos. 28–30; 104, no. 124. Cf. Eckhart, *R.E.* xxiii. 711.) But it would make the *δεσμοί* unnecessary, and the emphasis is on them both here and in 616. The best interpretation appears to be the third: Zeus secures the bonds by driving them through the middle of a column, that is through its greatest thickness. So Verdenius, *Entret. sur l'ant. class.* vii. 105. For the use of the accusative with *διά* cf. 65, *Op.* 516, *Il.* 1. 600, etc. *κίων* masculine as in 779 (v.l.) and three times in the *Odyssey* (against seven times feminine and twice indeterminate; the word does not occur in the *Iliad*).

Hesiod may have thought of this column as one of the pillars of heaven (cf. on 517, also below, 779, Ibyc. 55). So Dörig(–Gigon), *Der Kampf der Götter u. Titanen*, 1961, p. 71. At any rate he probably regarded Prometheus as being bound at the world's end, where Atlas also stands. In Aeschylus (fr. 193. 28 N. = 324 M.) and later, the place is 'Caucasus', though Aeschylus seems to have been mistaken about the actual mountain to which this name belonged (Bolton, *Aristeas*, pp. 52 ff.). Although Caucasus is not named by Hesiod, it is likely to have been traditional as the place of Prometheus' bondage: see next note.

523–33. This section is condemned by Gerhard and others because it appears to say that Prometheus was released, whereas in 616 we are told that he is still bound. (Paley's and Francken's athetesis of 526–34 would leave the past tenses in 524 unexplained.) But there is in fact no contradiction; Hesiod does not say that Heracles released Prometheus from his chains, only that he killed the eagle and delivered Prometheus from his torment, and we are at liberty to understand this as the torment caused by the eagle. So Sittl.

It will be objected that there is no point in Heracles merely killing the eagle if he is then going to go on his way and not release Prometheus. This is not a valid argument. Zeus allows Heracles to shoot the bird because he wants his son to win glory (530 ff.). Killing a pestilential monster is a heroic deed, and it is by this that Heracles' glory is increased; there is nothing heroic in untying someone with Zeus' full permission. And it is not said that Zeus forgave Prometheus, only that in the interests of his son's glory he relaxed that fierce χόλος which was only satisfied by the eagle-torture: Prometheus must still be punished. In Pherecydes too (3 F 17) Heracles only kills the eagle, and Prometheus, grateful for this relief, gives him useful advice on how to proceed on his way to the garden of the Hesperides.

In later versions Heracles does release him: in Aeschylus' trilogy (cf. *PV* 872, 1020 ff.), and similarly Apld. 2. 5. 11. 10, Paus. 5. 11. 6, Serv. Dan. *Ecl.* 6. 42. This was a natural development at Athens, where Prometheus was actually worshipped and could not be regarded as still a prisoner and enemy of Zeus. There are other cases of gods being forced by their coexistence in cult to make up their differences in mythology, e.g. Hera's remarkable reconciliation with Heracles recorded at least twice in the *Catalogue* (fr. 25. 26 ff., 229. 6 ff.). The conception of Kronos as ruler in the Isles of the Blest (*Op.* 169, cf. Pi. *O.* 2. 70) likewise entailed that Zeus forgave and released him and the other Titans (*Op.* 169*bc*, Pi. *P.* 4. 291).

The eagle-torment resembles that of Tityos by two vultures, described in *Od.* 11. 578 f. Similarly in *Il.* 24. 212 f. Hecuba wishes that she could attach herself to Achilles and eat at his liver. K. Bapp, *Prometheus* (progr. Oldenburg, 1896), p. 45, followed by Wilamowitz and E. Schwartz, assumes that Tityos was the original victim of this punishment, because it was with the liver, the seat of lust, that he had offended. But the liver does not appear as the seat of passions

earlier than Aeschylus. Pease, *Cl. Phil.* 20, 1925, pp. 277 f., declares that originally the liver was the seat of the soul and intelligence, and that the punishment must have been transferred from Prometheus to Tityos. But again there is no early evidence for such a function being ascribed to the liver.

P. Kretschmer (*Woch. f. kl. Ph.* 1918, cols. 237 f.), following Bapp, op. cit., p. 31, argues that Prometheus' punishment is based on something that might happen to a man in real life (apart from the constant repetition which is a typical feature of the torments of sinners in hell or otherwise beyond the bounds of mortality). He takes the column to be the mythical equivalent of the oriental σταυρός (cf. sch. rec. A. *PV* 7 *τὴν τοῦ Προμηθέως ἀνασκολόπισιν*, Luc. *Prom.* 1 and 9, Aus. *technop.* 10. 9 ff.). In early times, he supposes, a man so punished would not be protected like Christ or the robbers in Petron. 111. 6, but left to his fate in some solitary place. He compares the slave in *GVI* 1120. 8 (Caria, *s.* ii–i B.C.) whom *θηρσὶ καὶ οἰωνοῖς ζωὸν ἀνεκρέμασαν*. Hor. *Epist.* 1. 16. 48 *non pasces in cruce corvos.*

A more complete and convincing explanation of the myth is given by the Danish scholar A. Olrik in his book *Ragnarök* (German translation by W. Ranisch, 1922). Throughout the Caucasus it is believed that earthquakes are caused by the struggles of a fierce giant who is fettered to a pillar or in a cavern in the mountain as a punishment for his lawlessness and impiety, or in particular for trying to steal the water of life, which is to be found in the mountain heights. In many versions a vulture pecks at his bowels. Sometimes the water flows just out of his reach (Tantalus motif), or he drinks it but at the same time loses it to the vulture. In all versions he is still bound there, and will always remain so, for when he breaks free he will destroy the world in his rage. But some say that on one occasion he found a helper who nearly set him free. Olrik gives a detailed account of many different versions of this myth, and shows that it was fully developed in the Caucasus region by about A.D. 400 at the latest (op. cit., pp. 133 ff.; 201). He further adduces weighty arguments for thinking that it came to Greece from the Caucasus, and not vice versa (pp. 253–69). The main points are (*a*) that the Caucasian myth, in which the sinner is bound for ever, agrees with the earliest, pre-Aeschylean version of the Greek myth: influence *from* Greece would have to be put impossibly early. The Hesiodic version in which he is bound to a column is that which prevails south of Mt. Elbrus, i.e. the part of the Caucasian chain nearest to Greece. (*b*) In the Caucasus the details of the bondage all make sense as integral parts of the nature-myth. The prisoner's presence explains the earthquake; the pecking bird accounts for his intermittent wrath; his quest for the water explains why he went up the mountain in the first place. In the Greek myth these logical connexions are lacking. (*c*) The Caucasus is the type of region (like Arcadia) which preserves its ancient beliefs with little change for astonishing lengths of time, while being unreceptive of outside influences.

Olrik sees in the Caucasian myth the origin not only of Prometheus' torment but also that of the torments of Tityos, Tantalus, and Otus and Ephialtes (in the version of Hyg. *fab.* 28). He also mentions an Armenian version, probably of Caucasian origin, that is reminiscent of Ixion and his wheel, though he does not draw the parallel (pp. 201 f., cf. *C.Q.* 1963, pp. 171 f.). The fact that these sinners all have this relationship with the Caucasian myth is certainly remarkable, and suggests a further speculation. Except for Prometheus, they are all located in Hades; Tityos and Tantalus meet us in the nekyia of the *Odyssey* (11. 576 ff.). But Prometheus' torment was seen by the Argonauts, according to A.R. 2. 1246 ff. (cf. 3. 851 ff.) and Val. Fl. 5. 155 ff., and it is not unlikely that it was an early feature of that Argonautic legend which embodied both fact and folk-lore from the Black Sea coasts, and which, as Meuli has proved, strongly influenced the account of Odysseus' wanderings given in the *Odyssey*. Prometheus may well have been known at Iolcus, for he was the father of Deucalion, who founded the city (A.R. 3. 1086 ff.). If he was known there also as one who stole from Zeus, it is easy to understand why the Caucasian prisoner discovered by the (historical) Argonauts was identified with him. As the tradition developed, elements belonging to the same myth were transferred to other sinners in Hades. They may still have been associated with the Argonautic legend, if we are prepared to assume that one version of it included a nekyia (cf. Meuli, *Odyssee u. Argonautika*, p. 115); it is worth noting that the epic *Minyas* described the descent to Hades of Theseus and Pirithous (fr. 1 = Paus. 10. 28. 2), though we do not know why the *Minyas* was so called. The sinners of the Argonautic nekyia would then reappear in other nekyiai such as that in the *Odyssey*.

On Prometheus' punishment and deliverance see further W. Kraus, *R.E.* xxiii. 698–701.

524. **ἀθάνατον**: often used of a god's bodily parts, cf. 191, 842 and other passages in the *Lex. frühgr. Ep.* i, cols. 204 f. Cf. on *ἱερῆς* in 460.

525. **νυκτός**: the day's work must be undone at night, if a finite task is to be protracted indefinitely. Cf. Penelope's weaving; Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index*, D 2192. In Aeschylus (fr. 193. 10 ff. N. = 324 M.) the eagle comes only on alternate days, so that there is a clear day for the liver to repair itself.

πρόπαν ἦμαρ: 596, *Il.* 1. 601 and often. Autenrieth suggested that *προπανῆμαρ* was originally a strengthened form of *πανῆμαρ* (*Od.* 13. 31); cf. Sem. 7. 47 *προνὺξ προῆμαρ*. It is significant that in Homer *πρόπας* is found only once (*Il.* 2. 493) in any other association. Cf. Wackernagel, p. 45, n. 1; Leumann, *Hom. Wörter*, pp. 98–101.

ταρσίπτερος ὄρνις: *Op.* 212. Cf. *Od.* 5. 65 *ὄρνιθες ταρσίπτεροι*.

526. Another little digression on a later exploit of Heracles, as in 289–94, 314–18, 332.

Ἀλκμήνης καλλισφύρου ἄλκιμος υἱός: 950, cf. *Sc.* 467 *υἱὸς δ' Ἀλκμήνης*. It is unusual in epic for anyone to be specified by giving the name of his mother and not of his father: see 1002 n. on matronymics.

527. **Ἡρακλέης**: cf. on 316.

κακὴν δ' ἀπὸ νοῦσον ἄλαλκεν: cf. Thgn. 13 *κακὰς δ' ἀπὸ κῆρας ἄλαλκε*. I doubt whether there is any allusion to Heracles *ἀλεξίκακος*, a cult title for which the evidence is given by Gruppe in *R.E.*, Suppl. iii. 1001 (also *ἀπαλεξίκακος* and *ἀπαλλαξίκακος*, ibid.).

νοῦσος is used as we use 'plague', of any troublesome affliction. Cf. *LSJ* s.v. *νόσος* (where the present passage is wrongly classified).

528. **Ἰαπετιονίδῃ**: Prometheus is so designated in 543, 559, 614, *Op.* 54. The patronymic is doubly characterized, with the Aeolic suffix *-ίων* and the Ionic *-ίδης*. Cf. *h. Ap.* 210 *Ἐλατιονίδῃ* ([Hes.] fr. 60. 4 *Εἰλατίδης*); *Il.* 2. 566, 23. 678 *Ταλαϊονίδης* (Mecisteus; also Pi. *O.* 6. 15 of Adrastus); Stat. *Th.* 1. 313, 7. 216 *Oedipodionides*.

ἐλύσατο: in the sense of the active, as at *Od.* 10. 284, 385.

δυσφροσυνάων: cf. 102.

529. **οὐκ ἀέκητι**: on this type of expression in epic (*οὐκ ἀθεεί, οὐκ . . . ἄνευθε θεοῦ*, etc.) cf. Bühler on Mosch. *Eur.* 152. The positioning of *ἀέκητι* so that the final syllable is lengthened by the following initial *Z* is very unusual; cf. p. 97.

ὕψι μέδοντος: not in *Il.* or *Od.*; also in fr. 156 (*Διὶ*) *Αἰνήίῳ ὕψι μέδοντι*, Hom. *epigr.* 8. 3.

530. For this motivation cf. *Il.* 2. 3–4 (Zeus) *μερμήριζε κατὰ φρένα ὡς Ἀχιλῆα | τιμήσει, ὀλέσει δὲ πολέας ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν*. *Sc.* 103–7 *ἠθεῖ', ἦ μάλα δή τι πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε | τιμᾷ σὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ ταύρεος Ἐννοσίγαιος | . . . | οἷον δὴ καὶ τόνδε βροτὸν κρατερόν τε μέγαν τε | σὰς ἐς χεῖρας ἄγουσιν, ἵνα κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἄρηαι*.

Θηβαγενέος: one late MS., Par. 2678, gives *Θηβαιγενέος*. This is the form given by MSS. at E. *Suppl.* 136, and by some MSS. (including A) at D.P. 623. It would be explained as formed upon a locative *Θήβαι*, like *Πυλοιγενής* and others, cf. Schwyzer, i. 452. But *Θηβαγενής* sch. S. *Tr.* 116 (quoting Hesiod), Ammon. *diff. verb.* p. 70 (quoting Ephorus 70 F 21), D.S. 19. 53, and inscriptions; see Schulze, p. 508, Solmsen, *Unters. z. gr. Laut- u. Verslehre*, pp. 27 ff. The form is perhaps really *Θηβᾰγενής*, with the alpha suffering metrical lengthening in the oblique cases in epic. There is no reason why *Θηβαιγενής* should not have existed beside it, and this form may be retained in Euripides.

Heracles was born at Thebes, but most of his exploits were performed from Tiryns (cf. 292 above). See Nilsson, *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology*, pp. 206 ff.

531. **ἐπὶ χθόνα πουλυβότειραν**: *h. Ap.* 276 has the dative in a similar context, *ὄφρα οἱ αὐτῇ | Τελφούσῃ κλέος εἴη ἐπὶ χθονί, μηδ' Ἑκάτοιο*. The two were probably used indiscriminately, cf. on 95.

532. **ταῦτ' ἄρα ἁζόμενος**: the hiatus is not in itself suspicious (cf. *h. Ap.* 391 *ταῦτ' ἄρα ὁρμαίνων*, *h. Dem.* 76 *μέγα ἄζομαι*, where, however, Ruhnken's insertion of *σ'* may be right); and the combination *ἁζόμενος τίμα* may be defended by *h.* xii. 4 f. *κυδρήν, ἣν πάντες μάκαρες . . . | ἁζόμενοι τίουσιν ὁμῶς Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ*. *ἄζεσθαι* can be used of one god's respect for another (not necessarily fearful); cf., besides the two passages of the hymns just quoted, *Il.* 14. 261,

Od. 6. 329 (v.l.), Q.S. 1. 189, Nonn. *D.* 9. 142. It is not (otherwise) attested in early epic for a god's regard for a mortal: whether Hesiod knew of the apotheosis of Heracles is doubtful (see on 947–55), but in any case his release of Prometheus must have preceded this event. The nearest parallel is perhaps [Orph.] *L.* 604 f. *καὶ Κρονίδαο παραΐσσουσι κεραυνοὶ | παιδὸς ἑοῦ κλέος ἔρξαι ἐτώσιον ἀζομένοιο*, where the son of Zeus in question is Perseus. The author may have had Hesiod in mind.

ταῦτ' ἄρα is internal accusative, 'in this way'. (Not 'hanc igitur ob causam', as Schoemann, p. 434; this is an Attic usage.)

There is therefore no necessity for the conjectures, attractive though they are, *ταῦτ' ἄρα φραζόμενος* (Graevius), *ταῦτα φραζόμενος* (J. H. Voss), *ταῦτ' ἄρα φραζόμενος τιμᾶν* (Sitzler, *Woch. f. kl. Ph.* 1916, col. 459, 'Da er also in dieser Weise den Sohn zu ehren gedachte, ließ er trotz seines Zornes usw.'). *Π*[17] did not have *φραζόμενος*, or the tails of *φρ* would be visible.

τίμα: *-ᾱ* for *-αε* is invariable in Homer, cf. Chantraine, i. 51–52. *(ἐ)τίμα Il.* 15. 612, *Od.* 3. 379, etc. On Fick's *τίμα'* cf. p. 85.

533. **καί περ χώμενος**: the normal epic order is *καὶ χωμένός περ. καί περ* only occurs at *Od.* 7. 224, [Hes.] fr. 43 (a) 57, 343. 6. *καί* cannot be construed as a connecting particle in this combination, but the asyndeton can be accepted in the explanation of what the *τιμή* was. Cf. *Od.* 4. 444 f. *ἀλλ' αὐτὴ ἐσάωσε, καὶ ἐφράσατο μέγ' ὄνειαρ· | ἀμβροσίην ὑπὸ ῥῖνα ἑκάστῳ θῆκε φέρουσα*, etc. (Schoemann, p. 435). Similarly below, 770; *Il.* 2. 217, 5. 4, 199, 6. 174, 11. 244, 19. 193, 22. 295, 23. 141, 24. 608, *Od.* 4. 244, 530, 5. 234, 8. 567, 9. 508, 11. 198, 315, 13. 175, 17. 142. Cf. Hermann on *h. Aphr.* 177; C. F. Nägelsbach, *Anmerkungen zur Ilias* (1834), pp. 274 f. (and in general pp. 266–94 on asyndeton in Homer).

χόλου: *r* has *χόλον*, perhaps a reminiscence of *Il.* 19. 67 *παύω χόλον*. Q has *χόλος*, not *χόλον* as Rzach reports.

ὃν πρὶν ἔχεσκεν: cf. *Il.* 5. 472, 13. 257.

534. Those who condemn 523–33 claim that this line fits awkwardly after 533. It is an awkwardness tolerated by Quintus of Smyrna, whose standards are higher than Hesiod's: 9. 400 f. *χόλου μεμνημένος αἰνοῦ, | οὕνεκά μιν τὸ πάροιθε μέγα στενάχοντα λίποντο*. (Hardly an imitation of Hesiod, though the argument would stand even if it were.)

ἐρίζετο: the imperfect may be used either because Prometheus' tricks were repeated, or because they were unsuccessful. For the omission of Prometheus' name cf. on 112–13.

βουλὰς: 'designs'. Prometheus tried to fulfil designs which conflicted with those of Zeus.

535. **ἐκρίνοντο**: the word denotes a 'settlement' in the legal sense, though not necessarily in a legal context; a definitive division between parties, however arrived at. Cf. 882 *Τιτήνεσσι δὲ τιμάων κρίναντο βίηφι*, *Op.* 35 *διακρινώμεθα νεῖκος | ἰθείῃσι δίκῃς*, Thuc. 4. 122. 4 *δίκῃ τε ἑτοῖμοι ἦσαν περὶ αὐτῆς κρίνεσθαι*. Cf. on 85–86.

Of the occasion in question the scholiast says *ἐν τῇ Μηκώνῃ ἐκρίνοντο*

τίνες θεοὶ τοὺς (*τίνας* Voss) *ἀνθρώπους λάχοιεν μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον*. This may be influenced by Call. fr. 119 *Μηκώνην μακάρων ἕδρανον . . . | ἦχι πάλους ἐβάλοντο, διεκρίναντο δὲ τιμὰς | πρῶτα γιγαντείου δαίμονες ἐκ πολέμου*. The same version of the myth is reflected in sch. Pi. *N*. 9. 123 and Heraclit. *Q*. *Hom*. 41. But Hesiod clearly has a different 'division' in mind, for mortal men are involved in it. It must be the one that took place at the end of the period when men and gods lived and ate together (cf. on 507–616), for Prometheus' trick establishes the sacrificial relations which now obtain between the two orders.

536. **Μηκώνῃ**: said to be the ancient name of Sicyon: sch., sch. Pi. *N*. 9. 123, Strab. 382, St. Byz. s.v. *Σικυών*, *Et. gen*. s.v. *Μηκώνη*. (Sch. Ptol. 3. 16. 6 *Κυλλήνη· πρότερον μὲν ἐκαλεῖτο Μηκώνη, ὕστερον δὲ Αἰγιαλοί*, appears to be displaced: it should refer to the Sicyonian entry a few lines above, cf. Strab. l.c. *τὴν δὲ Σικυῶνα πρότερον Μηκώνην ἐκάλουν, ἔτι δὲ πρότερον Αἰγιαλεῖς*.)

The separation of gods and men can originally have been placed at Sicyon only by the Sicyonians or some close neighbours of theirs; so some local myth of the north-east Peloponnese must lie behind Hesiod's account. A few miles south of Sicyon was a place Titane, named according to the Sicyonians after one Titan, who was a brother of the Sun (Paus. 2. 11. 5). If Titane was really connected with the name Titan, this would be one of the few traces of the name outside literary mythology, though it is doubtful whether it had any connexion with Prometheus. He is not called a Titan before Aeschylus, and he is not associated with Sicyon except in Hesiod and derivative sources (cf., however, above on 511). So it may be that his part was played by some other figure in the original Sicyonian legend. At Argos Phoroneus was the hero who had brought fire (Paus. 2. 19. 5), and he was also connected with the institution of religious ritual in that he founded the cult of Hera (Hyg. *fab*. 274, where Rose omits to record Scheffer's correction of *arma* to *aram*, cf. ib. 143, Clem. *protr*. 3. 44. 1 with sch.). Prometheus seems also to have been known there, not as a god but as a hero (Paus. 2. 19. 8; similarly at Opus, ib.).

537. **προύθηκε**: Rzach's *προέθηκε* is arbitrary. MSS. of Homer and Hesiod always give *πρου-* except in the form *προέηκε*. The formulaic character of epic verse has in general held words containing contracted syllables in the same places of the line as they occupied before the contraction took place; so the fact that such syllables *can* usually be resolved is no evidence that the contraction took place in the course of transmission. In *Od*. 24. 360 we actually have *προύπεμψ'* at the beginning of the line.

Διὸς νόον ἐξαπαφίσκων: cf. *Il*. 14. 160, *h*. *Ap*. 379.

538. **τῷ**: I have explained in *C.Q*. 1961, pp. 137 f., why I think *τῷ* is to be retained. I could have added that it is characteristic for the first pronoun to refer to the last person named.

Different accounts of Prometheus' division are given by sch, rec. A. *PV* 1022 (he gave Zeus the bones and the rest of the gods the meat and offal) and 11 (he gave Zeus the bones, the other gods the offal, and

ate the meat himself). Neither of these versions is more than a confused and inaccurate digest of Hesiod's story, simplified by the omission of Zeus' complaint and the fact that he is allowed to make his own choice. Similarly Luc. *Prom.* 3, *D. Dial.* 1. 1; Diac. p. 335. 26 ff.

πίονα δημῷ: so Tr before correction, probably by accident after *ἔγκατα*. He altered to *πίονι* as in the other MSS. (*C.Q.* 1962, p. 179). The corruption regularly occurs in some MSS. wherever the phrase occurs, cf. *Il.* 23. 750, *Od.* 9. 464, *h. Herm.* 120, [Opp.] *C.* 2. 449.

539. **καλύψας γαστρὶ**: presumably the hide was wrapped round the *γαστήρ* as an outer covering. The paunch, though no meal in itself, was used as a containing skin for black pudding (*Od.* 18. 44–45, 20. 26–27; [Apic.] 7. 7. 1 gives a more elaborate recipe for stuffed pig's stomach), and may also have been used in roasting meat, to conserve the juices and prevent scorching. If so, Hesiod's story gives an incidental aition for a culinary practice.

540. **τοῖς**: *C.Q.* 1961, p. 138. The portion which Zeus does not get must fall to mankind; this is the basis of the whole aition, and it is against mankind that Zeus directs his anger in 552. It seems impossible to do anything with the text that would indicate mankind more clearly than *τοῖς* does. The reference of the pronoun, contrasted as it is with *τῷ* = Zeus, might be inferred from the opposition hinted at in 535.

Why there are only two portions, and why Prometheus favours mankind at the expense of Zeus, is left unexplained.

ὀστέα λευκὰ: *Il.* 16. 347, 23. 252, 24. 793.

δολίῃ ἐπὶ τέχνῃ: see on 160. Construe with *εὐθετίσας*.

541. **εὐθετίσας**: not elsewhere in Hesiod or Homer. Ada Thomsen, *Arch. f. Rel.* 1909, p. 478, points out that the word is used in the Hippocratic *περὶ ἀγμῶν* of setting broken bones, and suggests that in the sacrificial ritual the bones had to be carefully arranged in their natural sequence. This procedure is attested for the Lapps, but is hardly to be assumed for the Greeks, who burned thigh-bones, and sometimes also hip-bones, backbones, or shoulder-blades, but not complete skeletons. If *εὐθετίζειν* were a technical term one would expect to meet it in Homeric sacrifices and on inscriptions. As it is, it can quite satisfactorily be understood to mean 'decking them out attractively'.

ἀργέτι δημῷ: *Il.* 11. 818, cf. 21. 127. For the wrapping of sacrificial bones in fat cf. *Il.* 1. 460, *Od.* 17. 241, A. *PV* 496, S. *Ant.* 1011; Onians, pp. 279 ff.

543. For the structure of the verse cf. *Od.* 24. 517 *ὦ Ἀρκεισιάδη, πάντων πολὺ φίλταθ' ἑταίρων.*

ἀνάκτων: 'gods', not usual in the plural, but cf. *Od.* 12. 290 *θεῶν ἀέκητι ἀνάκτων*, A. *Suppl.* 222, 524, Pi. *O.* 10. 49, Simon. fr. 18. 2, Theocr. 25. 78, Orph. fr. 114. 2, Anon. *de herbis* 144. The original meaning of *ἄναξ* seems to have been 'protector', see Schulze, p. 505, Leumann, *Hom. Wörter*, pp. 42–44. It may have been chosen here in order to avoid putting Prometheus too explicitly in the opposite camp

from mankind. But for all that, he was a god, not a man, and the variant *ἀνδρῶν* is worthless. It may be a conjecture; *ἄνδρα* is, however, a corruption for *ἄνακτα* in one MS. at *Il.* 5. 794.

544. **ὦ πέπον**: for the second vocative cf. *Il.* 6. 55, 17. 238 *ὦ πέπον, ὦ Μενέλαε. πέπον* is used fourteen times in the *Iliad*, only twice in the *Odyssey*. The use of *ὦ* with the vocative in epic is studied by J. A. Scott, *A.J.P.* 24, 1903, pp. 192 ff.; his conclusion that it is used where the tone is angry, familiar, or impatient is shown to be inadequate by E. Kieckers, *Indog. Forsch.* 23, pp. 361 ff., Rzach, *Bursian*, 152, 1911, p. 69.

ἑτεροζήλως: 'in a partisan way'.

διεδάσσαο: the word is used in 606, 885, and perhaps in fr. 141. 15; also twice in Homer, *Il.* 5. 158 and 9. 333.

μοίρας: 'portions', no longer familiar in the early third century, cf. Straton fr. 1. 42. So *αἴσας* in fr. 266 (a) 6; cf. *Rh. Mus.* 1965, p. 311.

545. **κερτομέων**: 'carping', not in jest but in displeasure. So *Il.* 2. 256, *Od.* 2. 323.

Ζεὺς ἄφθιτα μήδεα εἰδώς: not a common formula, see p. 79.

546. **ἀγκυλομήτης**: see on 18.

547. **ἦκ' ἐπιμειδήσας**: cf. *Il.* 7. 269 = *Od.* 9. 538 *ἦκ' ἐπιδινήσας*, fr. 76. 4 *ἦχ' ὑποχωρήσασ'*.

δολίης δ' οὐ λήθετο τέχνης: see on 160 and 236.

548. **Ζεῦ κύδιστε μέγιστε** and **θεῶν αἰειγενετάων** are both Homeric phrases, but not combined.

549. **τῶν δ'**: for *δὲ* indicating protest or opposition in a reply cf. *Op.* 453 f. *ῥηίδιον γὰρ ἔπος εἰπεῖν· "βόε δὸς καὶ ἄμαξαν." | ῥηίδιον δ' ἀπανήνασθαι· "πάρα δ' ἔργα βόεσσιν."* The position of the particle following the word after the vocative phrase is commoner in serious poetry than elsewhere, see Denniston, p. 189.

ἔλευ: Nauck's *ἔλε'* is to be rejected. The rule appears to be that we have *-ε'* in such cases only when the stem of the verb contains a diphthong of which *υ* is the second element: thus *Il.* 9. 260 and *Od.* 1. 340 *παύε'* not *παύευ*, *Il.* 4. 404 *ψεύδε'*, *Od.* 4. 752 *εὔχε'*. Otherwise we find *-ευ* in correption. The evidence is collected by Bolling, *Cl. Phil.* 18, 1923, pp. 174 f., the euphonic consideration noticed by Kühner–Blass, i. 237. The case is similar with *εὐεργέος Il.* 16. 743 (for the usual *-εως*) and *ἐδεύεο* 17. 142 for usual *-ευ*. It is, however, uncertain whether the spelling with *ευ* goes back to the original written texts of Hesiod and Homer, for the diphthong is written *εο* on the older Ionic inscriptions. Cf. Meister, *Die hom. Kunstsprache*, p. 85. But there is no point in trying to restore the orthographical conventions of the author's autograph; nor have we enough evidence for them.

σε ἐνὶ: the hiatus is a little surprising, for elsewhere after an open vowel *μετὰ φρεσί* is substituted for *ἐνὶ φρεσί* (cf. on 173; the examples cited there are representative, not exhaustive). The two formulae are variants at *Od.* 17. 470, so it is conceivable that *ἐνί* has displaced *μετὰ* here. On the other hand, hiatus is common enough at the caesura. For hiatus after *σε* cf. *Il.* 19. 288, *Od.* 6. 151, *h. Ap.* 54 (*σέ γ'* Hermann),

88 (v.l.), 120; before *ἐνί*, *Il. Pers.* 5. 5; before *ἐνὶ φρεσίν*, Q.S. 2. 59 (cj.).

θυμὸς ἀνώγει: *Il.* 18. 176, *al.*

550. **φῆ ῥα**: *ἦ ῥα* is commoner, but cf. *Il.* 21. 361, *h. Dem.* 145, *Herm.* 212; Vian, op. cit. (p. 100), p. 197.

551. **γνῶ ῥ' οὐδ' ἠγνοίησε**: cf. *h. Herm.* 243, and on the type of phrase, above on 102. It has long been recognized that in the original story Zeus did not see through the trick, but was thoroughly deceived. Cf. Hyg. *astr.* 2. 15 *Iuppiter autem etsi non pro diuina fecit cogitatione neque ut deum decebat, omnia qui debuit ante prouidere, sed quoniam credere instituimus historiis, deceptus a Prometheo, utrumque putans esse taurum, delegit ossa pro sua dimidia parte.* Lucian too (references on 538) makes no bones about Zeus' being really deceived. The statement that he was not deceived (though he acted as if he was) is manifestly inserted to save his omniscience and prestige. This is quite typical of Hesiod: cf. on 711–12, 734–5, and *C.Q.* 1961, p. 136 on *Op.* 161.

For the position of *ῥα* in the sentence see on 920.

ὄσσετο: for this use cf. *Il.* 1. 105 (Agamemnon) *Κάλχαντα πρώτιστα κάκ' ὀσσόμενος προσέειπε·* | *"μάντι κακῶν,"* etc., 24. 172 *οὐ μὲν γάρ τοι ἐγὼ κακὸν ὀσσομένη τόδ' ἰκάνω,* | *ἀλλ' ἀγαθὰ φρονέουσα.* Probably also *Od.* 2. 152.

θυμῷ: the usual seat of forebodings, whether of one's own misfortune or someone else's. Cf. *Od.* 10. 374 *κακὰ δ' ὄσσετο θυμός*, *Il.* 18. 224 *ὄσσοντο γὰρ ἄλγεα θυμῷ*, fr. 1. 10 *ὀσσόμεν[ο]ι φρ[εσὶ] γῆρ[ας.*

552. **θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισι**: all mankind suffers for Prometheus' offence. *Op.* 240 *πολλάκι καὶ ξύμπασα πόλις κακοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπηύρα* (summing up 225–39); 260–2; *Il.* 1. 410.

τὰ καὶ τελέεσθαι ἔμελλε: cf. *Il.* 2. 36, *Od.* 2. 156, where the vulgate has *ἔμελλον*. At *Il.* 2. 36 it is reported that Aristarchus also favoured *ἔμελλον*, while Zenodotus had read *-εν*. A plural verb with neuter subject is commoner in Homer than elsewhere; plural and singular sometimes alternate purely for metrical reasons, e.g. *γούνατα λύντο* ~ *λύτο γούνατα*. Cf. Nägelsbach, op. cit. (on 533), pp. 338–40. *ἔμελλον* is the *difficilior lectio* in Homer, and if it was really regular in this formula, presumably Hesiod wrote it too.

553. **λευκὸν ἄλειφαρ**: that is, the *ἀργὴς δημός* of 541 together with its contents. Jacoby accepts *ἄλειφα* from *Et. gen.* and dett. This form is certain in Hippon. 54, Call. fr. 7. 12, Q.S. 14. 265, Nonn. *D.* 14. 175, transmitted also in A. *Ag.* 322; cf. Hdn. *ap.* Eust. 1560. 25. It is a variant at Hippocr. vii. 24, and was the reading of the archetype at Q.S. 1. 796. *ἄλειφαρ* is given by MSS. in *Od.* 6. 220 (v.l. for *ἀλοιφή*), Theocr. 7. 147, 18. 45, Opp. *H.* 5. 638; in all these cases it stands at the end of the hexameter and is not guaranteed by metre (Peppmüller, *Philol.* 1898, pp. 378–9). But it is hard to believe that *ἄλειφα* has been so consistently displaced in MSS. by a false form.

554. **φρένας ἀμφί**: cf. *h. Ap.* 273 *σὺ δὲ φρένας ἀμφὶ γεγηθώς*, Mimn. 1. 7 *αἰεί μιν φρένας ἀμφὶ κακαὶ τείρουσι μέριμναι.* Postpositive *ἀμφί* is probably also to be recognized in such lines as *Il.* 17. 573 *τοίου μιν θάρσευς πλῆσε φρένας ἀμφὶ μελαίνας*, cf. ib. 83, 499.

χόλος δέ μιν ἵκετο θυμόν: for the double accusative cf. *Il.* 2. 171 *ἐπεί μιν ἄχος κραδίην καὶ θυμὸν ἵκανεν*, 11. 88 *ἄδος τέ μιν ἵκετο θυμόν*, etc. *θυμῷ* of most MSS. is perhaps from 551.

555. **ὀστέα . . . τέχνῃ**: repeated from 540. The prepositional phrase is somewhat odd here; one must understand *τεθέντα* or something of the sort. It is possible that it is due to a scribe absent-mindedly repeating the clausula of 540 after the cue of *ὀστέα λευκὰ βοός* instead of whatever the original text was. (The reading of Q and S a.c. *θυηέντων ἐπὶ βωμῶν* is obviously not ancient, but an erroneous anticipation of 557.) But it is also possible that Hesiod himself, having once composed this series of words, was capable of repeating it in a place where it no longer quite made sense: this would be the case in *Op.* 148–9 if the lines are genuine, cf. above on 150–2 *ad fin.*

Scheer suspected the whole line; but Hesiod surely made it clear that it was when he found the bones inside the fat that Zeus was angry. The discovery of the trick is the least dispensable part of the story. Compare also the parallel line 569.

556. What Zeus chose on that one occasion must remain the gods' portion for ever. They too suffer for the mistakes of their king.

ἐκ τοῦ: cf. 562 *ἐκ τούτου*.

ἐπὶ χθονὶ φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων: a mostly Hesiodic formula, *Op.* 90, *Sc.* 162, fr. 23 (a) 25, 30. 11, 291. 4; once in Homer, *Od.* 7. 307.

557. **ὀστέα λευκὰ**: 'white' is a formulaic epithet of bones, and need not of itself imply bones completely bare, cf. *Il.* 16. 347, *Od.* 11. 221. But it is a fallacy that some meat had to be left on the sacrificial bones; see Meuli, op. cit. (on 507–616), pp. 215 f., 261 f., and cf. Jebb on S. *Ant.* 1011.

θυηέντων ἐπὶ βωμῶν: *βωμός τε θυήεις* is Homeric, *Il.* 8. 48, 23. 148, *Od.* 8. 363.

558–61. Zeus' comment comes a little surprisingly here, and may seem unnecessary altogether. One might have expected it, if at all, before 556. But it serves as a bridge to the fire-aition beginning at 562; the point of departure for this aition is Zeus' anger, and we must therefore be told again that Zeus was angry. The constructional problem is in essence the same one as faced Hesiod in the proem: how to develop one subject in more than one direction. His solution, the repetition of the subject after the first development, is the same here as before. Cf. also, for example, *Od.* 1. 80 ff./5. 1 ff. (repetition of the divine council), 24. 15/99.

558. The same line appears thrice in the *Iliad.* At *Op.* 53 we have *χολωσάμενος* instead of *μέγ' ὀχθήσας*.

559. The same line as at *Op.* 54. The variation from 543 is worth noticing; we find similar variations, e.g. between 625 *οὗς τέκεν ἠύκομος Ῥείη Κρόνου ἐν φιλότητι* and 634 *οὓς τέκεν ἠύκομος Ῥείη Κρόνῳ εὐνηθεῖσα*, between *Il.* 3. 171 *τὸν δ' Ἑλένη μύθοισιν ἀμείβετο δῖα γυναικῶν* and 199 *τὸν δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειθ' Ἑλένη Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖα* and 228 *τὸν δ' Ἑλένη τανύπεπλος ἀμείβετο δῖα γυναικῶν*, between *Il.* 9. 134 and 276, and between *h. Aphr.* 113 and 116. We cannot dismiss the

possibility that such variation was deliberate. Cf. P. Cauer, *Grundfragen der Homerkritik*, 3rd ed., pp. 565 f.; W. van Otterlo, *Mnem.* 1945, p. 198, and for variation in word order, above on 446.

μήδεα: possibly Hesiod associated Prometheus' name with this word.

560. **ὦ πέπον**: see on 544.

οὐκ ἄρα: the familiar idiom with the imperfect, used when one realizes that one has been under a misapprehension. 'So you are even now intent on trickery.' (I do not believe that *οὔπω* ever means 'not at all'. For its use here cf. *Il.* 12. 203 cited on 236.)

δολίης ἐπελήθεο τέχνης: cf. 547, *Od.* 4. 455 *οὐδ' ὁ γέρων δολίης ἐπελήθετο τέχνης*, and above on 160 and 236.

561. **ὣς φάτο χωόμενος**: *Od.* 2. 80.

562. **ἐκ τούτου δ᾽ἤπειτα**: *h. Ap.* 343. On *δ᾽ἤπειτα* cf. p. 100.

χόλου: this reading suits the usual epic use of *μεμνῆσθαι* better than *δόλου*. Cf. Q.S. 9. 400 cited on 534. *χολωθείς* is a corruption for *δολωθείς* in 494.

Zeus' intention may have been to prevent mortals from cooking the nice meat they had obtained; this is how his action is interpreted by Hyg. *astr.* 2. 15, *Mythogr. Vat.* 2. 64. Tantalus is similarly allowed to keep what he has acquired, but prevented from enjoying it.

563. **οὐκ ἐδίδου**: imperfect, because it got there after all. Cf. Pohlenz, *Die griech. Tragödie*, 2nd ed., Erläut. 34, 'das Imperfektum . . . malt nur den Zustand, aus dem die Aktion des Prometheus hervorwächst'.

μελίῃσι: I take this in its normal sense, 'ash-trees'. In popular myths of the origin of fire, fire is often said to dwell in trees, because it is from wood that fire is elicited by friction. See Frazer, *Myths of the Origin of Fire*, pp. 26, 28, 57, 58, 77, 79, 130, 155, 171, 183, and especially 223: 'Deriving his fire thus commonly from the friction of wood or bamboo, primitive man naturally concluded that fire is something stored up in all trees, or at all events in those trees from the wood of which he usually extracted it; hence many of the myths of the origin of fire attempt to explain how the igneous element came to be thus deposited in trees.' By the same token Virgil could speak of the 'fire hidden in the veins of the flint', from where Jupiter ordained that man must strike it forth (*G.* 1. 135, cf. *A.* 6. 6). This pre-scientific mode of thought was developed by Anaxagoras into the theory that there is an element of all things in everything; he used fire as an example. Cf. Lucr. 1. 871 *in lignis si flamma latet fumusque cinisque*.

In view of this evidence we may be fairly sure what Hesiod's audience would understand by the phrase 'giving fire to the ash-trees'. There may have been some myth to the effect that fire was originally put in the trees by Zeus' lightning; but there is no need to postulate one.

It is not attested that the Greeks used ash-wood in particular for fire-making, though it has the advantages of being a good burning wood and one of the commonest trees in Greece. Various other woods are mentioned in this connexion; see A. Jacob in Daremberg–Saglio,

v. 371, M. H. Morgan, *Harv. St.* 1, 1890, pp. 25–27. The main source is Theophr. *hist. pl.* 5. 9. 6–7, from which it appears that more or less any kind of wood could be used in one or other part of the apparatus. It is possible that *μελίαι*, like *δρύες*, might be used of trees in general, cf. on 187, and Musae. fr. 5. It is curious, but may not be significant, that the Argive fire-bringer Phoroneus was the son of a nymph Melia.

As fire is in trees, Zeus' intention of witholding it from mankind is expressed by saying that he would not put it in the trees. But we have fire after all, because Prometheus stole it; and perhaps we must supply the detail that Prometheus put it in the trees, so that it might remain there at men's disposal.

Previous interpreters have not understood the idea of fire being in trees, and have wanted *μελίαι* to mean either fire-sticks made of ash-wood, or men. (The latter is the scholiast's explanation.) Neither of these is possible. *χαλκός* can mean a spear made of bronze in the phrase *νηλέι χαλκῷ*, etc., but the principle is one of very limited application, and the lance is the only manufactured article that can be called *μελίη*. And while it is true that men were sometimes said to be born from or made of ash-trees (see on 187), there is no evidence that *μελίαι* could be used for *μελιηγενέες*, nor any reason why Hesiod, who has hitherto been content with *θνητοί*, *βροτοί*, *ἄνθρωποι*, and the like, should have suddenly resorted to such a recherché alternative here. A third expedient has been to understand Hesiod as referring to the Melian nymphs; but they have nothing to do with fire at all, so far as we know.

The variant *μελίοισι* is accounted for by the vernacular form *μελιός* or *μέλεγος*. *μελέοισι* is obviously a mere conjecture; *μέλεος* is Homeric only in the sense 'idle', 'useless'.

πυρὸς μένος: *Il.* 23. 238, *al.*

ἀκαμάτοιο: cf. on 39.

564. The line is suspected by Paley, and certainly might have been added to make explicit what was believed (at least by the scholiast) to be the meaning of *μελίῃσι*. The double dative ('did not give fire to the trees for men') seems just possible; cf. fr. 43 (a) 53 *ὡς οὔ οἱ δοῖεν Γλαύκῳ γένος Οὐρανίωνες*, 'that the gods were not giving him (Sisyphus) offspring for Glaucus'.

565. Cf. *Op.* 48 *ὅττί μιν ἐξαπάτησε Προμηθεὺς ἀγκυλομήτης*, which, however, refers to the meat-swindle.

ἐὺς πάις Ἰαπετοῖο: *Op.* 50 (referring to the theft of fire).

566. Serv. *Ecl.* 6. 42 says that Prometheus took the fire from the sun, and names as his sources Sappho (= fr. 207) and Hesiod. Pl. *Prt.* 321E says the fire was taken from the workshop shared by Hephaestus and Athene.

τηλέσκοπον: un-Homeric word, perhaps chosen with reference to the use of fire for signal beacons.

αὐγήν: of fire, *Il.* 9. 206, 18. 610, 22. 134, *Od.* 6. 305, etc. Cf. 699.

567. **ἐν κοίλῳ νάρθηκι**: *Op.* 52. The stalk of the giant fennel was and is used for carrying fire from place to place. It is filled with a dry

white pith in which the fire burns slowly without breaking through the hard outer rind; it is thus 'hollow' only in the sense that it can contain fire inside it. Plin. *NH* 13. 126 *ignem ferulis optime seruari certum est.* Sch. A. *PV* 109 *ap.* Hsch. *τῷ νάρθηκι ἐχρῶντο πρὸς τὰς ἐκζωπυρήσεις τοῦ πυρός.* Mart. 14. 80.

It is therefore natural that Prometheus is said to have used this means of bringing fire to mortals. Plin. *NH* 7. 198 explicitly makes him its *πρῶτος εὑρετής.* Hyg. *astr.* 2. 15 makes the Hesiodic myth an aition for torch-races: *praeterea in certatione ludorum cursoribus instituerunt ex Promethei similitudine ut currerent lampadem iactantes.* In his source the reference was probably specifically to the lampadedromia which formed part of the Attic Promethia (on which see Deubner, *Attische Feste*, pp. 211 f.; Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 314). I do not know of any evidence that *νάρθηκες* were used there—the sources use the word *λαμπάς*—and it would be unsafe to assume that Hesiod knew of such an event at Athens or anywhere else.

E. Schwartz's hypothesis (*Sitz.-Ber. Berl. Ak.* 1915 (1), pp. 143 ff. = *Ges. Schr.* ii. 55 ff.) that Hesiod created Prometheus the fire-bringer as a development of Prometheus the fire-carrier, a divine prototype of the mortal *πυρφόρος* whose function was to renew the purity of an altar fire by bringing a fresh flame from another altar, is clever but unverifiable; see criticism by Pohlenz, op. cit. (on 563), pp. 33–34.

δάκεν: impersonal, cf. *Op.* 451 *κραδίην δ' ἔδακ' ἀνδρὸς ἀβούτεω.* With subject specified, *Il.* 5. 493 *δάκε δὲ φρένας Ἕκτορι μῦθος.* For the idea of the heart 'bitten' or 'stung' cf. also *Od.* 8. 185 *θυμοδακὴς γὰρ μῦθος*, and less graphically 19. 517 *πυκιναὶ δέ μοι ἀμφ' ἀδινὸν κῆρ | ὀξεῖαι μελεδῶναι ὀδυρομένην ἐρέθουσιν.* More often we hear of 'heart-eating' care, or of a worried man eating his own heart: *Il.* 6. 202, 24. 129, *Od.* 9. 75, 10. 379, *Op.* 799, Thgn. 1323, etc.

δ' ἄρα: *δέ οἱ* appears to be a mistake in QS, perhaps from 568, where Π^{13} has *δε μίν*. (*δ' ἄρα* and *δέ οἱ* are also variants in [Orph.] *A.* 675.) *δέ οἱ* is altered by S (m^1) to *δέ ἑ* to better the metre. The anticipation by the pronoun of the following name is permissible (examples in Kühner–Gerth, i. 658), but it cannot be regarded as a traditional reading.

νειόθι: cf. *Il.* 10. 10 *νειόθεν ἐκ κραδίης.*

568. **Ζῆν' ὑψιβρεμέτην**: p. 79.

ἐχόλωσε: comparatively rare in the active, *Il.* 1. 78, 18. 111, *Od.* 8. 205, 18. 20. In none of these places is it construed with a double accusative, but this is a logical parallel to the passive *Ὀδυσεὺς μάλα θυμὸν . . . χολώθη* (*Il.* 4. 494). Cf. on 554. The suprascript variant or correction *οἱ* for *μιν* in Π^{13} would presuppose a passive *θυμὸς ἐχολώθη*, which does not occur.

569. **ὡς ἴδ'**: cf. 555. *ἴδ' ἐν* is clearly better than *ἴδεν* here; *ἐν ἀνθρώποισι* as in *Od.* 1. 391, etc.

πυρὸς τηλέσκοπον αὐγήν: repeated from 566.

570. **αὐτίκα δ'**: similarly at *Op.* 70.

ἀντὶ πυρὸς: similarly at *Op.* 57. *ἀντί* is difficult to translate; the

point is that the *κακόν* was given as a punishment for the receipt of the stolen fire, or to counterbalance the advantage that mankind got from it.

571. In *Op.* (60–82) Hesiod does not only report the making of the woman, as here, but allows it to be preceded by the instructions which Zeus issued for her creation.

This line resembles *Op.* 70 *αὐτίκα δ' ἐκ γαίης πλάσσε κλυτὸς Ἀμφιγυήεις*. The longer formula with *περικλυτός* occurs seven times in Homer (all in *Il.* 18 and *Od.* 8). The use of earth as the material corresponds to Zeus' instruction *γαῖαν ὕδει φύρειν* (*Op.* 61). Cf. Xenoph. B 33 *πάντες γὰρ γαίης τε καὶ ὕδατος ἐκγενόμεσθα*, Ar. *Av.* 686 *πλάσματα πηλοῦ*, etc. *Il.* 7. 99, *ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς μὲν πάντες ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα γένοισθε*, therefore represents a return to the constituent elements, cf. Thgn. 878 *ἐγὼ δὲ θανὼν γαῖα μέλαιν' ἔσομαι*, E. fr. 757. 4–5 *καὶ τάδ' ἄχθονται βροτοὶ | εἰς γῆν φέροντες γῆν*, *GVI* 1702. 2 (*s.* iv–iii B.C.) *ἐκ γαίας βλαστὼν γαῖα πάλιν γέγονα*. The gods made one type of woman *πλάσαντες γηίνην* (Sem. 7. 21). The conception is familiar from Genesis ii. 7, but found all over the world: cf. Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament*, i. 3–29.

The fashioning of a figure from clay is naturally attributed to a potters' god, here Hephaestus, later Prometheus himself (see on 507–616). In his capacity as a smith Hephaestus made himself some gold servant-girls, described in *Il.* 18. 417–20 in terms that recall *Op.* 61 f.

572–3. The same two lines reappear as *Op.* 71–72. Seleucus athetized 573–84, *ἀπρεπὲς γὰρ θεὰν οὖσαν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν κοσμεῖν γυναῖκα*.

παρθένῳ αἰδοίῃ: cf. *Il.* 2. 514, *h.* xxvii. 2, xxviii. 3.

ἴκελον: I am not sure whether this is neuter, 'an object like', as perhaps *Od.* 11. 207 *τρὶς δέ μοι ἐκ χειρῶν σκιῇ εἴκελον ἢ καὶ ὀνείρῳ | ἔπτατο*, or (masculine for) feminine, as *Od.* 20. 88 *τῇδε γὰρ αὖ μοι νυκτὶ παρέδραθεν εἴκελος αὐτῷ*, 'one like him', A. *PV* 871–2 *σπορᾶς γε μὴν ἐκ τῆσδε φύσεται θρασύς, | τόξοισι κλεινός*. Cf. above on 310.

Κρονίδεω διὰ βουλάς: cf. on 465.

Ἀθήνη: in *Op.* 63 Zeus orders her to teach Pandora women's work, but in the event she dresses her as here, and if 76 is genuine, adjusts the ornaments which the Horai and Charites and Peitho have put on her. C. Robert, *Hermes*, 1914, p. 29, regards the clothing in a woven peplos as equivalent to instruction in weaving.

574. **κατὰ κρῆθεν**: this phrase occurs at fr. 23 (a) 23, *Il.* 16. 548, *Od.* 11. 588, *h. Dem.* 182. It probably arose from false division of *κατ' ἄκρηθεν* = *κατ' ἄκρης*, this being wrongly associated with *κρᾶτ-* (Leumann, *Hom. Wörter*, pp. 57 f.). *κατ' ἄκρηθεν* is in fact given by M in *h. Dem.*, and it is a variant in the two Homeric passages and here. But the division *κατὰ κρῆθεν* is early, as the extension *ἀπὸ κρῆθεν* *Sc.* 7 shows; and as the sense 'down over the head' is appropriate in all places except perhaps *Il.*, it is quite likely that this was the sense intended by the poets. For *κατὰ* cf. *h. Dem.* 42 *κάλυμμα κατ' ἀμφοτέρων βάλετ' ὤμων*.

καλύπτρην: veils are worn in Homer by women both married and unmarried. The evidence for the nature of the garment is discussed by H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, pp. 385 ff. It is regularly mentioned in accounts of goddesses dressing (*Od.* 5. 230 ff. = 10. 543 ff., *Il.* 14. 178 ff.). Naturally it is always put on after the dress and girdle; in *Il.* sandals are put on last of all.

575. **κατέσχεθε**: 'drew down'. Normally, because people normally put their own clothes on, we find the middle: *Il.* 3. 419, *h. Dem.* 197, cf. *Od.* 1. 334. Various other verbs are used of putting on veils: *καλύπτεσθαι, περιβάλλεσθαι, ἐπιτιθέναι.*

θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι: *Il.* 5. 725, etc.

576–7. Wolf and most subsequent editors are probably right in thinking that these lines are interpolated. I can see no justification for the repetition of Athene's name, for Friedländer, *Herakles*, p. 42, n. 1, is certainly wrong in saying that the woman is the subject in 575. In *Op.* 75 she is crowned with flowers by the Horai, but that is all. Floral crowns are not mentioned in Homer, though the Nymphs and Graces wear them in *Cypr.* fr. 5.

The lines are in fact omitted in one MS., Par. 2834, but I take this to be an accident caused by the homoearchon. The scribe seems to have been aware that he had omitted two lines, for he wrote out 579–80 a second time in the margin and put an omission sign between 578 and 579 in the text.

576. **στεφάνους νεοθηλέας, ἄνθεα ποίης**: Π^{13} gives us the true text, all the good medieval MSS. giving *ἄνθεσι*. Cf. *Cypr.* fr. 5. 2 *στεφάνους εὐώδεας, ἄνθεα γαίης*. S has *νεοθηλέος* (I think not corrected, but if there was a correction, it was to *-έα* not *-έας*), and Rzach writes *νεοθηλέος ἄνθεα*. No MS. gives this, but we have *νεοθηλέα ποίην* at *Il.* 14. 347 (the only occurrence of *νεοθηλής* in Homer).

Scheer proposed *γαίης* for *ποίης* after the *Cypria* fragment (cf. D.P. 754). But *ἄνθεα ποίης* is the normal phrase: *Od.* 9. 449, *h.* xxx. 15, A.R. 1. 1143, 3. 898, D.P. 756, [Opp.] *C.* 2. 198, Q.S. 14. 207. There is more to be said for Hecker's *ποίης* in the *Cypria*; cf. Nonn. *D.* 14. 172, where the MS. (our S) has *ἄνθεα γαίης*, i.e. *γαίης* corrected to *ποίης*.

577. **ἱμερτοὺς**: only once in Homer, *Il.* 2. 751; also *h. Dem.* 417, *Herm.* 510, *h.* x. 3.

περίθηκε: *παρέθηκε* might be defended by citing Sapph. 81. 1 *σὺ δὲ στεφάνοις ὦ Δίκα πάρθεσθ' ἐράτοις φόβαισιν* (so Ath., but *π]ερθεσ[θ* P. Oxy. 1787, fr. 33); 94. 12–14 *πό[λλοις γὰρ στεφά]νοις ἴων . . . πὰρ ἔμοι παρεθήκαο* (*περ-* Jurenka). But *περιτιθέναι*, restored here by Hermann, is much the more normal compound, cf. Alc. 362 *περὶ ταὶς δέραισι περθέτω πλέκταις ὑπαθύμιδάς τις*, E. *Med.* 984, Ar. *Eccl.* 131, *Thesm.* 380, Pl. *Alc.* ii. 151B, etc.

578. **ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ . . . κεφαλῆφιν ἔθηκε**: cf. *Il.* 10. 261 *ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ κυνέην κεφαλῆφιν ἔθηκε*, *Op.* 73 *ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ . . . ἔθεσαν χροΐ*.

στεφάνην χρυσέην: as worn by Aphrodite herself, *h.* vi. 1 and 7, and, since a *στεφάνη* cannot be distinguished from an *ἄμπυξ*, also by

the Horai (ib. 5 and 12) and the Muses (below, 916); cf. on 17. The *stephane* is a flat metal band worn above the forehead, whether to keep the coiffure in order or to hold the veil in place. The latter seems more to the point here, for the band is put on after the veil; in *Il.* 22. 468 ff. Andromache tears off her *ἄμπυξ, κεκρύφαλος, πλεκτὴ ἀναδέσμη* and *κρήδεμνον*, but we cannot be sure that it was precisely in that order, cf. Lorimer, op. cit. (on 574), pp. 388–9.

581. **τῇ δ' ἔνι δαίδαλα πολλὰ**: cf. *Il.* 14. 179 *τίθει δ' ἔνι δαίδαλα πολλά*. *δαίδαλα* seems to have suggested the clausula *θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι* after the pattern of 575.

582. **κνώδαλ'**: the decoration of the headband with animals recalls the gold funerary headbands with wild animal designs (lions, wild goats, etc.) known from Athens and Eretria and dated to the eighth century: D. Ohly, *Griechische Goldbleche des 8. Jahrhunderts vor Chr.*, Berlin, 1953, pp. 68–82. (Referred to by Trencsényi-Waldapfel, *Acta Ethnogr.* 1955, p. 106.)

ὅσ' ἤπειρος . . . θάλασσα: cf. *h. Aphr.* 4–5 *θηρία πάντα, | ἠμὲν ὅσ' ἤπειρος πολλὰ τρέφει ἠδ' ὅσα πόντος. Cypr.* 7. 12 *θηρί' ὅσ' ἤπειρος αἰνὰ* (*δεινὰ* Welcker) *τρέφει.*

δεινὰ: so Π^{13} for codd. *πολλὰ*. The same variants at Call. *H.* 4. 158 (*δεινον* pap., *πολλὸν* codd.). Decision between the two is difficult, for each corresponds to one of the parallel passages just cited, and while *πολλὰ* could have come from 581 or 583, *δεινὰ* is less appropriate to the artistic style in question, which did not restrict itself to the portrayal of fearful animals. But the latter consideration cannot be pressed, cf. the next note.

ἠδὲ θάλασσα: this detail seems to belong to the verbal formula rather than to the artistic style in question.

583. **χάρις δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄητο**: it is unlikely that so late a papyrus as Π^{13} (*s.* ii–iii) should give a 'wild' variant of the type known from the earlier Ptolemaic papyri of Homer, and it seems more likely that the version of the codd. is a reminiscence of *Il.* 14. 183 or *Od.* 18. 298, where the same phrase occurs; the repetition of *πολλή* after *πόλλ'* is unattractive. *χάρις δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄητο* is not a phrase known from elsewhere: the use of *ἄητο*, 'breathed', may be compared with fr. 43 (a) 74 *χαρίεν δ' ἀπὸ εἶδος ἄητο*, *Sc.* 8, and especially *h. Dem.* 276 *περί τ' ἀμφί τε κάλλος ἄητο*. *χάρις* is the essential characteristic of the woman and her adornment; cf. *Op.* 65 and 73.

584. **θαυμάσια**: the word first occurs here, next in Archil. 74. 2, Alc. 263. 7, *h. Herm.* 443. It picks up *πολλά* despite the intervening clause; cf. *Op.* 21–22, 437–8, 819–20, and below on 973.

ζωοῖσιν ἐοικότα: cf. *Il.* 18. 418 *ζωῇσι νεηνίσιν εἰοικυῖαι*, *Sc.* 189, 194, 244, and for later poetry Bühler on Mosch. *Eur.* 47. Rzach prints *ζῴοισι*, but the parallels show that this is wrong; the word *ζῴον* does not in fact occur before Sem. fr. 11, and there uncontracted.

In Geometric art, realistic portrayal is not attempted, and this formula was presumably coined in the subsequent period.

φωνήεσσιν: in *Od.* 9. 456 *ποτιφωνήεις* means speaking articulately as opposed to making animal noises, and so does *αὐδήεις* in *Il.* 19. 407. *φωνήεις* here is evidently used more generally.

585–9. Cf. *h.* vi. 14–18, after the account of the adornment of Aphrodite: *αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ πάντα περὶ χροῒ κόσμον ἔθηκαν, | ἦγον ἐς ἀθανάτους· οἱ δ' ἠσπάζοντο ἰδόντες | . . . | εἶδος θαυμάζοντες ἰοστεφάνου Κυθερείης*. Possibly Hesiod is following the pattern of some such description as this, and for that reason speaks of the woman being produced 'where the other gods and men were', instead of being sent straight to Epimetheus as in the *Works and Days* and as we might expect here. Cf. on 511.

585. **αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ τεῦξε**: *Od.* 8. 276 (—*δόλον*; cf. 589 below).

καλὸν κακὸν: Pandora is described by means of a similar oxymoron in *Op.* 57–58, cited on 158. Cf. p. 76; Pi. *P.* 2. 40 *καλὸν πῆμα*. On the prosody *κᾰλὸν* see p. 82.

ἀντ' ἀγαθοῖο: the *ἀγαθόν* is fire, cf. 570 *ἀντὶ πυρὸς τεῦξεν κακόν*. The words *κακὸν ἀντ' ἀγαθοῖο* are repeated in 602, and the structure of the whole half-line is echoed in *h. Aphr.* 29 *δῶκε κᾰλὸν γέρας ἀντὶ γάμοιο*.

586. I see no reason to suppose that Hesiod is still thinking of the assembly at Mecone. Cf. above on 585–9.

587. **γλαυκώπιδος Ὀβριμοπάτρης**: *Od.* 3. 135, 24. 540.

588. **θαῦμα δ' ἔχ'**: cf. *Od.* 10. 326 and fr. 278. 1 *θαῦμά μ' ἔχει*. But an aorist would be normal with *ὡς εἶδον* (cf. 554, 567–8, etc.; S. *El.* 897 *ἰδοῦσα δ' ἔσχον θαῦμα*); so *ἔλ'* (as e.g. 167)?

589. **δόλον αἰπὺν ἀμήχανον**: the same phrase is applied to Pandora in *Op.* 83. *δόλος* appears to be used concretely of Hephaestus' god-trap in *Od.* 8. 276, and of the wooden horse ib. 494 (vulg.). *αἰπύς* is an epithet of *δόλος* again in *h. Herm.* 66; one may compare the Homeric *αἰπὺς ὄλεθρος*, *πόνος*, *φόνος*, *χόλος*. Probably the sense of 'steep' was extended to that of 'hard to overcome'.

590–1. These two lines were obviously never intended to be read consecutively; one must be an alternative or correction to the other. 591 at any rate was known to Stobaeus, who quotes 591–3. Probably one of the two lines represents the version of a 'wild' text, incorporated as an alternative to the vulgate by some schoolmaster or scholar who had no way of deciding between them. Aristarchus marked lines which he regarded as alternatives with the marginal symbols ↄ and . or . . (antisigma and point or double point): see Dindorf, *Scholia Graeca in Hom. Il.* 1. xliv. 10, xlvi. 19, xlviii. 25. This meant that he considered that one or other of two lines or groups of lines should be athetized, and could not decide which; not that he believed that Homer had written alternative lines for the reader's choice. The only recorded case of his use of these signs, so far as I know, is on *Il.* 8. 535–40, or according to a probable conjecture of Wolf's, 532–7 (cf. Ludwich, *Aristarchs homerische Textkritik*, ii. 141 f.), where the text may have suffered expansion but probably not conflation of variants. It is most unlikely that Aristarchus actually put lines from different

texts together. Clear instances of alternative versions in epic texts occur, apart from Hesiod, only in the Homeric Hymns: i. 13–15/16, *Ap.* 96/98, 136–8/139, *Aphr.* 62/63?, 97/98, 136/136a, xviii. 10–11/12. (Cf. Allen–Halliday, pp. lvii–lviii.) But in four of these cases one of the two variants is found in only part of the tradition, and there is no evidence that both stood side by side in ancient texts. In *h. Ap.* 136 ff. they certainly did not; for in three MSS. 136–8 appear in the margin with the words *ἐν ἑτέρῳ κεῖνται καὶ οὗτοι οἱ στίχοι*, in one or two they have got into the text, and in the rest they are omitted. So in the other cases too it may be that the conflation is only of Byzantine date. The same kind of thing could have happened in antiquity, at least after the Alexandrian period; but the principle is one that is very liable to abuse by textual critics, and it should be invoked only in extreme cases.

We must now consider whether 590 or 591 is more likely to be genuine. Heyne condemned 590, Schoemann 591. I side with Schoemann, because the *ἐκ τῆς . . . ἐστὶ* of 590 agrees with Hesiod's usage elsewhere (336 *τοῦτο μὲν ἐκ Κητοῦς . . . γένος ἐστί*, 869 *ἐκ δὲ Τυφωέος ἔστ' ἀνέμων μένος*, cf. *Il.* 15. 187, 20. 106–7, 21. 189); the construction *τῆς . . . ἐστί* is paralleled in early epic only in *Il.* 20. 107 *ἣ μὲν γὰρ Διός ἐσθ', ἣ δ' ἐξ ἁλίοιο γέροντος*. Further, *γένος καὶ φῦλα* is a tautology uncharacteristic of Hesiod; it belongs to the 'tired style' defined by G. S. Kirk, *The Songs of Homer*, pp. 167 and 361. It would be avoided if we were to take *φῦλα* as subject and *γένος* as predicate, 'for of her baneful stock are even the brood of women': but this again would be a post-Hesiodic expression (in Callin. 1. 13 *οὐδ' εἰ προγόνων ἦ γένος ἀθανάτων*, Tyrt. 8. 1, etc., *γένος* is probably accusative, cf. below on 871).

590. ἐκ τῆς γὰρ: Hermann proposed *ἐκ γὰρ τῆς*, cf. 894 *ἐκ γὰρ τῆς εἴμαρτο*, *Il.* 15. 601 *ἐκ γὰρ δή τοῦ*, *Od.* 2. 134 *ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ πατρός*, A.R. 1. 1098 *ἐκ γὰρ τῆς*, 2. 424 *ἐν γὰρ τῇ*. The change might be right, but in 556 above, and fr. 124. 1, we have *ἐκ τοῦ δ'*, and in *Op.* 669 *ἐν τοῖς γὰρ*.

γυναικῶν θηλυτεράων: fr. 30. 34, *Od.* 11. 386, 23. 166.

591. ὀλοίιον: so Nauck for *ὀλώιον*, a form not found or paralleled elsewhere. (At Nonn. *D.* 13. 416, quoted by *LSJ*, it is a long-abandoned conjecture of Koechly's.) *ὀλοίιον* has the analogous *ὁμοίιος* and *γελοίιος* to support it, and it actually occurs in *Or. Sib.* 5. 33 and 12. 85, Procl. *H.* 5. 15, and three times in Gregory of Nazianzus. The corruption is paralleled in Dion. Hal. *Rhet.* 11. 8, where the Aldine gives *γελώιον* in a citation of *Il.* 2. 215.

φῦλα γυναικῶν: *Il.* 9. 130, 272; restored in fr. 180. 10 and 251 (a) 9; cf. *Sc.* 4, fr. 1. 1.

592. (*a*) At first sight *θνητοῖσι–ἀνδράσι* may seem to belong together. But *πῆμα μέγα* and like expressions regularly have a dative of (dis-) advantage expressed, cf. 874 *πῆμα μέγα θνητοῖσι*, 871, *Op.* 822. (Exception: *Op.* 346 *πῆμα κακὸς γείτων ὅσσόν τ' ἀγαθὸς μέγ' ὄνειαρ.*) *πῆμα μέγα θνητοῖσι* is a phrase used elsewhere in *Th.*, and here it is ideal; it seems wrong to disrupt it by writing *μέγ' αἳ* with Hermann and Rzach. (*b*) Stobaeus' *σὺν* ('with') seems superior to *μετ'* ('among').

Sem. 7. 94–95 *τὰ δ' ἄλλα φῦλα ταῦτα μηχανῇ Διὸς | ἔστιν τε πάντα* (*πῆμα* Ribbeck) *καὶ παρ' ἀνδράσιν μένει* appears to be a reminiscence of Hesiod, but we cannot tell what Semonides read. *σὺν* and *μετ'* are variants also at *Od.* 7. 300 and Nic. *Th.* 551. (*c*) *ναιετάουσαι* was conjectured by Bergk, and originally written in S. The concord *γένος* (or *φῦλα*) *γυναικῶν . . . ναιετάουσαι* is nothing exceptional, cf., for example, 825–6, *Il.* 2. 459–62, *Od.* 11. 90–91, Kühner–Gerth, i. 53 f. Confusion of the endings *-ουσαι* and *-ουσιν* is very frequent.

Several editors retain both *μέγα θνητοῖσι* and *ναιετάουσιν*, some of them punctuating after *γένος* in 591 instead of at the end of the line; this seems very forced.

593. 'Not going well with Poverty, but with Plenty', i.e. not suitable for a poor man to take upon himself. The Greeks imagined Poverty and Wealth as gods actually entering a man's house and dwelling there: cf. *Op.* 377, Hom. *epigr.* 15. 3, *h. Dem.* 488, Sapph. 148. 1, Thgn. 351–4, Hippon. 29, Hdt. 7. 102, Ar. *Plut.* 437, Pl. *Lg.* 679B, Men. *D.* 208–11, Alciphr. 1. 8. Poverty and a wife make bad fellow-lodgers.

οὐλομένης Πενίης: cf. *Op.* 717. The genitive is unusual.

σύμφοροι: cf. *Op.* 302 *Λιμὸς γάρ τοι πάμπαν ἀεργῷ σύμφορος ἀνδρί* (is his natural companion); Thgn. 457 *οὔ τοι σύμφορόν ἐστι γυνὴ νέα ἀνδρὶ γέροντι· | οὐ γὰρ πηδαλίῳ πείθεται ὡς ἄκατος*. 526 *ἡ πενίη δὲ κακῷ σύμφορος ἀνδρὶ φέρειν*; 1352; Ar. *Plut.* 1162 *Πλούτῳ γάρ ἐστι τοῦτο συμφορώτατον, | ποιεῖν ἀγῶνας μουσικοὺς καὶ γυμνικούς*.

594 ff. An extended simile is a rarity in Hesiod; he has others in 702 ff. and 862 ff., and a drone-simile again in *Op.* 303 ff. (where it follows the instance of *σύμφορος* quoted on 593, probably by association of thought). Drones do not appear in any Homeric simile; swarming troops are likened to swarming bees in *Il.* 2. 87 ff., and the stubborn defence of Polypoites and Leonteus to that of bees or wasps in *Il.* 12. 167 ff.

The structure of this simile (*ὡς δ' ὁπότ' . . . αἱ μέν τε . . . οἱ δ' . . . ὣς δ' αὕτως*) resembles that of *Il.* 21. 257–63 (*ὡς δ' ὅτ' . . . τοῦ μέν τε . . . τὸ δέ τ' . . . ὣς . . .*).

594. **σμήνεσσι**: it is uncertain whether this refers to beehives designed by man, or to natural nests in hollow rocks or trees such as are often mentioned (cf. *Op.* 233, *Il.* 2. 88, 12. 168, [Phocyl.] 171–4 (who calls such nests both *σίμβλοι* and *σμήνη*), A.R. 1. 880 *πέτρης σιμβληίδος*, etc.). The latter is perhaps suggested by the fact that the epithets *κατηρεφής* and *ἐπηρεφής* (598) are in Homer nearly always applied to caves or overhanging rocks (five times; once of a wave, once of *κλισίαι*). We do not know when artificial hives were invented; it has been suggested that they are presupposed by *Od.* 13. 103 ff. (Olck, *R.E.* iii. 450), but this seems doubtful.

Beekeeping in Homer and Hesiod is treated by O. Körner in *Sitz.-Ber. Naturf. Gesellsch. z. Rostock*, 1929, which I have not seen.

The variant *σίμβλοισι* (dett.) is a gloss, and attested as such in other MSS.; cf. Flach, *Glossen und Scholien*, p. 195.

595. **βόσκωσι**: decision between this and *βόσκουσι* is difficult, for both indicative and subjunctive are used in similes after *ὡς*, *ὡς ὅτε*, etc., see Chantraine, ii. 253. Both are found side by side in *Sc.* 437–40.

κακῶν ξυνήονας ἔργων: 'conspirators in evil works', rather than 'conversant with' them. Cf. 601.

596. **μέν τε**: often in similes, introducing an elaboration of the initial reference. Cf. *Il.* 2. 90, 4. 424, 5. 139, 21. 260. *k* has *μέν τοι*: the same corruption occurs at *Il.* 4. 424, Antim. 113 (=Call. fr. 807), Nic. *Al.* 36 and 498, D.P. 164.

πρόπαν . . . καταδύντα: *Il.* 1. 601 and six times in the *Odyssey*. On *πρόπαν ἦμαρ* see above on 525; on *ἐς* before a vowel (often in Homer), E. Hermann, op. cit. (p. 82, n. 1), p. 98.

597. **ἠμάτιαι**: this normally means 'during the day', which would be redundant after 596. It would be more acceptable if it could mean 'every day': this sense is perhaps to be assumed in *Il.* 9. 72 (so sch.^{A}, but Apoll. *lex.* 83. 33 *ἠμάτιαι· δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας*), and probably also for *ἐπημάτιος* in A.R. 3. 895, Opp. *H.* 3. 229. The semantic development from 'by day' to 'day by day' (daily, *täglich*, etc.) is an easy one; cf. *ἡμερησίως* in P. Oxy. 83. 12, *ἡμερουσίως* P.S.I. 287. 12 (both *s.* iv A.D.). Even so, *ἠμάτιαι* would be surprising after *πρόπαν ἦμαρ*, which suggests regular daily activity even though it does not strictly entail it. Goettling's *ἀκάμαται* cannot be rejected out of hand, though I can find no early instance of this adjective being applied to a person (as opposed to his hands, strength, etc.).

σπεύδουσι: cf. *Op.* 22–24, where the verb is used of an industrious man working with a will for the benefit of his household.

τιθεῖσι: this form also occurs in *Il.* 16. 262, *Od.* 2. 125; likewise *προϊεῖσι*, *Il.* 11. 270. The meaning is 'lay down', 'deposit'.

598. **ἔντοσθε μένοντες**: cf. *Op.* 520 (a girl in winter) *ἥ τε δόμων ἔντοσθε φίλῃ παρὰ μητέρι μίμνει.*

ἐπηρεφέας κατὰ σίμβλους: cf. on 594.

599. A highly successful line; on the antithesis within the clause cf. p. 76. For the thought cf. *Op.* 305 (drones) *οἵ τε μελισσάων κάματον τρύχουσιν ἀεργοὶ | ἔσθοντες*, *Od.* 14. 417 *ἄλλοι δ' ἡμέτερον κάματον νήποινον ἔδουσιν.* On the drones' theft of honey cf. Varr. *RR* 3. 16. 8, Virg. *G.* 4. 168, Colum. 9. 15. 2, Ael. *NA* 1. 9.

κάματον: for the concrete use cf. *Op.* 305 and *Od.* 14. 417 quoted above; Thgn. 925, etc. *πόνος* is similarly used.

ἀμῶνται: 'scrape together', not to be confused with *ἀμᾶσθαι* 'reap'. Cf. Bechtel, *Lexil.*, pp. 36 f. The verb is found in *Op.* 778, *Il.* 24. 165, *Od.* 5. 482, 9. 247, Thgn. 428, Hdt. 8. 24, Pherecr. 121, X. *Oec.* 17. 13, 19. 11, A.R. 1. 1305, Hegesipp. *A.P.* 7. 446, Antip. Sid. *A.P.* 7. 241, Heliod. 2. 20, [Opp.] *C.* 2. 56, etc.

600. **ὣς δ' αὕτως**: some MSS. omit the δ'. (Similar variants at 402.) There is no Homeric parallel for *ὣς δὲ* or *ὣς δ' αὕτως* in the apodosis of a simile, though apodotic *δέ* is common after other types of relative protasis, cf. on 974. In Emped. 100. 22 *ὣς δ' αὕτως* is so

used: there the simile has gone on for so long that it is natural to begin a new sentence, but the same may hold for Hesiod, and the omission of the particle seems in this place a likelier corruption than its insertion.

κακὸν . . . γυναῖκας: the singular and plural nouns seem to us to sit oddly in this close relationship, but cf. Sem. 7. 96 *Ζεὺς γὰρ μέγιστον τοῦτ' ἐποίησεν κακόν, | γυναῖκας*, E. *Hipp.* 616–17 *ὦ Ζεῦ, τί δὴ κίβδηλον ἀνθρώποις κακὸν | γυναῖκας εἰς φῶς ἡλίου κατῴκισας;* Men. *D.* 444–5 *αἱ δὲ Νύμφαι μοι κακὸν | αὖται παροικοῦσ'*.

601. ξυνήονας ἔργων | ἀργαλέων: see on 595. *ἀργαλέων* is for Hesiod a synonym of *κακῶν*, cf. *Op.* 640 *Ἄσκρῃ χεῖμα κακῇ, θέρει ἀργαλέῃ*, 161 *Πόλεμός τε κακός* ~ 229 *ἀργαλέον πόλεμον*, 92 *νούσων τ' ἀργαλέων* ~ *Th.* 527 *κακὴν . . . νοῦσον*. This confirms the reading of the MSS. against Stobaeus' *λευγαλέων* (an ancient variant for *ἀργαλέ-* also in *Od.* 6. 137 and 11. 400) and against the conjecture *ἀρπαλέων* which I once considered.

602–12. The exposition of the misogynist's dilemma may be compared with Antiphon fr. 49 D–K = 131 Blass; Posidipp., *A.P.* 9. 359.

The articulation of the passage deserves careful attention: I think it is best to punctuate with a comma at the end of 602 (*ἔπορεν . . . ὅς κε . . .* as *Op.* 354 *καὶ δόμεν ὅς κεν δῷ*), and a full stop after *χηρωσταί* in 607, since what follows is not a subdivision of the second *κακόν* (602) but a restatement of the first (cf. on 607). If 602 is not closely attached to 603, it would look as if this second bane afflicted the same people as the first, whereas in fact it afflicts those who escape the first. This interpretation was proposed by Guyet.

602. ἀργαλέων: see on 601.

ἕτερον . . . ἀγαθοῖο: 'and he gave a second evil to balance a good, for the man who . . .'. *κακὸν ἀντ' ἀγαθοῖο* is repeated from 585; the *ἀγαθόν* in this case is celibacy (Guyet).

603. μέρμερα: an Iliadic word, of the type described on 118–19 (*Τάρταρα*). It is uncertain what its precise meaning originally was. *μέρμερα ἔργα Il.* 8. 453, 10. 289, 524; otherwise *μέρμερα ῥέζειν*, 11. 502, 21. 217.

ἔργα γυναικῶν: in *Il.* 6. 289 and *Od.* 7. 97 this phrase refers to woven garments; Hesiod's meaning corresponds rather to *ἔργα γάμοιο* in *Il.* 5. 429, but is less specific.

604. ὀλοὸν: cf. *h. Aphr.* 224 *γῆρας ὀλοιόν*, and above on 225.

ἐπὶ γῆρας ἵκηται: *ἐπὶ* is supported against Stobaeus' *εἰς* by *Od.* 8. 226 f. *οὐδ' ἐπὶ γῆρας | ἵκετ'*, 11. 196 *χαλεπὸν δ' ἐπὶ γῆρας ἱκάνει. γῆρας* in these places is accusative, not nominative, as is shown by *Od.* 19. 367 f. *ἀρώμενος εἶος ἵκοιο | γῆράς τε λιπαρὸν θρέψαιό τε φαίδιμον υἱόν*.

Stobaeus gives *ἵκοιτο*, which Rzach adopts, taking *δ'* as apodotic after *ὅς κε*. But if this is the main verb of the sentence, we should expect the present indicative as in 606, 609, 611–12. (Peppmüller actually conjectured *ἱκάνει*.) The subjunctive offers no difficulty: it is parallel to *ἐθέλῃ*.

605. **χήτει**: this word occurs in *Il.* 6. 463, 19. 324, *h. Ap.* 78, always in the dative. Cf. fr. 409.

γηροκόμοιο: the son, not the wife.

606–7. **ζώει, ἀποφθιμένου δὲ**: the contrast is sharpened by the placing of *ζώει* at the end of the clause and the beginning of the line. Cf. *Il.* 17. 478 = 22. 436 *ζωὸς ἐών· νῦν αὖ θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κιχάνει*, *Od.* 19. 331 *ζωῷ· ἀτὰρ τεθνεῶτί γ'*, *h. Herm.* 38 *ζώουσ'· ἢν δὲ θάνῃς*, Callin. 1. 19, Opp. *H.* 1. 144, Nonn. *D.* 21. 28. For other similar antitheses cf. 179 *σκαιῇ· δεξιτερῇ δὲ* and note, *Op.* 10 *τύνη· ἐγὼ δέ κε Πέρσῃ*, *Od.* 13. 100 *ἔκτοθεν· ἔντοσθεν δὲ*, etc.

διὰ ζωὴν δατέονται | χηρωσταί: cf. *Il.* 5. 158 *χηρωσταὶ δὲ διὰ κτῆσιν δατέοντο*. All the medieval MSS. on which Rzach relies give *κτῆσιν* in Hesiod too. *ζωὴν* was known from Stobaeus, but Sittl was the only editor to adopt it. Now it has appeared in Π^{14}, and in *k*. The use of *ζωή* for 'substance'—usually *βίος* or *βίοτος*—is paralleled by *Od.* 14. 208 *τοὶ δὲ ζωὴν ἐδάσαντο | παῖδες ὑπερφίαλοι*. This is close enough to allay any suspicion that *ζωὴν* might have arisen from an accidental repetition of *ζώει* (the repetition is deliberate and effective), but not close enough to suggest that it was a reminiscence of that actual passage. It is more likely that *κτῆσιν* came in as a reminiscence of the *Iliad*.

χηρωσταί, 'heirs of a vacant inheritance' (*χῆρον*: see Boisacq s.v.), are the more distant relatives who would claim the property if there was no direct issue. There was probably no provision at this time for disposition by testament. Cf. Plut. *Sol.* 21. 3 *εὐδοκίμησε δὲ καὶ τῷ περὶ διαθηκῶν νόμῳ· πρότερον γὰρ οὐκ ἐξῆν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ γένει τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἔδει τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὸν οἶκον καταμένειν. ὁ δὲ ᾧ βούλεταί τις ἐπιτρέψας, εἰ μὴ παῖδες εἶεν αὐτῷ, δοῦναι τὰ αὑτοῦ, φιλίαν τε συγγενείας ἐτίμησε μᾶλλον καὶ χάριν ἀνάγκης*.

αὖτε: returning to the married state described in 592–602. The evil that it constitutes is now restated in the form of a fork: if the wife is a good one, a man enjoys a mixture of blessings and troubles; if not, he finds only troubles. For the idea that these are the only two varieties of fortune open to mankind cf. *Op.* 179, *Il.* 24. 527–33, *Od.* 15. 488, Bacch. 5. 50–55, Q.S. 7. 10.

γάμου μετὰ μοῖρα γένηται: a strange circumlocution for *ὃς γήμῃ*. The use of *μεταγίγνεσθαι*, 'fall to someone as a share', corresponding to the use of *μετέχειν*, *μετεῖναι*, *μεταδιδόναι*, is not recognized in *LSJ*.

608. **ἀρηρυῖαν πραπίδεσσι**: cf. fr. 129. 13 *ἐὺ πραπί[δεσσ']* *ἀρα[-ρυῖαν*, *Od.* 10. 553 *φρεσὶν ἦσιν ἀρηρώς*, etc. On *ἀρηρυῖα* instead of the earlier and more normal *ἀραρυῖα* cf. on 264.

609. **δέ τ'**: for *δέ τε* in apodosis cf. 784, *Op.* 284; there is no Homeric parallel.

ἀπ' αἰῶνος: a very difficult phrase. In later Greek (first in the Septuagint) *ἀπ' αἰῶνος* or *ἀπ' αἰώνων* or *ἐξ αἰῶνος* means 'from the beginning', with the implication of a very remote beginning, 'von jeher'. References in Stephanus–Dindorf, i. 1123–4; Passow–Crönert, p. 188; E. C. E. Owen, *J. Theol. St.* 1936, pp. 274, 279; Lampe, *Patristic Gr. Lex.* i. 55. Cf. G. Björck, *Eranos*, 1948, pp. 72–74. This usage cannot

be attributed to Hesiod, for *αἰών* in the sense of 'all time' does not occur before Heraclitus B 52 (if genuine) and A. *Suppl.* 574, and it is a quite inappropriate sense here. The meaning 'lifetime' would be more admissible (so E. Degani, *ΑΙΩΝ da Omero ad Aristotele*, Padua, 1961, pp. 25–27); there is no place in early epic where *αἰών* unequivocally has this sense, but several where it approaches it, viz. *Il.* 4. 478 = 17. 302, 9. 415, [Hes.] fr. 1. 8 (*ἰσαίωνες*), 276. The meaning is clear in *h.* xx. 6, but this Hephaestus-hymn is probably a fifth-century poem. However, with this sense we should require *τῷ δὲ δι' αἰῶνος* (Schoemann; *ἐπὶ* Heyne, *κατ'* A. Zimmermann, who compares Lycurg. 7); there would be some similarity to Axiopistus 4. 5 (p. 222 Powell) *οὐ γυναῖχ' ἕξεις, διὰ βίου δ' ἀτυχίαν κοσμουμέναν. δι' αἰῶνος* in this sense is first found in Simonides (fr. 36. 12). If the manuscript text is retained, it might mean 'from his prime onward'. *αἰών* may be equivalent to *ἥβη* in *Il.* 24. 725 *ἄνερ, ἀπ' αἰῶνος νέος ὤλεο, κἀδ δέ με χήρην | λείπεις* (*νέον* Zenod.), *Od.* 5. 160, 18. 204; *ἀπό* in a temporal sense would be paralleled by 425, though abnormal in epic. A more primitive sense of *αἰών* is assumed by C. J. Classen, *Gnomon*, 1962, p. 367, 'auf Kosten der Lebenskraft'; cf. Onians, p. 204, who, however, does not explain his interpretation clearly. The difficulty here is the use of *ἀπό* expressing 'daß etwas von dieser Lebenskraft genommen wird, von ihr herstammt'. Classen's reference to 'Verse, die bisher keine befriedigende Erklärung gefunden haben' still holds good.

κακὸν ἐσθλῷ ἀντιφερίζει: cf. on 607. The position of *ἐσθλῷ*, with *ῳ* unshortened in thesis before an open and original vowel, is unusual, though not unique (p. 95). Merkelbach suggests writing *ἐσθλὸν κακῷ* (*Stud. Ital.* 1956, p. 297, n. 1; Q*v* give *κακὸν ἐσθλὸν*, but this is a mere assimilation of endings). Capelle proposed *ἰσοφαρίζει* for *ἀντιφερίζει*, with the idea of annulling the hiatus with a digamma. The two words are in fact variants in *Il.* 9. 390, 21. 357, 411. His change is hardly supported by *ἀντιφαρίζει* in WX (cf. *ἀντίφαρις*, Pi. (?) P. Oxy. 2389 fr. 9. 8, *-φάρα, -φαρές*). *Π*[14] agrees in *ἀντιφερίζει*.

610. ἐμμενές: Wopkens's correction of *ἔμμεναι* is almost certain. The renderings of the infinitive by Lehrs ('ut adsit') and Onians, p. 204 ('contends for existence') are inadmissible.

τέτμῃ: I know no parallel for this verb taking the genitive or bearing precisely this sense. *τεύξῃ* (*n*) is perhaps an emendation based on the corruption *τέκῃ* (*v*). The word is not preserved in *Π*[14].

γενέθλης: 'sort' of wife, not 'offspring'. Rightly Guyet, Sittl, Mazon, Denniston, *C.R.* 1933, p. 163. Cf. Sem. 7. 50 *τὴν δ' ἐκ γαλῆς, δύστηνον οἰζυρὸν γένος.*

611. ἀλίαστον ἀνίην: in Homer the adjective occurs only in the *Iliad* (seven times), the noun only in the *Odyssey* (five times, also *ἀνιηρός* thrice).

612. θυμῷ καὶ κραδίῃ: pleonastic after *ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν*. Cf. *Od.* 4. 548 f. *αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ κραδίη καὶ θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ | αὖτις ἐνὶ στήθεσσι καί ἀχνυμένῳ περ ἰάνθη.*

ἀνήκεστον κακόν: Archil. 7. 5 *ἀνηκέστοισι κακοῖσι*. *ἀνήκεστος* twice in the *Iliad*, 5. 394 (*ἄλγος*) and 15. 217 (*χόλος*); *νήκεστον Op.* 283.

Presumably divorce was possible, if uncommon; it was provided for in the laws of Gortyn, Athens, and elsewhere, cf. Thalheim, *R.E.* v. 2011–13.

ἐστιν: Rzach erroneously reports a variant *ἔσται*, which is in fact a corruption of *ἔστι* in 613.

613. Cf. *Op.* 105 (concluding the story of Prometheus and Pandora) *οὕτως οὔ τί πῃ ἔστι Διὸς νόον ἐξαλέασθαι*, *Od.* 5. 103–4 *ἀλλὰ μάλ' οὔ πως ἔστι Διὸς νόον αἰγιόχοιο | οὔτε παρεξελθεῖν ἄλλον θεὸν οὔθ' ἁλιῶσαι.*

ὡς: introducing the moral of a story, cf. *Od.* 9. 34, and *οὕτως* in *Op.* l.c.

οὐκ ἔστι: besides the passages cited cf. *Il.* 20. 97 *τῷ οὐκ ἔστ' Ἀχιλῆος ἐναντίον ἄνδρα μάχεσθαι*, 21. 193, 22. 265.

κλέψαι νόον: cf. *Il.* 14. 216 f. *ὀαριστὺς | πάρφασις, ἥ τ' ἔκλεψε νόον πύκα περ φρονεόντων*. Zeus' *νόος* is his intelligent purpose, or purposeful intelligence; cf. *Il.* 16. 688 *ἀλλ' αἰεί τε Διὸς κρείσσων νόος ἠέ περ ἀνδρῶν*, and B. Snell, *Entdeckung d. Geistes*, 3rd ed., pp. 30 ff. (*Discovery of the Mind*, pp. 12 ff.).

παρελθεῖν: cf. also *Il.* 1. 131 f. *μὴ δὴ οὕτως, ἀγαθός περ ἐών, θεοείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ, | κλέπτε νόῳ, ἐπεὶ οὐ παρελεύσεαι οὐδέ με πείσεις.*

614. **οὐδὲ γὰρ**: introducing a famous example from the past in support of a general proposition. Cf. *Il.* 6. 130, 18. 117. The positive equivalent is *καὶ γὰρ*, e.g. *Il.* 24. 602.

ἀκάκητα: elsewhere an epithet of Hermes, fr. 137, *Il.* 16. 185, *Od.* 24. 10. Its meaning is unknown; cf. W. Spoerri in *Lex. frühgr. Ep.* s.v. The scholiast says that Prometheus was worshipped on the *Ἀκακήσιον ὄρος* in Arcadia; but the usual version is that it was Hermes (Paus. 8. 36. 10, sch. *Od.* 24. 10), and this accords with Hermes' other Arcadian associations. The two gods have other points of contact: they are both cunning by nature, both associated with the discovery of fire, and Hesychius has a gloss *'Ιθάς· ὁ τῶν Τιτήνων κῆρυξ, Προμηθεύς. τινὲς Ἴθαξ.*

615. **ὑπεξήλυξε**: this compound not elsewhere in Hesiod or Homer, but *ὑπεξαλέασθαι Il.* 15. 180.

ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀνάγκης: the same clausula at *Op.* 15. The variant of Z^2 *ἀλλά μιν ἔμπης* is puzzling; it may be a conjecture. *ἀλλ' ἔμπης* immediately follows *Od.* 23. 82 quoted on 616.

616. **καὶ πολύιδριν ἐόντα**: cf. *Od.* 23. 82 *μάλα περ πολύιδριν ἐοῦσαν*, [Hes.] fr. 43 (a) 57 and 343. 6 (em. Ruhnken) *καί περ πολύιδριν ἐοῦσαν*, Alc. fr. 38. 7 *ἀλλὰ καὶ πολύιδρις ἔων*, etc. *πολύιδρις* and *-ιδρείῃσι* occur twice each in the *Odyssey*.

δεσμὸς: cf. on 522.

ἐρύκει: Weiske's *ἔρυκε*, 'kept him at one time', greatly weakens the point. Cf. on 523–33.

617–719. **The Titanomachy.** The Titan families are now complete, and we pass on to the battle which removed the Older Gods from the

scene. A war of gods is a widespread mythical motif. Sometimes, notably in the Norse myth of Ragnarøk, it is set not in the past but in the future. But there as here it marks the end of an age: the old gods are killed, or imprisoned, and a new régime begins. A more important difference between the Titanomachy and Ragnarøk is that the Norse gods, the Æsir, do not fight against other gods who are afterwards bound, but against an assortment of giants and monsters who have hitherto been bound and now escape: the wolf Fenrir, the Miðgarð-serpent, and so on. It is remarkable that in the Babylonian myth too it is an assortment of monsters that Marduk has to overcome. The disagreement on whether the monsters are bound before or after the battle is easily explained: it depends directly on whether the battle is put in the past or in the future, the essential fact being that they are bound at the moment. The Greek myth agrees with the Hurrian in a different version: first there is a battle between gods and gods, and afterwards a battle with a monster (Typhoeus; Ullikummi). But the Babylonian army of monsters has perhaps left an echo in Greek mythology: see on 270–336.

The Titanomachy began, apparently, as a revolt of the younger gods (391 n.; A. *PV* 201–3. In a later version it is the revolt of the Titans after Zeus had already dethroned Kronos: Hyg. *fab.* 150, cf. sch.[B] *Il.* 15. 229). It went on for ten years (636 n.) without either side gaining an advantage. Then Gaia revealed that Zeus would win if he enlisted the aid of the Hundred-Handers—the familiar helper-motif (147 n.). Hesiod's narrative begins here, and half of it is devoted to the release of the Hundred-Handers and their agreement to help Zeus. When we come to the fighting itself, we find it described in very general terms. It does not resolve itself into a set of individual duels, like the Homeric battle: it is a general mêlée in which only Zeus and the Hundred-Handers are distinguishable as individuals. (Cf. p. 74; 133 n.) The universe is shaken to the foundations, much as in the battle with Typhoeus (839 ff.), where many of the same motifs appear. The style of the two passages is similar. In both, Hesiod is striving to give powerful expression to extremely powerful events. Opinions differ widely on the measure of his success. Heyne and Wolf admired these passages above all else in the *Theogony*. That was when Beethoven was young; but Wilamowitz could share their admiration, at least of the Titanomachy. For the most part, however, modern taste has found it bombastic. There is a fine rendering of 687–719 by Jack Lindsay in the *Oxford Book of Greek Verse in Translation*, pp. 150 f.

The Titanomachy was also described in the *Titanomachia* ascribed to Eumelus or Arctinus, by 'Musaeus' (B 8), and by Epimenides (B 24). Pherecydes told of an earlier battle between forces led by Kronos and by Ophioneus (B 4, cf. A.R. 1. 503 ff.). The theme of warring gods is transferred to the Trojan War by the poet of *Il.* 20–21, together with some details which we meet in Hesiod but which were probably traditional elements in theomachies. In later literature

the Titanomachy is frequently and thoroughly confused with the Gigantomachy. Throughout the archaic period the two are distinct, though it is impossible to be sure which is meant in some artistic representations: it used to be maintained that there were no artistic representations of the Titanomachy, but this has now been challenged, see J. Dörig, op. cit. (on 522).

On this section of the *Theogony* cf. K. Friederichs, *Die Bedeutung der Titanomachie für die Theogonie*, Progr. Rostock, 1907; Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, 63, 1928, pp. 369–71 = *Kl. Schr.* iv. 454–6; H. Schwabl, *Serta Philol. Aenipontana* (Innsbr. Beitr. z. Kulturwiss. 7/8. 1961), pp. 72–84 (an attempt to detect a principle of verbal responsion at regular intervals). Material on the theomachy-motif is to be found in A. Olrik, op. cit. (on 523–33), and J. Kroll, *Gott und Hölle*, 1932, pp. 363 ff.

617–18. The transition is abrupt; but there is a certain link with what goes before in the theme of bondage (cf. Schwabl, l.c., p. 73). Hesiod may have started his account of the Titanomachy with the Hundred-Handers' bondage because of an unconscious association, or in a deliberate attempt at articulation: there is a similar device at Hdt. 3. 39. 1 *Καμβύσεω δὲ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον στρατευομένου ἐποιήσαντο καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι στρατηίην ἐπὶ Σάμον τε καὶ Πολυκράτεα.* The section that follows on the prosperity of Samos under Polycrates (chs. 39–60) is only worked in by Herodotus as a preparation for the later Samian episodes (120–8 and 139–49). It interrupts the Persian history and is unconnected with the parts immediately preceding and following: but Herodotus creates a superficial connexion out of the contemporaneity of the Spartan expedition with that of Cambyses.

617. **Ὀβριάρεῳ**: some MSS. give *Βριάρεῳ*, but this form is always trisyllabic and has the first syllable short. Cf. 149 n.

ὡς πρῶτα: going back to the time of Uranos' maltreatment of his children, and thus violating the law discovered by T. Zieliński, *Philol.*, Suppl. viii (1901), p. 419, and observed throughout the Homeric poems, that epic narrative never steps back in time: when Homer has to describe simultaneous events consecutively, he treats them as if they had occurred consecutively. Hesiod violates this principle again in 711.

πατὴρ: obviously *their* father, Uranos. There is no such ambiguity as in 502.

618. **δῆσε κρατερῷ ἐνὶ δεσμῷ**: cf. *Il.* 5. 386. On the binding of the Hundred-Handers see notes on 139–53 and 158. What Hesiod tells us of the place where they were bound indicates that it was Tartarus, but he avoids saying so outright (620–2, 652–3, 658–60, 669): Tartarus is reserved for Zeus' enemies.

For *δῆσε* cf. on 192.

619–20. **ἠνορέην ὑπέροπλον ἀγώμενος**: cf. on 516. The rare form *ἀγάομαι* is attested also in fr. 30. 12 (Salmoneus) *ὁ δ' ἀγᾶτ[ο πατ]ὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τ[ε.*

εἶδος | καὶ μέγεθος: cf. *h. Dem.* 275 *μέγεθος καὶ εἶδος ἄμειψε.* 153 above (the Hundred-Handers) *μεγάλῳ ἐπὶ εἴδει.*

ὑπὸ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης: 717, 787, *Od.* 11. 52; cf. *Op.* 197 *et sim.*

621. **ὑπὸ χθονὶ ναιετάοντες**: *h. Ap.* 335 *Τιτῆνές τε θεοὶ* (630 n.) *τοὶ ὑπὸ χθονὶ ναιετάοντες.*

622. **εἵατ**: this form, not *ἧατο*, is given by MSS. here and in Homer, and should be retained. Cf. 257 n. and Werner, op. cit., pp. 57 ff.

The verb 'sit' is chosen to express the idea of inactivity. Cf. *Il.* 8. 480 (quoted below), and in other contexts *Il.* 1. 134, 565, 4. 9, 24. 403, etc.; Hudson-Williams on Callin. 1. 1.

ἐπ' ἐσχατιῇ: *Od.* 2. 391, 9. 182, 10. 96. For the application of this expression to the underworld cf. 731 *πελώρης ἔσχατα γαίης.*

μεγάλης ἐν πείρασι γαίης: see on 335. The *πείρατα γαίης* can also be in the underworld, as in *Il.* 8. 478 ff. *οὐδ' εἴ κε τὰ νείατα πείραθ' ἵκηαι | γαίης καὶ πόντοιο, ἵν' Ἰαπετός τε Κρόνος τε | ἥμενοι οὔτ' αὐγῇς Ὑπερίονος Ἠελίοιο | τέρποντ' οὔτ' ἀνέμοισι, βαθὺς δέ τε τάρταρος ἀμφίς.* But no sharp distinction is drawn between regions outside and below the inhabited world. The essential fact about these areas is that they are beyond man's ken. The second nekyia in the *Odyssey* is located beyond Ocean in 24. 11 ff., but *ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης* in 204. We shall find the same indifference in Hesiod's description of the underworld, cf. on 720–819 and 746.

623. **δηθὰ μάλ'**: *Il.* 5. 587.

κραδίῃ μέγα πένθος ἔχοντες: cf. *Od.* 17. 489, 24. 233. The parallels make it unlikely that *κραδίῃ* is to be taken with *ἀχνύμενοι*, though few questions could be of less importance.

624. **καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι**: *Il.* 3. 308.

625. The younger gods are thus distinguished from the older.

626. **Γαίης φραδμοσύνῃσιν**: cf. 494 n., for Earth as a prophetess 463 n., and for her benevolence to Zeus p. 24. Her revelation here resembles the one she made in the Gigantomachy, that the gods could only repulse the Giants with the help of a mortal (sch. Pi. *N.* 1. 101, Apld. 1. 6. 1). *φραδμοσύνη* is a Hesiodic word: 884, 891, *Op.* 245, also *h. Ap.* 99 (all dat. pl.).

ἀνήγαγον ἐς φάος: cf. *h. Dem.* 338.

627. **σφιν**: *μιν* would be just possible. Zenodotus read *μιν* for *σφιν* in *Il.* 10. 127.

628. **νίκην . . . καὶ ἀγλαὸν εὖχος ἀρέσθαι**: *Il.* 7. 203. The aorist infinitive is common in prophecies (*Il.* 13. 667–8, *Od.* 22. 35, Hdt. 1. 53. 3 (v.l.)) and other expressions of confidence about the future or of resolve to do something (*Il.* 3. 366, *Od.* 20. 121, *Op.* 455, A. *Th.* 429, Ar. *Av.* 671, X. *Cyr.* 4. 3. 15 (v.l.), Lys. 13. 15 and 47 cod., Pl. *Euthyd.* 288c, Men. *D.* 266–7, A.R. 2. 1223, [Theocr.] 27. 61, Q.S. 1. 517). Cf. Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, §§ 98 and 127; Kühner–Gerth, i. 195. There is therefore no need to consider *ἀρεῖσθαι* (suggested before Stahl by Schulze, p. 318, n. 1).

629. **δηρὸν**: more precise in 636.

631. 630. Π^5 gives the lines in this order; Π^{13} omits 630 (= 668, cf. 648). Although 630 is dispensable, it would not be characteristic of epic style to leave the subject of the sentence (which is different

from that of the preceding sentence) to be expressed in the following disjunction. The position of the line at the end of the sentence, as in Π^5, is supported by 648.

διὰ κρατερὰς ὑσμίνας: so 712 and *Il.* 2. 40. *κατὰ κρατερὰς ὑσμίνας* is more usual in this formula (14 times in *Il.*). Cf. on 663.

Τιτῆνές τε θεοὶ: cf. on 621, and 729 below *θεοὶ Τιτῆνες*.

ὅσοι Κρόνου ἐξεγένοντο: a shorter equivalent of 625.

632. **ὑψηλῆς Ὄθρυος**: Mt. Othrys rises to a height of 5,660 feet in Phthiotis, south-west of the plain of Thessaly. Olympus is north of the plain, and it follows that the plain itself was the scene of the battle. The location of the mythical battle upon a real plain is paralleled by that of the Gigantomachy on the plain of Phlegra, by the Typhonomachy in Asia Minor, or in Irish legend by the battle of the Dē-Danann (who represent the gods) against the Fomori on the plain of Tured. In Norse literature the theomachy is set on a mythical plain or island.

The Titanomachy was set on the Thessalian plain presumably because it lies below Olympus, and Othrys was made the Titans' headquarters simply because it was the principal mountain on the opposite side of the plain: there is no evidence that it was really a seat of gods as Olympus was. Elsewhere it is said or implied that the Titans formerly occupied Olympus itself, and were deposed from it by the younger gods: cf. 112–13 n., *Op.* 110–11, A. *PV* 148, A.R. 1. 503 ff., 2. 1232.

On the prosody of *Ὄθρυος* cf. p. 97; on its accentuation Muetzell, p. 36. It is said to be a Cretan word for 'mountain', cf. Hsch. s.v. *ὄθρυν* and *ὀθρυόεν*.

633. **θεοὶ δωτῆρες ἐάων**: see on 46.

634. For the variation from 625 see 559 n. It confirms the authenticity of the verse, which Wolf condemned.

635–6. These lines are condemned (together with 634) by Friederichs, op. cit. (on 617–719), p. 9, and we should certainly not miss them if they had not been transmitted. But it is hard to see what motive anyone could have had for adding them. If we assume that Hesiod wanted to add the detail that the war had lasted ten years, he has done so in typical fashion, repeating his own thought and phraseology from 629, and so forming a ring—where there was no need for one.

635. **οἵ ῥα τότ'**: as if there had been a real digression; cf. on 68.

†μάχην θυμαλγέ' ἔχοντες: this phrase might be possible in itself (cf. *Sc.* 248 *μάχην ἔχον* = *ἐμάχοντο*), but not by the side of *ἐμάχοντο* in 636. Rzach adopts *χόλον* for *μάχην* from *r*. But although we have *χόλον θυμαλγέ' ἔχουσα* in fr. 318, *χόλον θυμαλγέα* also *Il.* 4. 513, 9. 260, 565, *χόλος* is not really in place here. The reading of *r* may be a Homeric reminiscence: Π^5 agrees with the other MSS. in *μά]χην*. Schoemann proposed *πόνον* as in 629. The repetition of the phrase would be Hesiodic enough, but as with *χόλον*, it would be hard to explain the assumed corruption: the influence of *ἐμάχοντο* below is

hardly sufficient. Wieseler, with characteristic ingenuity, suggested *ἀλλήλοισιν, ἄχη* (cf. *Od.* 4. 716 *ἄχος . . . θυμοφθόρον*). *ἄχεα* would be more normal, though *-η* has manuscript authority in *Il.* 7. 207, 22. 322, *Od.* 11. 185, and is a variant at *Il.* 15. 444, 24. 7. *ἀλλήλοισιν* would be construed with *ἐμάχοντο*. Wieseler's other suggestion *μόγον* is much less attractive. Other possibilities that might be considered are *μάχην, κρατέρ' ἄλγε' ἔχοντες* (*μάχην ἐμάχοντο Il.* 15. 414, 673, 18. 533, *Od.* 9. 54; *κρατέρ' ἄλγε' ἔχοντα Od.* 11. 582, 593, 17. 142; *θυμαλγέ' ἔχοντες* would have been written in careless repetition of 629); or *μάρναντο* for *ἐμάχοντο* (as in 629) with no change in 635.

636. **συνεχέως**: Homer has only *συνεχές* (twice). Aristophanes and Aristarchus wrote the adverb with two nus (sch.^{A} *Il.* 12. 26); *συννεχ-* is given by some or all MSS. in *Il.* 12. 26 (*Π*^{60} [*sic*], AB, etc.), *Od.* 9. 74 (J), Hesiod (*Π*^{5}*n*), Bacch. 5. 113 (second corrector), Nic. *Al.* 571? (*Π* according to Bussemaker), [Orph.] *A.* 1135. *σῡνεχ-* apparently without variant Arat. 20, Call. *H.* 2. 60, [Theocr.] 20. 12, A.R. 1. 1271, 2. 189, 738, Nic. *Al.* 304, Q.S. 14. 601, [Orph.] *A.* 721, *Or. Sib.* 1. 108, 390. The gemination would only be correct if the word were an Aeolism in epic. *(συ]ννέχει* Alc. 3. 4?) This does not seem to be the case, since Herodotus uses the word; and in Ionic **συνσεχ-* could only have developed into *σῡνεχ-*, or by analogy with the simple verb **σέχω* > *ἔχω*, **συνhεχ-* > *σῦνεχ-*. *σῡνεχέως* could be adequately accounted for by metrical lengthening alone (as *σῡνελάσας* fr. 204. 51; so Paulson, *Stud. Hes.*, p. 108, n. 2), and *σῡνεχές* by analogy.

δέκα: apparently a conventional length for great wars, probably resulting from use of the formulaic progression 'for nine years . . . and in the tenth . . .' (*Il.* 2. 328–9, of the Trojan War; cf. 803 below). This is no doubt an extension of the commoner progression 'for nine days . . . and on the tenth . . .' (721 ff., *Il.* 1. 54, 6. 175, 9. 474, etc.), which may be based on the division of the lunar month into three parts (Nilsson, *Op. Sel.* i. 46–47). The nine-ten progression has then been extended into other contexts than periods of time; cf. 787–92, fr. 275.

πλείους: *πλεῖος* is not used of periods of time in Homer. Cf. the word *πλειών* 'a full year', *Op.* 617, Call. *H.* 1. 89, etc. The meaning of *ἤματος ἐκ πλείου Op.* 778, *πλέῳ ἤματι* ib. 792, is uncertain; perhaps 'when the day is complete', or 'at midday', since the day is said to 'wax' like a month, *Od.* 9. 56 *ὄφρα μὲν ἠὼς ἦν καὶ ἀέξετο ἱερὸν ἦμαρ.*

637. **λύσις**: Hesiod uses the word in *Op.* 404; it also occurs at *Il.* 24. 655 ('ransom') and *Od.* 9. 421.

638. **οὐδετέροις**: also at *Sc.* 171. *οὐδετέρωσε* is Homeric.

ἶσον δὲ τέλος τέτατο πτολέμοιο: cf. *Il.* 12. 436 = 15. 413 *τῶν ἐπὶ ἶσα μάχη τέτατο πτόλεμός τε.* 20. 100 f. *εἰ δὲ θεός περ | ἶσον τείνειεν πολέμου τέλος.* The metaphor is from weighing by balance, as in 711 *ἐκλίνθη δὲ μάχη, Il.* 14. 510, 19. 223 f. *ἐπὴν κλίνῃσι τάλαντα | Ζεύς, ὅς τ' ἀνθρώπων ταμίης πολέμοιο τέτυκται.* Nonn. *D.* 2. 553 *ἰσοτύπου δὲ τάλαντα μάχης ἔκλινε Κρονίων. τέλος* means the fulfilment or decision of the war; cf. *Il.* 16. 630 *ἐν γὰρ χερσὶ τέλος πολέμου, ἐπέων δ' ἐνὶ βουλῇ. Op.* 669 *ἐν τοῖς γὰρ τέλος ἐστὶν ὁμῶς ἀγαθῶν τε κακῶν τε.*

639 ff. The repast of nectar and ambrosia is a symbolic ratification of the Hundred-Handers' return to the world of the upper gods and the termination of their punishment. Interdiction of the divine food is a feature of the penalties described in 795–804. Conversely the food which Persephone eats in the underworld entails her sojourn there. It is also relevant, however, that the provision of food for the newcomers before they talk business corresponds to normal epic courtesy; cf. *Il.* 24. 95 ff., *Od.* 5. 85 ff. The *ξενία τράπεζα* establishes a formal relationship between the parties. Finally one may refer to the advantages of food as a preparation for battle, so eloquently expounded by Odysseus in *Il.* 19. 155 ff.; on the invigorating properties of nectar and ambrosia in particular, cf. *h. Ap.* 127 ff.

639. **δὴ**: looking back to 624–8.

παρέσχεθεν: the subject is Zeus, to be understood from 624; we must look equally far back for the reference of *κείνοισι*. For the omission of the subject cf. on 112–13.

ἄρμενα πάντα: cf. *Sc.* 84 *ἄρμενα πάντα παρεῖχον*. Thgn. 275 *θρέψαιο καὶ ἄρμενα πάντα παράσχοις*, 695 *οὐ δύναμαί σοι, θυμέ, παρασχεῖν ἄρμενα πάντα*. Pi. *N.* 3. 58 *ἀτίταλλεν ἐν ἀρμένοισι πᾶσι θυμὸν αὔξων*. Numen. *ap.* Ath. 306c *τοῖσί κεν ἄρμενα πάντα παροπλίσσαιο δέλετρα*. The parallels confirm *ἄρμενα* against *ἅρματα* or *ἄρματα*, which is a variant both here and in *Sc.*, printed by Flach and Rzach (1884) and recently advocated by Solmsen (*Glotta*, 1958, pp. 127–30), who compares sch. *κυρίως ἅρματα, μεταστρέφει δὲ εἰς τὸ ὑγιές*. Helladius *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* 533 A 37 *καὶ ἄρμα δὲ ἡ τροφὴ παρὰ Ἱπποκράτει (?) καὶ πολλοῖς ἄλλοις*. Hippocr. *Aph.* 1. 15 *καὶ τὰ προσάρματα πλείω δοτέον . . . τροφῆς οὖν πλείονος δέονται*. This medical term, derived from (*προσ-*) *αἴρω*, was no doubt more familiar to scribes than the epic *ἄρμενα* (*ἀραρίσκω*), which, so far from being a 'Triviallesart', as Solmsen calls it, corresponds to a genuine archaic concept. Food 'keeps body and soul together' as we say (*δείπνησε καὶ ἤραρε θυμὸν ἐδωδῇ Od.* 5. 95, 14. 111), just as hunger, fatigue, despair, old age tend to produce the opposite effect: *Il.* 21. 114 *λύτο γούνατα καὶ φίλον ἦτορ*, 8. 103 *σὴ δὲ βίη λέλυται*, etc. Cf *θυμήρης, θυμάρμενος*.

640. **ἔδουσι**: we usually think of nectar as liquid and ambrosia as solid, but this distinction is not observed in early antiquity. Nectar is liquid in Homer, *Il.* 4. 3, 19. 38, 347, *Od.* 5. 93, *h. Dem.* 49, *Aphr.* 206, *Ap.* 10, etc. But Alcman (42) spoke of the gods 'eating nectar', and so does Anaxandrides fr. 57. Ambrosia, which corresponds etymologically to the *amṛta* drunk by the Indian gods, is also sometimes liquid in Homer (*Il.* 19. 38, 347, *Od.* 9. 359; used as an unguent, *Il.* 16. 680, *h. Dem.* 237; as a detergent, *Il.* 14. 170) and in [Hes.] fr. 23 (a) 16, Sapph. 141. 1, E. *Hipp.* 748, Anaxandr. l.c. But it seems to be solid in *Il.* 5. 777, *Od.* 5. 93 (cf. 94–95), *h. Ap.* 124 (cf. 127), and this is the usual later version. It closely resembles honey; cf. Ibyc. 44, Roscher, *Roscher*, i. 281 f. with literature, Onians, pp. 292–9.

641. **πάντων**: Heyne added *τ'*, so that the subordinate clause is continued and *ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ* in 639 is answered by *δὴ τότε* in 643 (as in

Il. 23. 722, *Od.* 3. 270, 12. 405, 14. 237, 288, 303). This has the advantage of satisfying our expectation that ἀλλ' ὅτε will introduce the resolution of the impasse described in 629–38. The same end would be attained by the excision of 641–2 (Paley; this would also make it possible to regard *πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε* as an expressed subject to *παρέσχεθεν*). Cf. on 642.

ἀέξετο θυμὸς: cf. fr. 317, *Il.* 17. 226, *Od.* 2. 315. Onians, p. 48.

642. Guyet condemned the line. *Π*[13] has it. If it is retained, it is surely to be taken with 643, with a full stop at the end of 641; and in that case we must write *ὡς νέκταρ δ'* with Triclinius. But this postponement of *δέ* goes beyond the limits elsewhere observed in Homer and Hesiod (*Op.* 46 *ἔργα βοῶν δ' ἀπόλοιτο* and 112 *ὥστε θεοὶ δ' ἔζωον* are the most extreme; at *h. Herm.* 510 Ludwich's punctuation *δεδαὼς ὁ δ'* is surely wrong, and in any case the hymn is comparatively late); and it would be hard to find a parallel for two successive sentences each beginning with a temporal clause, both temporal clauses referring to the same event.

Others have assumed that the line is an alternative to 640 (Hermann, Bergk), or that it should be placed before 640 (Goettling), introducing an epanalepsis: for this figure in Hesiod and Homer cf. p. 76. But 640 goes better after 639 than 642 does. The athetesis seems the most satisfactory solution.

νέκταρ τ' . . . καὶ ἀμβροσίην ἐρατεινήν: *Il.* 19. 347, 353, *h. Ap.* 124. *ἀμβροσίην ἐρατεινήν* also in [Hes.] fr. 23 (a) 22.

643. **μετέειπε**: *μετέειπε, μετεφώνεε, μετηύδα, μετέφη* are used in early epic only where more than one person is addressed. Cf. on 392.

644. **κέκλυτέ μευ**: a frequent way of opening an address (*Il.* 3. 86, 304, 456, 7. 67, 348, 368, 8. 5, 497, etc.; similarly *κλῦτε* 2. 56, 18. 52, *Od.* 4. 722, 6. 239, 14. 495, 15. 172), but only in speaking to more than one person: *κέκλυθι* and *κλῦθι* are confined to prayers.

Γαίης τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ: 147, 154 = 421, *Il.* 5. 769 = 8. 46.

645. The line occurs nine times in Homer, always following *κέκλυτέ μευ* and a vocative. Probably so also in fr. 75. 14.

646–8. Cf. 629, 631, 630.

ἐναντίοι ἀλλήλοισι: cf. also *Il.* 11. 67.

κάρτευς or *κάρτεος* is perhaps preferable as *difficilior lectio* to *κράτεος* of the codd., but *καρτ-* and *κρατ-* are so frequently interchanged in MSS. that their evidence counts for little. Cf. on 49.

πέρι μαρνάμεθ': in *Il.* 16. 497 Ptolemy Ascalonites preferred *περιμάρναο*, but it is better to write *divisim*. The test of whether words that stand together should be written together is whether they can also be used separately. In this case they can, cf. Tyrt. 9. 33 f. *μαρνάμενόν τε | γῆς πέρι*, Pi. *N.* 10. 85 *κασιγνήτου πέρι | μάρναται*. A valid caesura may exist between a noun and a disyllabic preposition following it, cf. fr. 124. 2 *νοσφιδίων ἔργων πέρι Κύπριδος*, Arat. 935, A.R. 1. 94 (codd.), 4. 1689, etc.; Bühler, op. cit. (on 142), pp. 223 ff. In Homer even disyllabic enclitics may count as separate words for the purposes of caesura, cf. *Il.* 3. 205 *ἤδη γὰρ καὶ δεῦρό ποτ' ἦλυθε δῖος*

Ὀδυσσεύς, 220, 10. 453, 19. 96, 416, 23. 668, 791, *Od.* 3. 188, 4. 544, 7. 322, 17. 352, 18. 376, 23. 125; Meister, *Die hom. Kunstsprache*, p. 4; O'Neill, *Yale Cl. St.* viii, 1942, p. 109; Bühler, pp. 221 f.

649. **μεγάλην . . . ἀάπτους**: cf. *Op.* 148 *μεγάλη δὲ βίη καὶ χεῖρες ἄαπτοι*, *Sc.* 75. Both these passages may be interpolations, cf. on 150–2 *ad fin.* Homer has *μένος καὶ χεῖρες ἄαπτοι*, *Il.* 7. 309, 8. 450 *al.* In the case of the Hundred-Handers, the *χεῖρες* are particularly in point.

The epithet *ἄαπτος* is only found with *χεῖρες* in early epic (19 times altogether). Its meaning and etymology are unknown. Aristophanes of Byzantium read *ἀέπτους* in *Il.* 1. 567.

650. **φαίνετε**: cf. 677 *χειρῶν τε βίης θ' ἅμα ἔργον ἔφαινον*, *Od.* 8. 237 *ἀρετὴν σὴν φαινέμεν*. So in the passive, 710 below, *Il.* 23. 375, etc.

ἐναντίον: cf. 631 *ἀντίον*. *r* has *ἐναντίοι*, as in 646. This is a frequent ancient variant in Homer (*Il.* 6. 54, 11. 219, 553, 12. 44, 15. 694, 19. 70; a manuscript variant also at 5. 12, 256, 6. 106, 247, 251, Q.S. 6. 391), and so far as we can tell, poets may have used both adjective and adverb indiscriminately.

ἐν δαῖ λυγρῇ: 674, *Il.* 13. 286, 24. 739.

651. **φιλότητος**: display of good will. In *Il.* 3. 354, *Od.* 15. 55, 158, the word again has a concrete sense, but the more limited one of 'hospitality'.

ἐνηέος: this obscure adjective is in Homer only applied to persons, usually *ἑταῖροι*.

ὅσσα παθόντες: Mazon takes this and the corresponding phrase *ἀνάελπτα παθόντες* in 660 in a good sense, referring to the return to the upper world; so Evelyn-White in 660, but not here. Mazon may well be right: both *πάσχω* and *ἄελπτος* can have either a good or a bad sense.

652. **ἆψ ἀφίκεσθε**: I see no way of deciding between this and *ἆψ ἵκεσθε*. The one could have arisen by haplography, the other by dittography.

653. **ἡμετέρας διὰ βουλὰς**: corresponding to the standard *Κρονίδεω διὰ βουλάς* (572) and the like (cf. 465 n.).

ὑπὸ ζόφου ἠερόεντος: cf. *h. Dem.* 337 *ἀπὸ ζόφου ἠερόεντος | ἐς φάος*, ib. 402, *Il.* 21. 56, 23. 51, *Od.* 11. 57, etc. On *ζόφος* cf. 123 and 618 nn., on *ἠερόεις* 118–19 n.

654. Various Homeric lines have a similar pattern; e.g. *Il.* 24. 424 *ὣς φάτο· γήθησεν δ' ὁ γέρων καὶ ἀμείβετο μύθῳ*, *Od.* 4. 382, *al.* *ὣς ἐφάμην· ἡ δ' αὐτίκ' ἀμείβετο δῖα γυναικῶν*, *h. Dem.* 145 *φῆ ῥα θεά· τὴν δ' αὐτίκ' ἀμείβετο παρθένος ἁδμής*.

αἶψ' αὖτις: *ἐξαῦτις* of the codd. may be an anticipation of 659, assisted by the preceding *-ον δ'* and the following *ἀμει-*, though the adverb is used in a similar context at *Od.* 24. 350 *ἐξαῦτις μύθοισιν ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπεν*. For *αἶψα* cf. 169 n. *αἶψ' αὖτις* at this place in the verse is found at *h. Herm.* 142. *αψ'* in *Π*[27] may have been caused by 652.

Κόττος: there is no obvious reason why Kottos is chosen as spokesman. Elsewhere Briareos is the one who stands out from the others; cf. 817–19, and 149 n.

655–63. Kottos' speech echoes that of Zeus. See on 170–2. But whereas Kronos' words repeat those of Gaia in the same order, Kottos retraces the themes of Zeus' speech in reverse order. There is a similar inversion in the report of a speech in A.R. 4. 1318–29 ~ 1347–62, presumably to avoid the tedium of straight repetition in the Homeric manner.

655. **δαιμόνι'**: oddly used in addressing Zeus, but cf. *Il.* 1. 561, 4. 31. Its tone is lightly rebuking, as, e.g., *Il.* 6. 407, 486, 521.

οὐκ ἀδάητα πιφαύσκεαι: a markedly elevated equivalent of *οὐκ ἄγνωστα λέγεις*. *ἀδάητος* occurs nowhere else in early literature.

Some MSS. have *πιφάσκεαι*. This is a common variant in Homer too, the confusion of *α* and *αυ*, which is itself frequent in minuscule (cf. F. J. Bast, *Commentatio palaeogr.*, p. 1; Allen on *h. Dem.* 392), being encouraged in this case by false association with *φάσκω*. *πιφαύσκω* is from the root *φαϝ*, and means originally 'bring to light', 'show forth': *Il.* 21. 333 *πιφαύσκεο φλόγα*, 12. 280, 15. 97, *h. Ap.* 444. Hence *μῦθον πιφαυσκέμεν Od.* 11. 442 (like *φαΐνε δ' ἀοιδήν* 8. 499, *ἔφαινε τὸν ἐόντα λόγον* Hdt. 1. 116. 5) and *πιφαύσκω* or *-ομαι* absolute = 'say'.

656. **ἴδμεν ὅ τοι**: *Il.* 8. 32, 463, 18. 197. Hermann's correction of *ὅτι* is anticipated by X^2 and confirmed by Π^6 and Π^{27}; the traces in Π^{13} are too uncertain to be of help. Cf. also *Il.* 10. 244 *οὗ περὶ μὲν πρόφρων κραδίη καὶ θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ*. It is only fair to say, however, that had papyri not supported Hermann, Homeric usage would rather have favoured Wolf's *ἴδμεν ὅτι περὶ μὲν πραπίδας, περὶ δ' ἐσσὶ νόημα*: *Il.* 20. 434 *οἶδα δ' ὅτι σὺ μὲν ἐσθλός* (*ὅτι* also *Or. Sib.* 14. 4, Procl. *H.* 6. 42), *Il.* 1. 258 *οἳ περὶ μὲν βουλὴν Δαναῶν, περὶ δ' ἐστὲ μάχεσθαι*, 8. 27, 9. 53, 13. 631 = 17. 171, 279, *Od.* 1. 66, 18. 248, 19. 326.

πραπίδες . . . νόημα: cf. 43 (a) 51 *προύχεσκε νοήματά τε πραπ[ίδας τε*, *Il.* 24. 40 *οὔτ' ἀρ φρένες . . . οὔτε νόημα*. *Op.* 129, *Sc.* 88 *οὔτε φυὴν . . . οὔτε νόημα*.

Kottos' compliment seems to be a comment on *ἡμετέρας διὰ βουλάς*.

657. **ἀλκτὴρ δ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἀρῆς**: cf. *Sc.* 28 f. *ὄφρα θεοῖσιν | ἀνδράσι τ' ἀλφηστῆσιν ἀρῆς ἀλκτῆρα φυτεύσαι*. The phrase *ἀρῆς ἀλκτήρ* also occurs in *Il.* 18. 100, *Sc.* 128, and Zenodotus read it in *Il.* 14. 485, and probably also 18. 213, where the vulgate is *ἄρεως* or *ἄρεος*. Aristarchus read *ἄρεω* in all three Homeric passages. Cf. also *ἀλεξιάρης Op.* 464; *ἀρὴν . . . ἀμύνειν Il.* 12. 334, 16. 512, 24. 489, *Od.* 2. 59. The noun *ἀρή* 'harm' is not to be confused with *ἀρή* < **ἀρϝά* 'prayer' or 'curse'. *ἀλκτήρ* is one who provides *ἀλκή*, strength of resistance, against a thing.

κρυεροῖο: the metaphorical use of *κρυερός* is the only one found in Homer. For the masculine instead of feminine ending cf. 406 n. Hesiod could have said *κρυοέσσης*. The variant in L is not *κρατεροῖο* but *κρατερῶς*, and therefore began as a gloss; it becomes *κρατεροῖο* in Par. 2834.

658. The line corresponds to 653.

659. **ἄψορρον ἐξαῦτις**: some MSS. have an intrusive *δ'*, possibly from 654 (see ad loc.); in LTr this appears as *ἄψορρόνδ'*, but an adverb so formed is not possible.

Three attempts to make sense of the δ' may be mentioned. Lascaris (following *k*) had written *σῆσιν ἐπιφρ.* in 658 (in the margin *ἢ σῆς δ' ὑποφραδμοσύνῃσι*), and he then indicated by a marginal *β* and *α* that 658 and 659 might or should be transposed: this was duly done in the Emmanuel College apograph, though not in Par. 2776. It is most unlikely that Lascaris had manuscript authority for the transposition, and the order of 652–3 is against it, since Kottos is going through Zeus' speech in reverse. The same applies to Wilamowitz's transposition of the first hemistichs of the two lines (*Hermes*, 63, 1928, p. 371 = *Kl. Schr.* iv. 456).

Stadtmüller altered δ' *ἐξαῦτις* to *δεῦρ' αὖτις* (*δεῦρ' αὖθις πάλιν* S. *Tr.* 342), arguing that something is wanted to correspond to *ἐς φάος* in 652. But such exact correspondence is not to be expected, and there are easier ways of explaining the δ'.

I see no point in the *ἄψορροι* which Rzach proposed in *Wien. St.* 19, 1897, 25 (it is a variant for *ἄψορρον* in *Il.* 24. 330, *h. Ap.* 436), except that hiatus is more frequent than lengthening in arsis (pp. 95 f.).

ἀμειλίκτων ὑπὸ δεσμῶν: corresponding to *δυσηλεγέος ὑπὸ δεσμοῦ* 652. For *ὑπὸ* see on 501. Elsewhere in early epic *ἀμείλικτος* is only used of things that might be objects of the verb *μειλίσσειν*: *ὄπα* (*Il.* 11. 137, 21. 98), *Στυγὸς ὕδωρ* (*h. Dem.* 259).

660. Κρόνου υἱὲ: cf. *Il.* 13. 345 *Κρόνου νἷε* (dual, Zeus and Poseidon). Otherwise Zeus is never called Kronos' *υἱός* in Homer, only his *παῖς*: in *h. Dem.* 18 and 32 *Κρόνου πολυώνυμος υἱός* is Hades.

ἀνάελπτα: if in a good sense, referring to their release, 'unhoped for'; if in a bad sense, referring to their imprisonment, either 'unexpected' implying undeserved, or 'hopeless', without hope of release, as perhaps *h. Ap.* 91 *ἀέλπτοις ὠδίνεσσι πέπαρτο*. Cf. on 651. The use of *ἀνα-* as a negative prefix is a development from that of *ἀν-* before vowels. Cf. *ἀνάπνευστος* 797, *ἀνάεδνος Il.* 9. 146, 288, 13. 366; *Suda ἀνάπταιστον· τὸ μὴ πταῖον*, and *ἀνάπηρος* as defined by Diogenes the Cynic, D.L. 6. 33. *ἀνάγνωστον* is f.l. in Call. fr. 620. Cf. Debrunner, § 55; A. C. Moorhouse, *Studies in the Greek Negative*, pp. 50, 54 f.

r gives *ἄελπτα*, probably a mere mistake, though *ἀέλπτος* has a long first syllable in fr. 204. 95 (in arsis) and perhaps [Pythag.] *carm.* [*aur.*] 53. *ἀνάεπτα*, 'unspeakable things', is a possibility suggested by A. *Suppl.* 908 *ἄεπτ' ἄναξ πάσχομεν*, which is curiously like an echo of this line.

661. ἀτενεῖ: first here. Cf. Pi. *N.* 7. 88 *νόῳ φιλήσαντ' ἀτενέϊ*.

πρόφρονι θυμῷ: the reading suggested by *Π*[13] is much more suitable than *ἐπίφρονι βουλῇ*, 'sensible consideration', which seems to be a reminiscence of 122. Cf. *Od.* 16. 257 *ὅ κέν τις νῶιν ἀμύνοι πρόφρονι θυμῷ* and below, 677.

662. ῥυσόμεθα: this does not necessarily imply that the Titans are the aggressors, as argued by Schwenn, p. 39.

ἐν αἰνῇ δηιοτῆτι: *Il.* 13. 207, etc.

663. ἀνὰ κρατερὰς ὑσμίνας: a variant for *κατὰ κρ. ὑσμ.* at *Il.* 2. 345 (two papyri), 5. 200 and 12. 347. Cf. on 631. *Π*[13] had *ἀνὰ κρατερὴν*

ὑσμείνην, *a* had *ἐνὶ κρατερῇ ὑσμίνῃ*: cf. *Il.* 7. 18 (*ἐνὶ κρατερῇ ὑσμίνῃ* vulg., *ἀνὰ κρ. ὑσμίνην* one MS.). Variation in manuscripts between the singular and plural of *ὑσμίνη* is also found at *Il.* 11. 190, 12. 360, 15. 562; variation between prepositions also at *Il.* 13. 383 (*κατὰ* / *διὰ κρ. ὑσμίνην*).

664. **ὣς φάτ', ἐπῄνησαν δὲ**: cf. *Il.* 7. 344 = 9. 710 *ὣς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἐπῄνησαν βασιλῆες*. 23. 539, *Od.* 4. 673, *al. ὣς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἐπῄνεον*. In all the Homeric passages a proposal or request has been made; Hesiod's line does not fit this typical pattern.

Q p.c. and apparently Π^5 (*επ[.]ν[. .]εαν*) give *ἐπήνεσσαν*; other MSS. have the vulgar form *ἐπῄνεσαν*. There are similar variants at *Op.* 12, *Il.* 2. 335, 9. 710, 24. 30, A.R. 3. 194 (see Vian's apparatus). No certain decision is possible. At *Il.* 7. 344 the MSS. have only *-ησαν* or *-εσαν*, while at 21. 290, 23. 552, *Od.* 16. 380 they apparently have *-ησ-* without variant. Cf. on 497, and Wackernagel, pp. 180 f.

665. **πολέμου δ' ἐλιλαίετο θυμὸς**: cf. *Il.* 3. 133 *λιλαιόμενοι πολέμοιο*, 16. 89 *λιλαίεσθαι πολεμίζειν*. *πόλεμος* = 'fighting', as often.

666. **μᾶλλον ἔτ' ἢ τὸ πάροιθε**: *Od.* 1. 322.

ἀμέγαρτον: on this word cf. Buttmann, *Lexil.*, pp. 409–11.

ἔγειραν: cf. 713, *Il.* 5. 496, 20. 31, etc.

667. **θήλειαί τε καὶ ἄρσενες**: cf. *h. Herm.* 494; *Il.* 8. 7 *μήτε τις . . . θήλεια θεὸς . . . μήτε τις ἄρσην*. Cf. on 197.

ἤματι κείνῳ: 836, *Il.* 2. 37, *al.*

668 = 630.

669. Cf. on 147 and 618.

ἐρέβεσφιν: I adopt this reading with some hesitation, as *ἐρέβευσφιν*, although an entirely anomalous form, is well attested here and elsewhere (*Il.* 9. 572 vulg., *h. Dem.* 349 M (cod. unicus). *ἐρέβεσφι* is attested as a form by Theognostus, *An. Ox.* ii. 160. 20 Cramer.

ἧκε φόωσδε: *Il.* 2. 309. *ἵημι* is here used as in 157.

670. **βίην ὑπέροπλον ἔχοντες**: Mimn. 12. 3. Cf. on 516.

671–3. See on 150–2. Sittl points out that *τότε* in 674 (cf. 68 n.) shows that the lines are genuine here: Wolf had condemned them.

674. **Τιτήνεσσι κατέσταθεν ἐν δαῒ λυγρῇ**: a phrase like E. *HF* 1168 *ἐς πόλεμον ὑμῖν καὶ μάχην καθίσταται*, Hdt. 3. 45. 2 *καταπλέουσι δὲ . . . Πολυκράτης νησῖν ἀντιάσας ἐς μάχην κατέστη*.

675. **πέτρας**: the Hundred-Handers fight with natural, not manufactured weapons; so do the Centaurs and Laestrygonians, and in some accounts the Giants (186 n.).

ἠλιβάτους: used to express the enormous size of detached rocks, as in *Od.* 9. 243, Strabo 818. Possibly the huge isolated rock formations which stand so impressively in the north-west extremity of the Thessalian plain at Meteora were thought to be remnants of the Titanomachy.

στιβαρῇς ἐν χερσὶν: cf. 715. *στιβαρὰς* is clearly an error, though Apollonius applies the word to rocks (2. 598 codd., 3. 1057, 1372, 4. 1638).

676–7. Cf. *Il.* 12. 415–16 *Ἀργεῖοι δ' ἑτέρωθεν ἐκαρτύναντο φάλαγγας* (= 11. 215) | *τείχεος ἔντοσθεν, μέγα δέ σφισι φαίνετο ἔργον.* The Olympians were pelted with missiles in their turn (cf. 684); by using the vague *ἐκαρτύναντο φάλαγγας* Hesiod avoids conjuring up this uncomfortable picture.

ἑτέρωθεν: cf. also *Il.* 1. 247.

φάλαγγας: the word must have been used long before the introduction of hoplite fighting, in which it acquired a more specialized sense.

χειρῶν . . . ἔφαινον: cf. 710 *κάρτευς δ' ἀνεφαίνετο ἔργον.* It is possible that we should write *τ'* *ἀνὰ* for *θ'* *ἅμα* here; cf. also *h. Herm.* 15 f. *ἔμελλεν* | *ἀμφανέειν κλυτὰ ἔργα*, Q.S. 5. 65 *ἀνεφαίνετο δ' ἄσπετον ἔργον.* But the simple verb is used elsewhere (*Il.* 11. 734 *φάνη μέγα ἔργον Ἄρηος*, 12. 416 above, *h.* vii. 34; in other senses of *ἔργον*, *Od.* 10. 98, 22. 149, A.R. 3. 425), and *ἅμα* goes quite well with *ἀμφότεροι.*

678. **περίαχε**: p. 83. *ἰάχειν* of the sea, *Il.* 1. 482 = *Od.* 2. 428.

πόντος ἀπείρων: Homer has only *ἀπείρον* {α, ι} *πόντ*{ον, ω}, but *Il.* 24. 545 *Ἑλλήσποντος ἀπείρων.*

679. **γῆ**: 106 n.

ἐπέστενε: Homeric *ἐπιστενάχειν.*

οὐρανὸς εὐρύς: *Il.* 3. 364, etc.

680. **πεδόθεν**: *funditus. Od.* 13. 295 *μύθων τε κλοπίων οἵ τοι πεδόθεν φίλοι εἰσίν.*

681. **ῥιπῇ ὕπ' ἀθανάτων**: 849. Cf. *Il.* 8. 354 f. *οἵ κεν δὴ κακὸν οἶτον ἀναπλήσαντες ὄλωνται* | *ἀνδρὸς ἑνὸς ῥιπῇ.* 14. 414 *ὡς δ' ὅθ' ὑπὸ ῥιπῆς πατρὸς Διὸς ἐξερίπῃ δρῦς. h. Ap.* 445 ff. *αἱ δ' ὀλόλυξαν* | . . . | *Φοίβου ὑπὸ ῥιπῆς· μέγα γὰρ δέος ἔμβαλ' ἑκάστῳ.*

ἔνοσις: an un-Homeric word, again at 706 and 849.

ἵκανε βαρεῖα: for the position of the adjective cf., for example, *Op.* 16 *Ἔριν τιμῶσι βαρεῖαν*, 201 above *Ἴμερος ἔσπετο καλός.* A delayed adjective is much more often put at the beginning of the next line.

682. **τάρταρον ἠερόεντα**: it is a typical feature of a theomachy that its effects are felt even in the underworld. Cf. 700, 841, 850 ff. (and note), *Il.* 15. 222–5.

ποδῶν, αἰπεῖά τ' ἰωή: the appearance on papyrus of Hermann's *ποδῶν τ' αἰπεῖα ἰωή* will seem to many a certain proof of its rightness. But its difficulties seem to me insuperable: (*a*) if *ποδῶν* is made the qualification of *ἰωή*, 683 is left without construction. The genitive could not express 'noise of feet from the incessant pursuit' (Paley; similarly Evelyn-White, Mazon). (*b*) *ἰωή* is used of human cries (*Il.* 10. 139, S. *Ph.* 216, A.R. 1. 1136, 3. 708, Nonn. *D.* 15. 300), of the sound of the lyre (*Od.* 17. 261), of the wind (*Il.* 4. 276, 11. 308, A.R. 1. 1299, 4. 1628), of fire (*Il.* 16. 127), of clashing armour (Colluth. 56). Always a bright, clear sound; and here surely the shouting of the combatants (685–6), not the dull thud of running feet. (*c*) This is confirmed by *αἰπεῖα.* The word is not elsewhere applied to sounds, so far as I know, but it has an exact analogue in *ὄρθιος*, and so presumably means 'shrill' or 'high-pitched'. Feet do not emit shrill cries. Clearly, *ποδῶν* must qualify *ἔνοσις*, the shaking caused by the

gods' feet as they charged about; for the thought cf. 842. The genitive is of the epexegetic kind (logically dispensable, but adding completeness to the sense) that often stands at the end of the sentence, apart from the word on which it grammatically depends. Cf. 709 f. *ὅτοβος δ' ἄπλητος ὀρώρει | σμερδαλέης ἔριδος, Il.* 2. 465 f. *αὐτὰρ ὑπὸ χθὼν | σμερδαλέον κονάβιζε ποδῶν αὐτῶν τε καὶ ἵππων.* More often with participles: *Il.* 2. 153 f. *ἀϋτὴ δ' οὐρανὸν ἶκεν | οἵκαδε ἰεμένων*, 12. 338 ff., 21. 522 f. A prose writer might have said *ἀπὸ τῶν ποδῶν*. Cf. also on 82. The text of the codd. and *Et. gen.* is rightly retained by Gerhard and Schoemann, and wrongly by Jacoby (with comma before *ποδῶν*).

684–5. There is a general similarity to *Il.* 17. 424 f. *ὣς οἱ μὲν μάρναντο, σιδήρειοι δ' ὀρυμαγδὸς | χάλκεον οὐρανὸν ἶκε δι' αἰθέρος ἀτρυγέτοιο.*

ἴεσαν: *Π*[29] apparently had *ὣς ἄρ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ἔ]φεσαν στονόεντ[α βέλεμνα*, cf. *Od.* 24. 180 *αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' ἄλλοις ἐφίει βέλεα στονόεντα* (v.l. *στονόεντα βέλεμνα*).

βέλεα στονόεντα: *Il.* 17. 374, etc.

φωνὴ . . . ἵκετ' οὐρανὸν: a commonplace type of expression not reserved for such mighty events as theomachies. *Il.* 2. 153 (above), 12. 338, 13. 837, 14. 60, 15. 686, 17. 424 (above), Sapph. 44. 26.

686. οἱ δὲ ξύνισαν μεγάλῳ ἀλαλητῷ: *Il.* 14. 393. Cf. 21. 387 *σὺν δ' ἔπεσον μεγάλῳ πατάγῳ*. For the dative cf. on 69; on *ξυν-* 347 n. *ad fin.*

687. Zeus now has his aristeia. We need not suppose that he had really been abstaining from the fight. It is the description of his activity that has been retarded, not the activity itself. Hesiod wanted first to describe the battle at large, a description which applies to the time before the intervention of the Hundred-Handers as much as to the time after. For the transition from general to particular with the phrase *οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτι . . . ἴσχεν ἑὸν μένος*, cf. 853 *Ζεὺς δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν κόρθυνεν ἑὸν μένος* (and note), *Il.* 21. 385 ff. *ἐν δ' ἄλλοισι θεοῖσιν Ἔρις πέσε βεβριθυῖα* (general description) . . . 391 *ἔνθ' οἵ γ' οὐκέτι δηρὸν ἀφέστασαν· ἦρχε γὰρ Ἄρης | ῥινοτόρος, καὶ πρῶτος Ἀθηναίῃ ἐπόρουσε*, etc.; ib. 305 *οὐδὲ Σκάμανδρος ἔληγε τὸ ὃν μένος, ἀλλ' ἔτι μᾶλλον | χώετο Πηλείωνι.*

ἴσχεν: *ἔσχεν b*, a common confusion (*Il.* 2. 247, 11. 848, 21. 303, *h. Ap.* 128).

ἀλλά νυ: *Op.* 513, 684. An un-Homeric combination.

688. **εἶθαρ**: an Iliadic word (nine times), probable in fr. 1. 12.

μένεος πλῆντο φρένες: cf. *Sc.* 429, *Il.* 1. 103–4, 17. 499 *ἀλκῆς καὶ σθένεος πλῆτο φρένας*, ib. 573, 13. 60 *ἀμφοτέρω κεκοπὼς πλῆσεν μένεος κρατεροῖο. μένος* often means not so much actual physical strength as a conscious feeling of strength: cf. *Il.* 17. 20–23 *οὔτ' οὖν παρδάλιος τόσσον μένος . . . | ὅσσον Πάνθου υἷες ἐυμμελίαι φρονέουσιν.*

δέ τε: here entirely equivalent in meaning to *δέ*. See Denniston, p. 531. *δέ γε* (S) is impossible; the combination never occurs in epic, early or late. S has *τε* for *γε* in 687.

689. **φαΐνε**: cf. on 650.

ἄμυδις: binding *οὐρανοῦ* and *Ὀλύμπου* together, cf. *Od.* 5. 467 *ἄμυδις στίβη τε κακὴ καὶ θῆλυς ἔέρση*, A.R. 1. 961, 2. 47, *al.*

ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἠδ' ἀπ' Ὀλύμπου: Olympus is still the mountain, but this close conjunction with *οὐρανός* foreshadows the complete equation of the two. Similarly *Il.* 5. 750 *τῆς ἐπιτέτραπται μέγας οὐρανὸς Οὔλυμπός τε*. For the anaphora of the preposition cf. p. 76.

690. **ἔστειχε**: 842 n.

συνωχαδόν: qualifying *ἀστράπτων*. On adverbs in *-δόν* cf. Shipp, op. cit. (on 266), pp. 61–62.

οἱ δὲ: article with the noun already implied by a preceding verb, as in the Homeric *αὐτὰρ ἐπεί ῥ' ὅμοσέν τε τελεύτησέν τε τὸν ὅρκον*.

κεραυνοὶ: the first instance of the plural.

691. **ἴκταρ**: first here. The word means 'close', and is more often used as a preposition. Hesychius glosses it, *inter alia*, *πυκνῶς*, sc. close to each other; but it may mean rather 'close to the target', cf. Pl. *Rep.* 575c *καὶ ταῦτα δὴ πάντα πρὸς τύραννον . . . τὸ λεγόμενον οὐδ' ἴκταρ βάλλει*, 'do not come within striking distance of' him. The same expression in Ael. *NA* 15. 29. The original meaning of the word may have been 'striking', if the root is the same as in Latin *icere* (cf. Frisk s.v.).

ποτέοντο: *πέτεσθαι* is used of missiles, e.g. *Il.* 5. 99, 282, 20. 99; cf. 19. 357 *ὡς δ' ὅτε ταρφειαὶ νιφάδες Διὸς ἐκποτέονται*, S. *OC* 1460 *Διὸς πτερωτὸς . . . βροντή*, Ar. *Av.* 576 *πτερόεντα κεραυνόν*, ib. 1714 *κεραυνὸν πτεροφόρον Διὸς βέλος*, Virg. *A.* 5. 319 *fulminis ocior alis*.

692. **χειρὸς ἄπο στιβαρῆς**: *Il.* 14. 455, 23. 843.

ἱερὴν: Schulze, p. 212, suggests that *ἱερός* here and in a number of other places is a different word from *ἱερός sacer*, and means 'swift' (A.R. 3. 1303 *θοὴν φλόγα*). But see P. Wülfing-v. Martitz, *Glotta*, 39, 1961, p. 26 *et circ.*, who shows that *ἱερός* can be used of anything closely associated with a god.

φλόγα εἰλυφόωντες: cf. fr. 406 *ἄνεμος φλόγα εἰλυφάζων*, *Il.* 20. 492, 11. 155–6.

693. **ἀμφὶ δὲ γαῖα**: cf. 839 (again an effect of Zeus' thunder).

φερέσβιος: *h. Ap.* 341 (*γαῖα φ.*), *Dem.* 450–1, 469, xxx. 9. Rzach's apparatus is inaccurate; *n* has *φερέσβιος*.

ἐσμαράγιζε: cf. 679. *σμαραγέω* is the usual form.

694. **καιομένη**: cf. 861.

λάκε: Theocritus uses the by-form *λᾱκεῖν* of bay-leaves crackling in the fire (2. 24).

ἀμφὶ περὶ: *περὶ* for *πυρὶ* is given by Vat. 1469 according to Goettling. I have not checked this. It can only be a scribal accident, as the MS. is copied from L; but I believe it to be right. Cf. *Il.* 21. 10 *ὄχθαι δ' ἀμφὶ περὶ μεγάλ' ἴαχον*, 23. 191. *πυρὶ* would make the word order rather too involved. The cheapening intrusion of the word is paralleled in 847, where most MSS. have *πυρὶ* for *δὲ contra metrum*, 856, which the renaissance grammarian Phavorinus quotes in the form *ἔπρεσε θεσπιδαεῖ πυρὶ κεφαλάς*, Call. *H.* 4. 201, Q.S. 5. 356. *περὶ* is corrupted to *πυρὶ* in A.R. 3. 291 and Nic. *Th.* 240, both times aided by the context; the reverse corruption is more common (cf. on 802).

μεγάλ': qualifying *λάκε*. For its position cf. on 173.

ἄσπετος ὕλη: cf. *Il.* 2. 455, 23. 127, 24. 784, *h.* xxvi. 10. These are all accusative, and all except the last are in the context of fire.

S has *ἄσχετος*, possibly from a variant to 698 (see n.). At [Opp.] *C.* 2. 135 the same manuscript has *ἄσπετα* where the rest have *ἄσχετα*.

695. **ἔζεε δὲ χθὼν πᾶσα**: 847, cf. 861 ff. So in Hebrew literature the mountains melt at the approach of Jehovah, cf. Isa. lxiv. 1, Ps. xcvii. 5, Hab. iii. 6, Mic. i. 4, Nah. i. 5; Kroll, *Gott u. Hölle*, pp. 359 f.

The phrase *χθὼν πᾶσα* recurs in *Il.* 2. 780 *ὡς εἴ τε πυρὶ χθὼν πᾶσα νέμοιτο*.

Ὠκεανοῖο ῥέεθρα: *Il.* 23. 205.

696. **ἄμφεπε**: of fire, *Il.* 16. 124, 18. 348, *Od.* 8. 437.

θερμὸς ἀυτμὴ: *h. Herm.* 110. Other similarly shaped phrases with adjective of masculine form are *Od.* 12. 369 *ἡδὺς ἀυτμή*, 6. 122 *θῆλυς ἀυτή* (v.l. *ἀυτμή*). Cf. on 406. Rzach and Jacoby report that Par. 2833 has *θέρμη*: this is correct, but it should have been added that *ἀυτμή* is missing. So in the other *m* MSS., and in one copy of L (Laur. 31. 20).

697. **χθονίους**: equivalent to *ὑποχθονίους*, as usual. Of course the Titans were not then in the underworld, but they are now: a typical anticipation, see on 465. So Schoemann, p. 338. It may be thought that it does not say much for Zeus' aim that while earth, sky, and sea crashed and seethed, the Titans merely felt the *θερμὸς ἀυτμή*. But Hesiod cannot allow Zeus' bolts to be more effective than this, because it is the Hundred-Handers who must overwhelm the Titans.

Another possibility is that Hesiod means that the heat from Zeus' bolts was felt even in the underworld, where the Titans now are (cf. on 682).

It is not necessary to assume with Lisco that the passage was originally composed for a different battle, viz. that with Typhoeus.

Two further interpretations have been advocated. (*a*) *χθονίους* = *ἐπιχθονίους*. So van Lennep; Schwenn, pp. 37–39; Pizzagalli, *Mito e poesia*, p. 150, 'che combattevano dalla terra, che sembravano terreni a Giove che li fulminava dall'alto *ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἠδ' ἀπ' Ὀλύμπου*'. For such a sense of *χθόνιος*, however, one might have to look as far as [Orph.] *εὐχή* 33 and sch. Synes. cited by Quandt, ad loc. (*b*) *χθονίους* = *γηγενέας*. So Guyet, Wolf, Goettling–Flach, Schoemann, Aly. The difficulty of this is that *Γαῖα* is not called *Χθών* in epic (A. *PV* 205 *Χθονὸς τέκνα*, *Eum.* 6 *παῖς Χθονός*). The use of a matronymic would itself be unusual (1002 n.), though we have *Γαιήιον υἱόν* in *Od.* 7. 324. Cf. S. *Aj.* 202 *χθονίων ἀπ' Ἐρεχθειδᾶν*, E. *Ba.* 538.

αἰθέρα: the correction of *ἠέρα* first proposed by Naber (*Mnem.* 1855, p. 207) must be accepted. *ἀήρ* in early epic always means mist, darkness, the stuff of invisibility, etc.; it is a substance with no fixed location, and not a part of the world framework. *ἠέρα* has parallels in, and may have been read by, Quintus (13. 464 quoted on 698, cf. 3. 715; *contra* *αἰθήρ* 8. 468), but Quintus uses *ἀήρ* and *αἰθήρ* without distinction. The corruption may have been due to the Alexandrian dogma that *ἀήρ* means the lower atmosphere (cf. sch.A *Il.* 14. 288,

Eust. 986. 20, Hsch. s.v.) and that thunderbolts belong there (cf. Lucan 2. 269–71, Serv. *Aen.* 8. 454, Nonn. *D.* 14. 406). But it may be a pre-Alexandrian corruption, see on 9; the two words are variants in other places, cf. *Od.* 19. 540, A.R. 1. 777, Q.S. 3. 708, [Orph.] *A.* 181. ἠέρα is a probable corruption for αἰθέρα at Nonn. *D.* 7. 34 (Koechly, comparing 6. 358).

δῖαν: the epithet tends to confirm αἰθέρα, cf. *Od.* 19. 540 αἰθέρα δῖαν (ἠέρα v.l. *ap.* Eust.), *Il.* 16. 365, *h. Dem.* 70, Emped. 109. 2, *GVI* 1903. 13, [Orph.] *A.* 314, *L.* 648, though later we also meet δίης ἠέρος Call. fr. 1. 34, cf. Q.S. 3. 715, 13. 464. *m* gives δῖον (*γρ.* δίον L^2); this is also a variant in *Od.* and Emped. ll. cc., Q.S. 3. 715, cf. A. *PV* 88 ὦ δῖος αἰθήρ, Q.S. 2. 467, 5. 492, Orph. fr. 70. *Αἰθήρ* is masculine in 124 (cf. ad loc.), but δῖαν is normal in the formula.

ἵκανεν: this too supports αἰθέρα, cf. *Il.* 13. 837 (ἠχὴ) ἵκετ' αἰθέρα, 15. 686 αἰθέρ' ἵκανεν, Sapph. 44. 26 ἵκα]νε δ' ἐς ἀΐθ[ερα. There is no parallel for ἠέρα ἱκάνειν.

698. **ἄσπετος**: Rzach (ed. 1884) suggested ἄσχετος, which might be supported by three considerations. (*a*) In A.R. 3. 1048 the best supported reading is (φλὸξ) ἄσχετος (LASG; ἄσπετος PE). (*b*) In *Il.* 16. 123 we have ἀσβέστη . . . φλόξ. ἄσχετος would be nearer in sense than ἄσπετος to the Homeric epithet. (*c*) In 694 one MS. has ἄσχετος where it cannot be right. This might be due to a marginal variant to 698. Conversely, if ἄσχετος was the original text here, ἄσπετος might have been written in reminiscence of 694. The two words are also confused at *Il.* 13. 139, Q.S. 2. 250, 3. 487, 11. 436, cf. on 694. ἄσπετος may have been read here by Quintus, cf. 12. 199 καίετο δ' ἀὴρ | ἄσπετον, 13. 464–5 φλὸξ δ' ἄρ' ἐς ἠέρα δῖαν ἀνέγρετο· πέπτατο δ' αἴγλη | ἄσπετος (both in passages clearly imitating this passage in Hesiod).

ὅσσε δ' ἄμερδε . . . | αὐγὴ: *Il.* 13. 340, cf. *Od.* 8. 64.

καὶ ἰφθίμων περ ἐόντων: cf. *Op.* 704, *Il.* 16. 620. I am not sure whether the reference is actually to the Titans, or to anyone (however tough) who might have been there, with ἄμερδε in a potential sense.

699. **μαρμαίρουσα**: an Iliadic word (nine times).

700. **καῦμα**: 844, *Op.* 415, 588. Once in Homer, *Il.* 5. 865.

θεσπέσιον: of course with καῦμα (Solmsen, *Stud. Ital.* 1950, p. 237, n. 1), not with χάος (Jacoby, indices, s.vv.).

χάος: the region below the earth, see on 116 and 682.

ἄντα: it makes no difference whether this is construed with εἴσατο (*Il.* 24. 630 θεοῖσι γὰρ ἄντα ἐῴκει) or with ἰδεῖν (*Od.* 11. 143 ἐσάντα ἰδεῖν, 5. 217, 15. 532, etc., *Sc.* 432, fr. 25. 10, 193. 3). Sittl conjectured ἄντην, because of Scheer's observation that Homer always has this form in the first and sixth feet; but this does not hold where there is a dependent genitive (*Il.* 2. 626, 16. 621, 17. 29), and is hardly sufficient basis for a textual change, despite Call. *H.* 3. 63 οὔτ' ἄντην ἰδέειν οὔτε κτύπον οὔασι δέχθαι.

701. **ὄσσαν ἀκοῦσαι**: cf. *Od.* 1. 282, 2. 216, *h. Herm.* 443. ὄσσα here means no more than 'sound'; cf. 10 n. for Hesiod's unspecific use of the word.

702. ὡς ὅτε: following *εἵσατο* as in *Od.* 5. 281, though there without a subordinate verb.

The syntax of this simile is abnormal. In Homer we find either (*a*) *ὡς ὅτε* (less often *ὡς εἰ* or *ὥς τε*) with present or aorist indicative or subjunctive, or without a verb, when the reference is to something that sometimes happens; or (*b*) *ὡς εἰ* with optative, usually for something that could be imagined to happen but is not a matter of ordinary experience (*Il.* 2. 780, 22. 410, *h. Herm.* 349); or (*c*) *ὡς ὅτ'* or *ὡς ὁπότ'* with imperfect or aorist indicative, referring to a single historical event. This type is only found in speeches, and all the examples are of the type 'I wish that I might . . . as when . . .', e.g. *Il.* 7. 133 ff., *Od.* 20. 66 ff.

It is not clear whether Hesiod is presenting the collapse of heaven upon earth as something which once took place, or only as something that could be imagined to take place. If the former, which *ὡς ὅτε . . . πίλνατο* leads one to expect, it might be a reference to the Separation Myth (154–210 n.). In the Orphic *Lithica* we read that when Uranos was castrated, he tried to crash down on the earth and destroy everything, so that Kronos should have no kingdom (645–51). The difficulty of this interpretation is 703 *τοῖος γάρ κε . . . ὀρώρει*. It would have to be taken as 'for such a noise would have (i.e. must have) been arising', sc. if anyone had been present to witness the event; or, if Hesiod is speaking not of a single event as in the *Lithica*, but of a repeated one, 'for such a noise used to arise', though this construction is not otherwise attested before Herodotus and Sophocles.

If on the other hand we start from 703, we shall get the impression that the whole event is a hypothetical one, differing from the usual type in that it is imagined not as occurring in the future, but here and now: 'It seemed . . . as (it would) if' (emending with Hermann to *ὡς εἰ*, or possibly, retaining *ὅτε*, '(if and) when') 'earth and heaven were coming together (before our eyes); for even such a noise would (in that event) be arising'.

Fear that the sky will fall, or at any rate recognition of the possibility, is widespread among primitive peoples. Cf. Olrik, *Ragnarök*, pp. 399 ff.; Cook, *Zeus*, ii. 54 ff.

Γαῖα . . . ὕπερθε: *Il.* 15. 36, cf. 840 below.

703. πίλνατο: for the singular verb cf. on 45. *a* gives *πίλναντο contra metrum*. One would have expected the addition of *ἀλλήλοις*.

τοῖος γάρ κε is difficult to understand; as we have seen, it is a quite abnormal type of parenthesis in a simile, and it makes 705 otiose. These difficulties, together with *μέγᾱς*, would all have been avoided if Hesiod had written *πίλναντ' ἀλλήλοισι, μέγας δ' ὑπό*. (So Koechly after Hermann, but with *πίλναιντ'* and *ὀρώροι*.)

μέγας ὑπὸ: the *μέγιστος* of *k*, despite its apparent support from [Aristid.] 25. 39 *ὥσπερ δὲ Ἡσίοδος ἔφη τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς συμπεσόντων μέγιστον ἂν γενέσθαι κτύπον, ὡς τοῦτο ὂν μέγιστον τῶν ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ πτῶμα*, etc., and although *ὑπὸ* is not particularly appropriate, can hardly stand beside *τοῖος*. Cf. p. 96 for the lengthening in arsis.

ὑπὸ δοῦπος ὀρώρει: cf. on 70. *δοῦπος* generally denotes a noise produced by collision.

704. In the nearest formal parallels to this figure, the active and passive concepts are expressed by different verbs: *Il.* 14. 14 *τοὺς μὲν ὀρινομένους, τοὺς δὲ κλονέοντας ὄπισθε*, 21. 129, *Sc.* 304. The active and passive of the same verb are juxtaposed in different ways in *Il.* 8. 65 *ὀλλύντων τε καὶ ὀλλυμένων*, 214 ff. *ἵππων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν . . . | εἰλομένων· εἴλει δὲ . . . | Ἕκτωρ*, 20. 317, 404–5.

ἐρειπομένης: 'being fallen upon'. This sense is only made possible by the antithesis.

705. Cf. *Il.* 20. 66 *τόσσος ἄρα κτύπος ὦρτο θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνιόντων*. After 703 *τοῖος* the line is logically otiose; cf. ad loc.

ἔγεντο: 199 n.

706–9. Another very difficult sentence. Friederichs and Schwenn would delete 705–10, but this contributes nothing to the solution of the problems.

Rzach (*ed. mai.*) notes A. *PV* 1082 ff. as an imitation of this passage; one might perhaps add *Aetna* 57 ff. (Gigantomachy) *hic magno tonat ore pater, geminantque fauentes | undique discordes †comitum simul agmine uenti*; | *densa per attonitas rumpuntur fulmina nubes.*

706. **ἄνεμοι**: for the involvement of the winds in the conflict, cf. on 846.

ἔνοσιν: quaking of earth. Laur. 91. 10 gives *ἔνοσις* (cf. P. Oxy. 2515 fr. 1. 10 (hexameters, not early) *ἔ]νοσίς τ' ἄνεμοί τε*). Schoemann, p. 438, preferred this reading (deleting *τ'* after *κονίην*), on the ground that the quaking was not caused by the winds but by the running of the combatants, 681. But winds can cause quaking, see below, and *φέρον* in 708 is more appropriate to the winds alone (as *Il.* 8. 549 *κνίσην δ' ἐκ πεδίου ἄνεμοι φέρον οὐρανὸν εἴσω*, 12. 253–4 *ἀνέμοιο θύελλαν, | ἥ ῥ' ἰθὺς νηῶν κονίην φέρεν*). Schoemann would excise 707–8; but *ἐς μέσον* goes better with *φέρον* than with *ἐσφαράγιζον*.

κονίην: the iota is elsewhere short except at the end of the line.

(ἐ)σφαράγιζον: the meaning of this verb is the chief difficulty in the sentence. (*a*) The scholiast interprets *ἠχοῦντες συνετάρασσον*. So Hsch.: *ἐδόνουν μετὰ ψόφου, ἤχουν*. This sense would suit *ἀνεμοσφάραγοι Παλίου κόλποι* in Pi. *P.* 9. 5 (sch. *τῶν ψόφον ἀποτελούντων ἐκ τοῦ ἀνέμου*), and the epithet *ἐρισφάραγος* applied to Poseidon in *h. Herm.* 187 and to Zeus in Bacch. 5. 20, Pi. fr. 6a(d). (*b*) *σφαραγεῖσθαι* is used in two passages of the *Odyssey*, 9. 390 and 440, where it is most naturally interpreted as 'be swollen', although sch. on the first passage again tries to work in the idea of noise. So *περισφαραγεῦσα* Nic. *Th.* 553 (after *Od.* 9. 440). (*c*) *σφάραγος* means 'throat' (Phot., Hsch.; Homeric *ἀσφάραγος*)—the same root as *φάρυγξ*. (*d*) In Hesiod we must look for a meaning appropriate to a possible effect of wind upon earth tremors, dust-clouds, thunder and lightning, and preferably related to one or more of the meanings assumed elsewhere. Perhaps the basic idea is that of swelling or inflating, the exact relationship varying with the different objects. The dust is simply blown up by the wind. The

tremors and thunder are produced by the wind getting inside something else, sc. earth or clouds, and inflating them. This is to assume an anticipation of the kind of theories attested for Anaximander (A 28) and others, and prevalent throughout antiquity. But physical speculation must be older than the sixth century; we find a piece of meteorological exposition in Hesiod himself (*Op.* 548 ff.).

If this is right, *σφαραγίζω* in Hesiod corresponds in meaning to *σφαραγέω* in Homer. How it is to be brought into relation with *ἐρισφάραγος*, etc., I cannot explain; some misinterpretation may be involved.

708. κῆλα: this word is usually said to mean (wooden) arrowshafts (Hsch., *Sud.*, Eust.). This is probably merely inference from *Il.* 1. 53 and 383, combined with a (mistaken) etymological association with *κᾶλα* 'firewood'. The word is only used in the nominative and accusative plural, and always refers to manifestations of divine power, usually by invisible means: *Il.* 1. 53, 383, 12. 280, *h. Ap.* 444, [Hes.] fr. 204. 138 (for reconstruction of the context here see *C.Q.* 1961, p. 134), Pi. *P.* 1. 12, [Orph.] *A.* 10. In none of these passages can 'arrows' satisfactorily be substituted; even in *Il.* 1, *(ἐπ)οίχεσθαι* would be strangely used of them. *κηλέω* may be related.—In Dion. Bass. fr. 26 verso 7, *κῆλα* is hyper-Ionic for *κᾶλα*.

Professor R. Merkelbach suggests the excision of 707, taking *κῆλα Διός* in apposition to *ἄνεμοι* in 706—Zeus using the winds as his weapons, as Marduk does against Tiâmat in *Enûma Eliš*. Cf. on 846. But in Greek terms the *κῆλα Διός* are more likely to be the things named in 707.

709. ἐς μέσον ἀμφοτέρων: *Il.* 6. 120, 20. 159. Cf. 3. 416, 7. 277 *μέσσῳ δ' ἀμφοτέρων*.

ὄτοβος: first here. For the variant *κόναβος*, cf. *Od.* 10. 122 *κόναβος κατὰ νῆας ὀρώρει. κονάβησε* is used below, 840.

ἄπλητος: see on 153. *ἄτλητος* (*Et. magn.*) is usually applied to grief.

710. κάρτευς δ' ἀνεφαίνετο ἔργον: cf. 677 and note.

711–12. A clumsy transition, necessary in order to reconcile the routing of the Titans by Zeus, which Hesiod's convictions demanded (cf. 820 *αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ Τιτῆνας ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἐξέλασε Ζεύς*), with the fact that the victory depended on the assistance of the Hundred-Handers. The trick is oddly done by means of a breach of Zieliński's law (617 n.): we are led up to the point when the battle is decisively turned by Zeus, then snatched back into the midst of it, and led from there by a different path to its conclusion by the Hundred-Handers. Goettling, followed by A. Meyer, Aly and Mazon, treats the whole section 687–712 as an interpolation; but it is entirely in accord with Hesiod's tendency to glorify Zeus more than the facts of mythology warranted. Cf. on 551, and Wilamowitz, *Glaube d. Hell.* i. 342, n. 1.

711. ἐκλίνθη: see on 638.

712. ἐμμενέως: perhaps only here, since in *Sc.* 429 J. F. von Meyer's *ἐν μένεος* must be right.

διὰ κρατερὰς ὑσμίνας: 631 n.

713. **ἐνὶ πρώτοισι**: *Il.* 9. 709 *ἐνὶ πρώτοισι μάχεσθαι*, 4. 341, 5. 536, 575, etc.

μάχην δριμείαν: *Sc.* 261, 411, cf. *Il.* 15. 696.

ἔγειραν: 666 n. In the two *Scutum* passages we have *ἔθεντο* instead.

714. **ἄατος πολέμοιο**: *ἄτος* Π^{19}. The 'etymological' spelling with two alphas is given by codd. here, by D in *Sc.* 59, a papyrus in *Il.* 5. 388, one MS. ib. 863, and is attested for Homer by sch. Nic. *Th.* 783. The phrase occurs also in *Il.* 6. 203, 13. 746, where all MSS. have *ἄτος*. In 22. 218 we have *μάχης ἄτον*, v.l. *ἄατον*, at 11. 430 and *Od.* 13. 293 *δόλων ἄτ'*. Buttmann, *Lexil.*, pp. 2–3 prefers the form *ἄτος*, on the ground that *ἄᾱτος* would not accord with the long alpha in *ἆσαι*. But **ἄτός* is to *ἆσαι* as *λῠτός* to *λῦσαι*. The vowel is normally short also in the adverb *ἄ-δην*. Cf. also Meister, *Die hom. Kunstsprache*, p. 181.

For *πόλεμος* cf. on 665.

715. The rocks which the Hundred-Handers held ready in 675 are at last discharged.

τριηκοσίας: not representing an indefinitely large number, but by solemn arithmetic: there are three of them, and they have a hundred hands each. Latin poets make a point of Briareos' hundred arms being equipped with a hundred swords: Virg. *A.* 10. 565–8, Claud. *rapt. Pros.* 3. 345; cf. eund. *cons. Stil.* 1. 303–5, Stat. *Th.* 10. 293–4, Pl. *Euthyd.* 299c.

πέτρας: 675 n.

στιβαρέων: Π^{19} eliminates the only example in Hesiod of *-ῶν* from *-άων* except *Op.* 264 (codd., but *σκολιέων δὲ δικέων* Π^{10}). There are several Homeric examples, especially in adjectives and pronouns, see Chantraine, i. 65, 201, n. 1. Cf. *ορχῆστῶν* on the Dipylon jug, Athens Nat. Mus. 2074 (probably before 700 B.C., but perhaps an Attic form).

716. **κατὰ δ' ἐσκίασαν**: cf. A. fr. 199. 7–8 N. = 326 M. *νιφάδι γογγύλων πετρῶν | ὑπόσκιον θήσει χθόν'*, Hdt. 7. 226.

717. **καὶ τοὺς μὲν**: 289 n.

718. **δεσμοῖσιν ἐν ἀργαλέοισιν**: cf. on 522. They are kept in by a wall and door as well, 732 f.

S has *ὑπ'* for *ἐν*, perhaps from 717. *ἐν* is supported by Π^{19}; cf. 618, *Il.* 5. 386.

719. **νικήσαντες χερσὶν**: the unusual rhythm is paralleled by *Il.* 1. 388 *ἠπείλησεν μῦθον*. Cf. *Od.* 8. 258 *αἰσυμνῆται δὲ*, *Il.* 3. 348 *οὐδ' ἔρρηξεν χαλκός*, 7. 231 *ἡμεῖς δ' εἰμὲν τοῖοι*, 2. 804 = *Od.* 19. 175 *ἄλλη δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσα*. (In fr. 58. 5 initial *Ἀσκληπιοῦ* is probably a trisyllable, despite *Il.* 2. 731 *Ἀσκληπιοῦ δύο παῖδε*.)

720–819. **Description of the underworld.** The Titans are cast, as Zeus in *Il.* 8. 10 ff. threatens to cast any god who disobeys him, into a place far below the earth. The description of this and related regions occupies the next hundred lines. It is impossible to assert, without begging the question, that such a long digression on such a subject is foreign to the conception of a theogony; Pherecydes of Syros inserted a description at least of the underworld and perhaps of the

whole universe in his cosmic history, and an account of the other world is a favourite motif in all epic.[1] But it is possible to impugn the passage on grounds of structural and conceptual contradictions, and we must consider whether any major interpolations are detectable.

The section is an example of catalogue form, consisting of a series of self-contained items which are almost all introduced by ἔνθα or ἔνθα δὲ (729, 736, 758, 767, 775, 807, 811). (On this device cf. W. A. A. van Otterlo, *Mnem.* 1945, pp. 192–207.) The question of authenticity will concern each paragraph as a whole. We may divide them as follows:

A.	720–8	Location of the Titans' prison.
B.	729–35	The Titans in prison.
C.	736–43	Where the world begins and ends; the Chasm.
D.	746–57	Atlas; Night and Day.
E.	758–66	Sleep and Death.
F.	767–73	Hades, Cerberus.
G.	775–806	Styx.
H.	807–19	Conclusion: where the world begins and ends (again); the Titans in prison (again).

E at least is unmistakably Hesiodic in thought. Compare the description of the two Erides, *Op.* 11–24; the invisible Illnesses who wander abroad, *Op.* 102 ff., cf. 222–3, 252–5, etc.; the mildness of Leto, *Th.* 406–8. Further, the passage is perhaps imitated in the *Odyssey* (757–61 n.), in common with the proem of the *Theogony* (84–92 n.), which is certainly genuine. E, then, is authentic.

E presupposes D. A natural passage of thought leads from one to the other, and the picture of Day and Night wandering by turns over the earth is even more natural than that of Sleep and Death. The first passage seems to have suggested both ideas and words for the second. The join between them, at 757–8, is implied both by *Od.* 11. 15–16 and by the interpolation 744–5. D, then, is also authentic.

In G, as Schwenn acutely perceived, only to draw the wrong conclusion, the train of thought *ἔρις–νεῖκος–ψεύδηται–ὅρκον–πῆμα–ἐπίορκον ἐπομόσσῃ* (782–93) reproduces that in the list of the progeny of Eris (226–32): *Ἔρις–Νείκεα–Ψεύδεα–Ὅρκον–πημαίνει–ἐπίορκον ὀμόσσῃ*. The correspondence is so un-obvious, so clearly unconscious, that it provides a strong argument for identity of authorship. G, then, is genuine.

There is no reason to suspect F. Hesiod could hardly omit to mention the house of Hades (who is affrighted together with the Titans during the Typhonomachy, at 850–1), and a natural association of thought introduces it here after the lines about Thanatos. Besides, 775 would follow awkwardly upon 766, if F were absent.

We have now vindicated the Hesiodic authorship of a solid piece of the underworld description, 746–806. This piece must have been joined to the rest of the poem by means of a beginning and a conclusion. H makes a good conclusion: a return to topographical description is heralded by 806 (see n.), and the actual content of H,

[1] Cf. A. B. Lord in Wace–Stubbings, *Companion to Homer*, p. 205.

responding as it does to the beginning of the underworld passage, completes a ring pattern:

713 ff. The Hundred-Handers.
717 ff. The Titans and their prison.
728 The roots of earth and sea.
807 ff. The sources of earth, sea, sky, Tartarus.
813 f. The Titans and their prison.
815 ff. The Hundred-Handers.

This ring pattern gives us at the same time a confirmation of the authenticity of the beginning, A.

We are left with B and C; and it is here that we meet the real difficulties. First we have the Titans in their prison (729–33). This is satisfactory; it rounds off the Titanomachy by assuring us that the Titans' dispatch to the place just described is permanent. Now we can forget them, and concentrate on further features of the underworld.

Next we hear that Gyges, Kottos, and Obriareos are there too (734–5). This is unsatisfactory. We shall certainly want to know what became of them; but we shall be told in 815–19, and what we are told there differs from what we are told here. The information that they have returned to the lower world is conveyed much more naturally and acceptably there than here, where we come upon them with the surprise we might feel at the zoo if we passed the lions and then found their hunters in the next cage.

The next four lines, 736–9, are identical with 807–10. Hesiod might have written them in both places, but it is unlike him; he prefers variation to exact repetition (cf. 559 n., and *Op.* 60–82), there seems to be no structural point in the reduplication, and they are apparently omitted by a papyrus in the first passage. The lines that follow, 740–3, are the most suspect of all. I cannot credit Hesiod with the conception behind them, as I shall explain on 740; and the connexion of 740 with 739 seems to show misunderstanding of Hesiod's system, or at any rate it makes no sense in terms of the cosmology of 724–8. (Cf. 740 n.) 744–5 seem to be a later interpolation, see ad loc.

I therefore reject at least 734–5 and 740–5. Probably the poet of 740–3 borrowed the four preceding lines from 807–10 in order to append his own lines to them.

The underworld that emerges from Hesiod's account is not one of which one could draw a map or construct a model. Maps and models of the world were unknown to the Greeks of his time, and cosmology was not bound by the realities of geometrical space. It is clear, however, that he envisages a three-storey universe, similar to the four-storey one in *Il.* 8. 13–16, which is possibly an attempt to outdo Hesiod. (Cf. Wilamowitz, *Sitz.-Ber. Berl. Ak.* 1910, p. 398 and *Ilias u. Homer*, p. 57; Bethe, *Homer*, ii. 307–9; Friedländer, *G.G.A.* 1931, p. 264.) At the bottom lies Tartarus, a dank, gloomy place inhabited only by the Titans and presently Typhoeus. It is enclosed by a high wall made

of bronze. Some way above this are the 'roots' or 'sources' of the earth and the sea (728 n., 736–9 n.). The gulf between earth and Tartarus is imagined, or has once been imagined, as a yawning throat (*χάος* 814, cf. 116 n.; *χάσμα* 740 n.; cf. on 727), about which, between the wall and the roots of earth, darkness is wrapped in three layers (726–7). This underworld is entered by crossing a bronze threshold and passing through a shining gate (811), but there is no clear idea of where these are located.

Hesiod also wishes to describe certain other sites: the dwellings of Night and Day, of Sleep and Death, of Hades, and of Styx, and the place where Atlas stands. These are certainly nowhere on earth or in heaven; on the other hand, they do not belong to the Titans' dungeon. The fact is, they do not fit into the simple three-storey edifice at all. They loom uncertainly in those vague, inconceivable regions which may be evoked equally well by 'under the earth' and by 'beyond the streams of Ocean'.

There are several echoes of this section in the *Odyssey*, which are unlikely to be independent; see on 740, 748, 757–61.

On this part of the *Theogony* cf. Schoemann, pp. 320–39; Jacoby, ed. pp. 22–27; Schwenn, pp. 15–36; M. C. Stokes, *Phronesis*, 7, 1962, pp. 1–37.

720. Cf. *Il.* 8. 16 *τόσσον ἔνερθ' Ἀΐδεω, ὅσον οὐρανός ἐστ' ἀπὸ γαίης.*

721–5. 'Notent lectores hanc simplicissimam rationem definiendi locorum intervalli, similem illi Il. *B* 123 sqq., ubi numerus Achaeorum et Troianorum comparatur' (Wolf). Cf. fr. 304, *Cert.* 143–5.

Hephaestus fell from heaven to Lemnos in a day (*Il.* 1. 591–2). Lucian was blown to the moon in seven days and nights (*vera hist.* 1. 10). The scale of the universe does not seem to have increased in popular imagination. The estimate of the time a man would take to fall down the Chasm in 740 ff. is quite exceptional, see ad loc.

The verbal repetitions in this passage have caused confusion in the MSS. Six lines are transmitted, and they all appeared in Π^{19}; but perhaps they are not all genuine. 721 is dispensable, and Ruhnken condemned it, but it may be genuine. 723a, on the other hand, is both dispensable and formally objectionable: it disturbs the symmetrical scheme formed by the two adjacent and complementary couplets 722–3, 724–5. For this four-line scheme cf. *Op.* 293–7 (also disturbed by an interpolated verse, 294, omitted in citations), *Sc.* 53–56, *Il.* 18. 595–8, 20. 226–9, 24. 629–32, *Od.* 9. 29–32. A similar six-line scheme formed by two triads is found in *Od.* 14. 395–400, 19. 329–34; but we cannot regard 721–3 and 723a–5 as symmetrical triads, their structures being only verbally, not logically parallel. Rather has 723a developed from a variant to or misplacement of 721. (Cf. Wilamowitz, *Il. u. Hom.*, p. 57, n. 1.) On the citation of the passage in the *εἰσαγωγή* to Aratus, see p. 68.

721. *γάρ τ'*: here equivalent to *γάρ*, cf. on 688 *δέ τε*. It is unnecessary to delete the *τ'* with A. H. Coxon (*ap.* Stokes, p. 7).

722. *ἐννέα . . . δεκάτῃ*: see on 636.

νύκτας τε καὶ ἤματα: *Il.* 18. 340, *al.* See on 124.

χάλκεος ἄκμων: the simplest explanation of the choice of an anvil in this connexion is that, like the anvil which Zeus tied to each of Hera's feet to increase her pain when he strung her up (*Il.* 15. 19), it is the first example that comes to mind of a movable object of great weight. Aristotle believed that the heavier an object is, the faster it falls (cf. *Phys.* 216ª13, etc.), and this was no doubt generally assumed to be the case in antiquity.

It has also been suggested that the picture of an anvil falling from heaven was suggested by a meteorite (cf. on 498–500 *ad fin.*), or that *ἄκμων* can actually denote a meteoric stone (cf. *LSJ* and Frisk s.v.; Cook, *Zeus*, iii. 924–7). But meteorites are not made of bronze, but of iron, nickel, and stone in varying proportions; and although Anaxagoras described the sun as a *μύδρος διάπυρος* (D.L. 2. 8), the meteorite whose fall he was supposed to have predicted is always called simply a stone in the sources. (Cf. *Journ. Brit. Astron. Ass.* 70, 1960, pp. 368 f.) Nor do meteorites fall from earth to Tartarus; and while the evidence of related languages suggests that *ἄκμων* might bear such a meaning, there is no evidence for it in Greek, and it is safer to assume the normal specialized sense 'anvil'.

723. **δεκάτῃ**: sc. *ἡμέρῃ*, although the neuter *ἤματα* was used in 722.

κ': conjectured by Thiersch, confirmed by Π^{19}. **δ'** is not impossible, cf. Denniston, pp. 181–2. The impulse to write the particle here may have been given by the usual (paratactic) antithesis *ἐννέα μὲν—τῇ δεκάτῃ δέ*.

723a. See above on 721–5.

724. **ἐννέα δ' αὖ**: so we must write if we expel 723a. Those MSS. which have the line give *γὰρ* (*γάρ οἱ b* from 56 *ἐννέα γάρ οἱ νύκτας*), except that Par. 2772, which omits 723a, has *γάρ οἱ* with deletion marks and *δ' αὖ* written above it.

726. **πέρι . . . ἔρκος ἐλήλαται**: cf. *Od.* 7. 113 quoted on 733.

χάλκεον: on the use of metal (bronze, iron, adamant) in cosmic architecture cf. 733, 750, 811 (v.l.), *Il.* 8. 15, Virg. *A.* 6. 280, 552, 554, 630–1; Wormell, *Hermathena*, 58, 1941, pp. 116–20; for a gods' prison, *Il.* 5. 387 (Ares) *χαλκέῳ δ' ἐν κεράμῳ δέδετο τρισκαίδεκα μῆνας*.

νὺξ: here as the stuff of invisibility, like *ἀήρ*. Cf. *Il.* 5. 23 *ἀλλ' Ἥφαιστος ἔρυτο, σάωσε δὲ νυκτὶ καλύψας*, *Od.* 23. 372.

727. **τριστοιχὶ**: the word occurs also in *Il.* 10. 473. *-ί* is the better spelling, see Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 298.

δειρήν: presumably the 'neck' formed by the top of the enclosing wall. The word implies a relatively narrow entrance, as of a jar. Perhaps once it was understood more literally, of a yawning throat, like *χάος* (116 n.) and *χάσμα* (740). Etymologically the word may be related to the root **g^{w}er*, from which come *βιβρώσκω*, *βορά*, and probably also *βέρεθρον* (*Il.* 8. 14) (Schulze, p. 93; Frisk s.v.); though this can no longer have been felt in Hesiod's time.

Cf. also O. Rossbach, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1917, cols. 1501–3; Stokes, p. 9.

728. ῥίζαι: the 'roots of the earth' appear also in *Op.* 19, A. *PV* 1047, [Orph.] *H.* 18. 10, fr. 168. 29, etc. Xenophanes said the earth was 'rooted to infinity' (A 47, cf. B 28). But here it is not only the earth but also the sea. Cf. [Orph.] *H.* 23. 1 *ὦ κατέχων πόντου ῥίζας*. Empedocles fr. 54 says that in some states of the world the *aither* (otherwise than now) *μακρῇσι κατὰ χθόνα δύετο ῥίζαις*. In Call. *H.* 4. 35, A.R. 2. 320, we hear of islands being 'rooted' as opposed to floating free.

Hesiod perhaps imagines the clear division between land and sea gradually disappearing in the underworld, as the two elements branch out in roots or veins that are inextricably intertwined with one another. Below this even the distinction between earth and water disappears: chaos takes their place. (Cf. Pytheas *ap.* Strab. 104, cited by H. Fränkel, *Dichtung u. Philosophie*, 2nd ed., p. 117, n. 24.) Thus we have something like a monistic cosmology: a basic indeterminate element developing (in space rather than in time, but Chaos is the first-born of the gods) into a tangle of determinate elements, which become more and more separate, and develop in their turn into the discrete masses of the world we know. It is interesting that Emped. fr. 6 describes his four elements, earth, air, fire, and water, as *πάντων ῥιζώματα*.

For Hesiod 'roots' may have been a metaphor in its own right. But in origin it is perhaps derived from the idea of the world as a tree. This concept is found for example in Norse, Celtic, Egyptian, Babylonian, Finnish, Estonian, Asiatic, and Polynesian mythology: see R. Eisler, *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt*, 1910; U. Holmberg, *Der Baum des Lebens* (Ann. Acad. Scient. Fenn. xvi), Helsinki, 1922–3. It also occurs in modern Greece (Lawson, p. 155). In ancient Greece it seems to have played a part in the cosmology of Pherecydes of Syros (A 11, B 2; *C.Q.* 1963, pp. 167 ff.), and is perhaps suggested by such metaphors as Pindar's *ῥίζαν ἀπείρου τρίταν* (*P.* 9. 8) and *'Ωκεανοῦ πέταλα κρᾶναι* (fr. 326); but otherwise it is unfamiliar, or no longer familiar. Cf. on 816 and 932.

πεφύασι: the verb suits the metaphor.

729. **ἔνθα**: cf. on 720–819.

θεοὶ Τιτῆνες: cf. on 630.

ὑπὸ ζόφῳ ἠερόεντι: cf. on 653.

730. **βουλῇσι Διὸς νεφεληγερέταο**: cf. 465 n. The remarkable reading of $\Pi^{19}k$, *Διὸς μεγάλοιο ἔκητι*, looks like a contamination with some more radical variant, with some other word in place of *βουλῇσι*. Cf. on 732. *Διὸς μεγάλοιο ἔκητι* is not a Homeric phrase; Hesiod uses it, however, in *Op.* 4.

731. **χώρῳ ἐν εὐρώεντι**: cf. *Il.* 2. 783a *χώρῳ ἔνι δρυόεντι*. For the underworld as a place of physical decay, cf. 739; *Op.* 153 *βῆσαν ἐς εὐρώεντα δόμον κρυεροῦ Ἄϊδαο*, *Od.* 10. 512, *Il.* 20. 65; Virg. *A.* 6. 462 *loca senta situ*, perhaps ib. 303 (Charon) *et ferruginea subuectat corpora cumba*. The modern Greek Hades is full of cobwebs, *ἀραχνιασμένος*, Lawson, pp. 99 and 518.

ἔσχατα: this must be taken adverbially, as suggested by G. Némethy in *Egyetemes Philologiai Közlöny*, 11, 1887, pp. 234 f., and van Groningen, p. 279, n. 4. Neither quotes parallels, but we may compare *Il.* 8. 225 = 11. 8 *τοί ῥ' ἔσχατα νῆας ἐίσας | εἴρυσαν*. In 10. 434, *Θρήικες οἵδ' ἀπάνευθε νεήλυδες ἔσχατοι ἄλλων*, there is a variant *ἔσχατα*. In Pherenicus *ap.* sch. Pi. *O.* 3. 28, *Ὑπερβορέων οἵ τ' ἔσχατα ναιετάουσιν*, *ἔσχατα* may be direct object.

κεύθεσι is perhaps a conjecture, after *κεύθεσι γαίης* 300, 334, 483; but cf. on 732. *ἔσχατα* is supported by papyri, and perhaps by its conjunction with *εὐρώεντα* in Orph. fr. 168. 30 *τάρταρά τ' εὐρώεντα καὶ ἔσχατα πείρατα γαίης*. Cf. on 622 *ἐπ' ἐσχατιῇ*.

732. **τοῖς**: the scholiast says *λείπει ἡ διά, ἵν' ᾖ, διὰ τούτων τῶν ῥιζῶν οὐκ ἐκβαδιστέον*, from which Schoemann inferred that he read *τῶν* here and did not know 731. *τῶν* is now found in Π^{30}. But we should need to expel 729–30 as well as 731 before *τῶν* could be given a reference; and then the sense would be unacceptable, for there is no one in the roots, and it is not the roots that are shut in by a door and wall. Cf. Stokes, p. 9. A possible solution might be that the variant form of 730 partly adopted in Π^{19} and *k* was *κεκρύφαται κευθμῶσι Διὸς μεγάλοιο ἔκητι. κευθμῶσι* would then be responsible for *k*'s *κεύθεσι* in 731 (*k* has *κευθμῶσι* for *κεύθεσι* in 300 and 334), and it would provide an antecedent for *τῶν*. *k* has *τοὶ δ'*: this might suggest *τοῖς δ'*, but *τοῖς* is preferable, cf. on 321.

ἐξιτόν: for the form cf. *παριτός* Call. *H.* 5. 90, *ἰτός* Leon. *A.P.* 7. 480. 5, *δυσέξιτος* D.S. 3. 44 v.l., etc. *ἐξιτητός* is used instead in later prose.

θύρας: *k* has *πύλας*. The two words are frequent variants, cf. *Il.* 5. 749, 12. 131, 14. 169, 22. 69, 24. 446, 567, Call. *H.* 2. 6, A.R. 1. 786, Musae. 260, Colluth. 318. Hesiod speaks of *πύλαι* in 741 (see ad loc.) and 811 (cf. *Il.* 8. 15), but there and in the parallel passages the idea is of an entrance through which a man might pass into another realm; it is not to be identified with these doors that keep the Titans in.

ἐπέθηκε: 'fitted', as in *Od.* 21. 45, *h. Aphr.* 236. In *Il.* 14. 169, *h. Aphr.* 60, *θύρας ἐπιθεῖναι* means to shut a door.

Ποσειδέων: in his function as lord of the earth and keeper of its roots, cf. Call. fr. 623 *ῥιζοῦχε Ποσειδῶν*, Opp. *H.* 5. 679–80 *γαίης δ' ἀστυφέλικτα Ποσειδάων ἐρύοιτο | Ἀσφάλιος ῥιζοῦχα θεμείλια νέρθε φυλάσσων*. He also appears as a builder at Troy (with Apollo) and elsewhere, cf. Wüst, *R.E.* xxii. 481.

Ποσειδέων is a form found in Acusilaus and Herodotus, and should perhaps be restored for *Ποσειδῶν* also in Archil. 117 (Schneidewin); but in Emped. 128. 2 the Attic form may be left, cf. p. 81 n. 1 on *ἑαυτ-* / *ἑωυτ-*. Homer has only *Ποσειδάων*.

733. **χαλκείας**: cf. on 726.

τείχος: the *ἕρκος* of 726.

ἐπελήλαται: Π^{30} happily solves the crux. It is most unlikely that this reading is merely a scribal error from 726; rather it is the poet who

easily thinks of the word he has just used. *ἐπ-* perhaps after *ἐπέθηκε* in 732. Scribes expected *περι-*: *περοίχεται* would be just possible (an Aeolism, see p. 83), but the verb is a surprising one in the context. (Muetzell compared Archil. 35 *τοῖον γὰρ αὐλὴν ἕρκος ἀμφιδέδρομεν.*) *περίκειται* is a gloss; *περοίχεται*, if not a conjecture, was perhaps caused by a marginal variant *οιχ* to *τεῖχος* (Q has *τοῖχος*), or simply by an accidental repetition of a syllable from the preceding word, as in *Χσενοκλῆς*: *εποκλῆσεν* on a sixth-century vase in Berlin (F 1794; the reverse has *Χσενοκλῆς*: *εποιῆσεν*).

ἀμφοτέρωθεν: on both sides of the *θύραι*; cf. *Od.* 7. 112–13 *ἔκτοσθεν δ' αὐλῆς μέγας ὄρχατος ἄγχι θυράων | τετράγυος· περὶ δ' ἕρκος ἐλήλαται ἀμφοτέρωθεν.*

734–5. See on 720–819. It is usually assumed that the Hundred-Handers are acting as prison guards (so Tz. *Th.* 277 *τοὺς Ἑκατόγχειρας αὐτοῖς φύλακας ἐπιστήσας*). The poet does not say this—*πιστοὶ φύλακες Διός* probably refers to their help in the battle, cf. 815 *κλειτοὶ ἐπίκουροι*—and their return to the underworld after their hour of glory is sufficiently explained by the fact that that is their home. They live there under Zeus as before under Kronos and Uranos; they must, for there is no place for them on Olympus. So in Zenodotus' version of *Il.* 1. 404, Briareos is the strongest of all those who dwell *ὑπὸ τάρταρον εὐρώεντα*. We can hardly suppose, after 655–63, that they went home willingly; Zeus must have banished them, though the poet avoids saying so.

φύλακες Διὸς: differently *Op.* 253.

736–9. The same as 807–10, and perhaps taken from there (see on 720–819); apparently omitted by Π^{28}. In sense the sentence corresponds to and elaborates 728; the roots are now described as *πηγαὶ καὶ πείρατα*, that is, where the constituent parts of the visible world spring up (if you work upwards from the bottom) and end (if you work downwards from the top); and to earth and sea are now added sky and Tartarus, for the sake of completeness. The four together are equivalent to the whole world, for which no single expression yet existed. One may wonder whether the poet actually thought of sky and Tartarus as somehow connected up to the system of roots or sources, but I would not put the difficulty of this as strongly as Kirk does, l.c. (below), p. 11.

On these lines see G. Vlastos, *Gnomon*, 1955, p. 74; H. Fränkel, *Dichtung u. Philosophie*, 2nd ed., pp. 116–17 (1st ed., p. 148); F. Solmsen, *Stud. Ital.* 1949 (1950), pp. 235–48; G. S. Kirk, *Proc. Cambr. Philol. Soc.* 1956/7, pp. 10–12; Stokes, pp. 16 and 25–33.

736. **γῆς δνοφερῆς**: corresponding to *γαῖα μέλαινα, ἐρεμνῆς . . . γαίης* as *νὺξ δνοφερή* (107) to *νυκτὶ μελαίνῃ* and *ἐρεμνῇ νυκτί*. Two papyri give *δνοφέης*, a form found in Bacch. 16. 32 and Hsch. and too rare to be a natural error; but I have not ventured to adopt it when *δνοφερός* is so well attested as the epic form of the adjective.

738. **ἑξείης πάντων**: we need not take this too literally, as if the sources were laid out in a neat row, one for earth, one for sea,

and so on. For the conjunction of *ἑξείης* with *πάντες* cf. perhaps Tyrt. 1. 16 *ἑξείης πα*[⏑– –⏑]*θεων*[⏑⏑–.

πηγαὶ: the 'root' metaphor was inadequate because appropriate only to the solid earth and not to water; the new picture redresses the balance, being more appropriate to the sea. Arist. *Meteor.* 353ª34 ff. (*περὶ θαλάττης*) *οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀρχαῖοι καὶ διατρίβοντες περὶ τὰς θεολογίας ποιοῦσιν αὐτῆς πηγάς, ἵν' αὐτοῖς ὦσιν ἀρχαὶ καὶ ῥίζαι γῆς καὶ θαλάττης.* Cf. Lucr. 1. 230, Pl. *Phd.* 111–12; Plut. *Mor.* 4C *πηγὴ καὶ ῥίζα καλοκἀγαθίας*. See also Stokes, pp. 28–32.

πείρατα: cf. on 335 and 622, and above.

739. The line recurs at *Il.* 20. 65, with *σμερδαλέα* instead of *ἀργαλέα*. There, however, it refers to the house of Aidoneus. (It might be thought that the gods abhor Tartarus rather than Hades, but cf. 766 below.) Philodemus has *ζμερδαλέ'* in a quotation of the present line, an understandable contamination. *ἀργαλέα* is here equivalent to *δεινά*, cf. *Od.* 5. 175, 367, *Il.* 11. 4, *h. Ap.* 306, etc.

εὐρώεντα: 731 n.

τά τε στυγέουσι θεοί περ: cf. *h. Aphr.* 246. *στυγεῖν* means basically 'shudder at'; cf. *αἱ στύγες* in Theophr. *caus. pl.* 5. 14. 4. Hence it can imply fear as well as hate; cf. fr. 280. 24, *Il.* 1. 186, 7. 112 ff., 8. 515, 17. 694, *Od.* 10. 113. For the semantic connexion cf. *Il.* 24. 774 f. *οὐ γάρ τίς μοι ἔτ' ἄλλος ἐνὶ Τροίῃ εὐρείῃ | ἤπιος οὐδὲ φίλος, πάντες δέ με πεφρίκασιν*, 9. 312 = *Od.* 14. 156 *ἐχθρὸς γάρ μοι κεῖνος ὁμῶς Ἀίδαο πύλῃσιν*, 766 below.

740. χάσμα: see on 116. The word first occurs here; cf. E. *Ph.* 1604 f. *Ταρτάρου . . . ἄβυσσα χάσματα*, Orph. fr. 66, Plut. *Mor.* 167A. The same metaphor in *Il.* 4. 182.

The connexion with what precedes is suspicious, for the chasm is not the same as the *πηγαὶ καὶ πείρατα*. Cf. on 720–819.

οὐδέ κε πάντα: cf. *Od.* 14. 196 *ῥηιδίως κεν ἔπειτα καὶ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ἅπαντα | οὔ τι διαπρήξαιμι λέγων ἐμὰ κήδεα θυμοῦ.*

τελεσφόρον εἰς ἐνιαυτόν: *Il.* 19. 32, etc. Cf. Onians, p. 443. The discrepancy between this and the time taken by an anvil to fall to Tartarus in 724–5 is not accounted for by the difference in weight between a man and an anvil (722 n.); either the present passage was composed by someone whose imagination functioned on a vastly greater scale, or the chasm is bottomless as in Euripides, in which case it is not the same chasm as that of 814. In either case the present passage is not by Hesiod. There are curious echoes of it in *Od.* 3. 319 ff., *ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅθεν οὐκ ἔλποιτό γε θυμῷ | ἐλθέμεν, ὄντινα πρῶτον ἀποσφήλωσιν ἄελλαι | ἐς πέλαγος μέγα τοῖον, ὅθεν τέ περ οὐδ' οἰωνοὶ | αὐτόετες οἰχνεῦσιν, ἐπεὶ μέγα τε δεινόν τε.*

741. οὔδας ἵκοιτο: *Od.* 22. 467. The indefinite subject is unexpressed, as often; Kühner–Gerth, i. 35–36, Chantraine, ii. 8.

εἰ πρῶτα: 'if once', literally 'if he began by' entering. Cf. *Od.* 3. 320 (above), and 765 n.

πυλέων: if gods can be thrown into Tartarus, there must be some way in. These are probably the *μαρμάρεαι πύλαι* of 811, but not the

θύραι of 732. Gates are constantly associated with the house of Hades and the abode of the dead; see Usener, *Kl. Schr.* iv. 226–8 (to the earlier *loci* add Pherec. B 6). They symbolize the (irreversible) transition to another realm. This gate of Hades appears in 773. It is not the same gate as here, though the idea is the same: an entrance by which Tartarus is reached, and through which, once passed, there is small hope of returning.

742. πρὸ θύελλα θυέλλης: seldom can such a certain emendation as Wakefield's have been passed over with such unanimity by so many editors. *φέροι πρὸ θύελλα* can hardly stand for *προφέροι θύελλα* (though the verb is in itself appropriate, cf. *Il.* 6. 346, *Od.* 20. 63), and *θυέλλῃ* cannot be construed at all. In L there is a scholium *πρὸ θυέλλης ἑτέρα θύελλα.*

The phrase means 'gust before gust', or as we should say 'gust after gust'; cf. A. *PV* 682 *γῆν πρὸ γῆς ἐλαύνομαι*, S. *Ant.* 340 *ἔτος εἰς ἔτος*, and similar expressions collected by Blaydes on Ar. *Ach.* 235. The word order is as in *Il.* 10. 224 *πρὸ δ' τοῦ ἐνόησεν*, *Od.* 5. 155 *παρ' οὐκ ἐθέλων ἐθελούσῃ*, 17. 285 *μετὰ καὶ τόδε τοῖσι γενέσθω*, A. *PV* 921 *ἐπ' αὐτὸς αὑτῷ*, etc.; cf. Kühner–Gerth, ii. 602, Dover, *Greek Word Order*, pp. 16–17.

In *Il.* 8. 481 Tartarus is windless. The idea that it is very windy, however, occurs elsewhere: Pherec. B 5 *κείνης δὲ τῆς μοίρης ἔνερθέ ἐστιν ἡ ταρταρίη μοῖρα· φυλάσσουσι δ' αὐτὴν θυγατέρες Βορέω Ἅρπυιαί τε καὶ Θύελλα.* Pl. *Phd.* 112B *δεινούς τινας ἀνέμους καὶ ἀμηχάνους.* Cf. Hippolytus' reading *ἠνεμόεντα* above, 119. This glimpse of tumult is in contrast to the silent decay suggested by the rest of the passage.

743. ἀργαλέη: cf. *Il.* 13. 795, 14. 254, *al. ἀργαλέων ἀνέμων.*

δεινὸν: see next note.

744–5. This weak and incoherent addition to 743 is to be regarded as an interpolation, or if 740 ff. are themselves post-Hesiodic, as an interpolation within an interpolation. Firstly, it is quite unlike epic style, in making a second proposition about something, to refer to it again by such a phrase as *τοῦτο τέρας*. The word *τέρας* itself is oddly used. Secondly, *καὶ Νυκτὸς ἐρεμνῆς* anticipates 748 ff.; and nowhere else in the whole description of the underworld is a new item introduced in the middle of a line, or with such a loose and vague connexion as *καί*. Thirdly, 743 *δεινὸν δὲ καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι* sounds as if it is intended as the end of a paragraph: cf. 766, 810. The interpolator's motive is not far to seek: he wished to supply a subject to *δεινόν* (which in fact refers to the preceding sentence as a whole, or perhaps specifically to *χάσμα*) and an antecedent to *τῶν πρόσθε* in 746; he inferred from 748 ff. that Atlas stood in front of the house of Night. His phraseology appears to be heavily dependent on 757–8.

καὶ Νυκτὸς ἐρεμνῆς: the reading of Π^{19} and all MSS. except S, whose scribe, probably having before him a MS. where *καὶ* was omitted (as in Tr), wrote *Νυκτὸς δ'*, and then, having added

ἐρεμ, realized the metrical difficulty and altered to ἐρεβεννῆς. Rzach's adoption of this reading can only be explained by his faith in S, and Mazon's by his faith in Rzach.

δεινὰ: lame after δεινὸν in 743.

ἔστηκεν: cf. 769.

νεφέλῃς κεκαλυμμένα κυανέῃσι: Scylla's rock is similarly enshrouded in *Od.* 12. 75. The effect is perhaps invisibility, for a god wrapped in a cloud is invisible, *Il.* 5. 186, etc.

746. **τῶν πρόσθ'**: with the excision of 734–45, τῶν will refer to the doors in 732.

Ἰαπετοῖο πάις: in 517 ff. Atlas is placed πείρασιν ἐν γαίης, near the Hesperides, and they are beyond Ocean (274–5). Now he is in the underworld (still supporting heaven, not heaven and earth): another example of the indifference noted on 622.

On the prosody of πάις cf. 178 n.

ἔχει οὐρανὸν εὐρύν: cf. on 517.

747. See on 519.

748–54. With this description a passage of the *Rgveda* may be compared, i. 113. 2–3 (hymn to Dawn): 'The Fair, the Bright is come with her white offspring; to her the Dark One hath resigned her dwelling. Akin, immortal, following each other, changing their colours both the heavens move onward. Common, unending is the Sisters' pathway; taught by the Gods, alternately they travel. Fair-formed, of different hues and yet one-minded, Night and Dawn clash not, neither do they tarry' (transl. R. T. H. Griffith). Similarly i. 123. 7: 'The one departeth and the other cometh: unlike in hue day's halves march on successive.'

748. **Νύξ τε καὶ Ἡμέρη**: cf. on 124.

ἆσσον ἰοῦσαι: it is not easy to choose between this and the variant ἀμφὶς ἐοῦσαι (ἀμφὶς ἰοῦσαι is a contamination). They are probably ancient variants. Both are Homeric phrases. ἆσσον ἰόντ- is used generally of going to someone (*Il.* 9. 508, 23. 8), sometimes with the special implication of violent intent (15. 105, 22. 92). Here we would have to supply ἀλλήλαις from 749 (presumably the idea is not that they both come towards Atlas): a little awkward, but possible. ἀμφὶς ἐόντ- may mean either 'being around' (*Il.* 7. 342, 9. 464, 24. 488; with an accusative governed by ἀμφίς, 851 below, *Il.* 14. 274, 15. 225) or 'being apart' or 'having been apart' (*Od.* 19. 221, 24. 218); on the relationship between these senses see Buttmann, *Lexil.*, pp. 94 ff. Here it could mean that Night and Day are constantly apart from each other (as described in 750 ff.), but in spite of that they meet in this unusual place; cf. *Od.* 10. 82–6 *Τηλέπυλον Λαιστρυγονίην, ὅθι ποιμένα ποιμὴν | ἠπύει εἰσελάων, ὁ δέ τ' ἐξελάων ὑπακούει | . . . | ἐγγὺς γὰρ νυκτός τε καὶ ἤματός εἰσι κέλευθοι.* An alternative interpretation might be 'on both sides' of Atlas and the sky he supports: Night calls χαῖρε to her daughter on the other side of the world as she goes down into the house of darkness, which extends under the whole earth. The attraction of this is that it avoids the paradox of Night and Day

moving in opposite directions and passing one another (see Stokes, p. 17); the difficulty of it is that *ὅθι* does suggest a more restricted arena than the whole breadth of the world.

The origin of the variants is obscure; it is curious that both in *Il.* 7. 342 *ἀμφὶς ἐοῦσα* and 9. 464 *ἀμφὶς ἐόντες* there is a variant *ἐγγύς* for *ἀμφίς*. *ἀμφὶς* may have been the reading known to Parmenides 1. 11 ff., *ἔνθα πύλαι Νυκτός τε καὶ Ἤματός εἰσι κελεύθων, | καί σφας ὑπέρθυρον ἀμφὶς ἔχει καὶ λάινος οὐδός. | αὐταὶ δ' αἰθέριαι πλῆνται μεγάλοισι θυρέτροις, | τῶν δὲ Δίκη πολύποινος ἔχει κληῖδας ἀμοιβούς.*

The accentuation *ἄσσον*, given by Venetus A in Homer, should perhaps be restored in Hesiod, though one ought then to write *κρέσσων*, *μέζων* too, forms of which there is scant trace in the tradition of Hesiod or of Homer. Cf. Wackernagel, *Kl. Schr.*, pp. 1181 f.; Chantraine, i. 190, 256.

749. **ἀλλήλας προσέειπον**: as do the Laestrygonian shepherds in the passage cited above.

ἀμειβόμεναι: 'crossing', as *Il.* 9. 409 (*ψυχή*) *ἐπεὶ ἄρ κεν ἀμείψεται ἕρκος ὀδόντων*, *Od.* 10. 328, etc.

οὐδὸν: although we athetize 744–5, this 'threshold' and the 'house' mentioned in 751–2 explain themselves: the house is the one Night and Day are in when they are not abroad, and the threshold is the one they cross on their way in and out. We cannot tell whether Hesiod, like his interpolator, would have called it the House of Night. Parmenides knew it by that name (fr. 1. 9).

A threshold has the same symbolic power as a gate (cf. on 741). As H. Fränkel, *Dicht. u. Phil.*, 2nd ed., p. 115, imaginatively puts it: 'Es ist immer Tag oder Nacht, und die Schwelle repräsentiert das Oder, in einem mehr metaphysischen als räumlichen Sinn.'

750. **χάλκεον**: cf. on 726. The *χάλκεος οὐδός* of 811 (if *χάλκεος* is right) can hardly be the same one.

καταβήσεται: a future is unlikely here, although sometimes used in general propositions (Kühner–Gerth, i. 171). *καταβήσεται* might be a present formed after the aorist *βήσετο* (as *κλύω* from *ἔκλυον*); so Shipp, op. cit. (on 266), p. 42. Shipp takes it so also in *Il.* 15. 382 *οἱ δ' ὥς τε μέγα κῦμα θαλάσσης εὐρυπόροιο | νηὸς ὑπὲρ τοίχων καταβήσεται*, where, however, it can also be taken as a subjunctive (Chantraine, i. 417, n. 2). Several emendations have been proposed: Guyet suggested *καταδύεται* (*κατεβήσατο* and *κατεδύσατο* are variants in *Il.* 24. 191, *Od.* 2. 337, cf. 4. 249, 11. 627), Sittl *καταβήσατο* (*κατεβήσετο* would be better both grammatically and palaeographically), A. Zimmermann *κατανίσεται* (*Phil. Woch.* 1922, col. 452. *μετανίσεται* is used of the sun in *Il.* 16. 779, *Od.* 9. 58).

751. **ἐντὸς ἐέργει**: *ἐέργει* in this phrase is no stronger than 'has'. Cf. *Op.* 269, *Il.* 2. 617. Similarly with *κεύθω* (505 n.).

752. **ἑτέρη**: in antithesis with *ἡ δέ*, cf. 762, fr. 272. 3, *Il.* 3. 103, *Od.* 8. 374.

δόμων ἔκτοσθεν: *Od.* 23. 148.

753. **γαῖαν ἐπιστρέφεται**: Thgn. 648.

754. **τὴν αὐτῆς**: see on 470.

ὥρην ὁδοῦ: 'time to go', so in Homer *ὥρη κοίτοιο, δόρποιο*. Cf. on 386–7.

ἔστ' ἂν: the conjunction *ἔστε* is not Homeric, but found in *Il. Pers.* fr. 1, Hom. *epigr.* 3. 2, Solon 12. 1, Thgn. 959, Xenoph. 6. 4, and conjectured in Archil. 13. According to the *Et. magn.* it is Doric; it is indeed used in Doric inscriptions, but also by Herodotus, Hippocrates, Plato and Xenophon, and in Tragedy. See E. Hermann, *Die Nebensätze in den griechischen Dialekten* (1912), pp. 298–300. Hermann regards it as a 'Boeotism' in Hesiod; but a Boeotian would say *ἔττε κα*, not *ἔστ' ἄν*.

The variant *εὖτε* is very doubtful in the sense 'until'; this sense is not recognized in lexica, though given by the MSS. in A.R. 3. 944, Nic. *Al.* 66. For the corruption cf. on 358.

[Orph.] *L.* 742 has *ἔστ' ἂν ἵκησθε*. Hesiod uses a different phrase in *Op.* 630: *ὡραῖον μίμνειν πλόον εἰς ὅ κεν ἔλθῃ*.

755–6. There is a similar picture in Mimn. 2. 5 ff. *Κῆρες δὲ παρεστήκασι μέλαιναι, | ἡ μὲν ἔχουσα τέλος γήραος ἀργαλέου, | ἡ δ' ἑτέρη θανάτοιο*.

ἐπιχθονίοισι: cf. 372.

πολυδερκὲς: cf. on 451.

μετὰ χερσί: Thanatos and Hypnos in the arms of Night were depicted on the Cypselus chest, Paus. 5. 18. 1. Ploutos was similarly represented as a child in the arms of Eirene, in a statue by Cephisodotus, Paus. 1. 8. 2, 9. 16. 2, cf. 9. 16. 1. Compare also *Il.* 5. 592–4 *ἦρχε δ' ἄρα σφιν Ἄρης καὶ πότνι' Ἐνυώ, | ἡ μὲν ἔχουσα Κυδοιμὸν ἀναιδέα δηιοτῆτος, | Ἄρης δ' ἐν παλάμῃσι πελώριον ἔγχος ἑνώμα*, 11. 3–4, *Sc.* 339.

κασίγνητον Θανάτοιο: *Il.* 14. 231. Cf. 212 above, *Op.* 116, *Il.* 11. 241, 16. 454, 672, *Od.* 13. 80, 18. 201–2, Paus. 5. 18. 1.

757–61. There are close echoes of these lines in *Od.* 11. 15–19 (the Cimmerians) *ἠέρι καὶ νεφέλῃ κεκαλυμμένοι· οὐδέ ποτ' αὐτοὺς | Ἠέλιος φαέθων ἐπιδέρκεται ἀκτίνεσσιν, | οὔθ' ὁπόταν στείχῃσι πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα, | οὔθ' ὅταν αὖψ ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἀπ' οὐρανόθεν προτράπηται, | ἀλλ' ἐπὶ νυὶ ὀλοὴ τέταται δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν*.

757. **Νὺξ ὀλοή**: 224 n. The disjunction *ἡ μὲν . . . ἡ δὲ . . .* being formally ambiguous, the identity of the second party is made explicit. *Sc.* 51 ff. supplies two examples of this device in four lines: *τὸν μὲν χειρότερον, τὸν δ' αὖ μέγ' ἀμείνονα φῶτα, | δεινόν τε κρατερόν τε, βίην Ἡρακληείην· | τὸν μὲν ὑποδμηθεῖσα κελαινεφέι Κρονίωνι, | αὐτὰρ Ἰφικλῆα δορυσσόῳ Ἀμφιτρύωνι*. Cf. *Il.* 5. 592 ff. quoted on 755–6.

νεφέλῃ κεκαλυμμένη: cf. 745 n.

758. **οἰκί' ἔχουσιν**: 64 n.

759. **Ὕπνος καὶ Θάνατος**: *Il.* 16. 672 *Ὕπνῳ καὶ Θανάτῳ διδυμάοσιν*. The naming of Night's children here, as if they had not just been mentioned, is surprising, but perhaps explained by the self-contained nature of all these paragraphs. *Νυκτὸς παῖδες* alone might have suggested the whole brood listed in 211 ff.; a similar horde is actually placed before the gates of Orcus by Virgil, *A.* 6. 273 ff.

δεινοὶ θεοί: cf. 933, and on 442 *κυδρὴ θεός*.

760. **Ἥλιος φαέθων**: the phrase occurs five times in Homer.

ἐπιδέρκεται: so MSS. in *Od.* 11. 16 cited above, though Aristophanes and Aristarchus read *καταδέρκεται*. Cf. *Op.* 267 f. *πάντα ἰδὼν Διὸς ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ πάντα νοήσας | καί νυ τάδ' αἴ κ' ἐθέλῃσ' ἐπιδέρκεται, οὐδέ ἑ λήθει*. The idea that the Sun sees everything on earth is common: *Il.* 3. 277 *Ἠέλιός θ' ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις*, etc. Cf. on 451.

761. Corresponding to *Od.* 11. 17–18; cf. also *Od.* 12. 380–1.

οὐρανὸν εἰσανιὼν: *Il.* 7. 423; cf. 24. 307 *οὐρανὸν εἰσανιδών*.

οὐρανόθεν καταβαίνων: cf. *Il.* 11. 184 *οὐρανόθεν καταβάς*.

762. **τῶν**: δ' is added in part of the tradition, as elsewhere; cf. on 321.

ἕτερος: 752 n.

μὲν γῆν: in *a γῆν* has become *γαίην* (a tendency in this tradition; most MSS. have *γαίης* for *γῆς* in 720, 721, 723a; *a* has *γαῖαν* for *γῆν* in 972), and in S metre is restored by the omission of *μὲν*. Rzach adopts this reading, correcting to *γαῖαν*. But *γῆν τε καὶ εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης* recurs in 790, 972, Thgn. 179.

763. **ἤσυχος**: it is a bare possibility that the original text was *ἤπιος*, as Hesiod conjoins *ἤπιος* and *μείλιχος* in 406–8, and *ἤσυχον* is one of several equivalents for *ἤπιον* offered by Hesychius. *ἤσυχος* does not occur in Homer (*ἡσύχιον Il.* 21. 598); it is found once in Hesiod (*Op.* 119), but there too it may be a gloss (on *ἐθελημοί*), and Diodorus' citation has *εὔφρονες* instead. If it is retained here, the god Sleep assumes the characteristic of the sleeper.

ἀνστρέφεται: on the apocope of *ἀνά* cf. Shipp, op. cit. (on 266), p. 137.

764. **σιδηρέη μὲν κραδίη, χάλκεον δέ οἱ ἦτορ**: hard hearts are more often said to be of iron (*Il.* 22. 357, 24. 205, 521, *Od.* 4. 293, 5. 191, 12. 280, 23. 172) or of adamant (239 n.) than of bronze (*Il.* 2. 490, where, however, the idea is of stamina, as in *χαλκέντερος*, rather than pitilessness). Perhaps the idea here too is that Death is tireless as well as merciless. The distinction between *κραδίη* and *ἦτορ* is purely verbal. For the synizeses *σιδηρέῃ, χάλκεον* cf. p. 100.

χάλκεον δέ οἱ ἦτορ, *Il.* l.c. *χάλκεον δέ μοι ἦτορ*.

765. **νηλεὲς**: cf. 456, 770.

ἔχει δ' ὃν πρῶτα λάβῃσιν: once he lays hands upon a man, he has him. Cf. *Sc.* 252 ff. (*Κῆρες*) *ὃν δὲ πρῶτον μεμάποιεν | κείμενον ἢ πίπτοντα νεούτατον, ἀμφὶ μὲν αὐτῷ | βάλλ⟨ον . . .⟩ ὄνυχας μεγάλους, ψυχὴ δὲ [Ἄιδόσδε] κατῆεν | Τάρταρον ἐς κρυόεντ'*, and above on 741.

766. **ἐχθρὸς δὲ καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν**: cf. 743, and on 739. *ἐχθρός* is passive, as always in Homer; the active sense is probable at *Op.* 342. *ἀθανάτοισι* may be merely the formulaic epithet, but it is highly appropriate here: Death is abhorrent, if not dangerous, even to the deathless.

767. **θεοῦ χθονίου**: cf. S. *Aj.* 571 *τοῦ κάτω θεοῦ*, *OC* 1548 *ἡ νερτέρα θεός*, [E.] *Rh.* 963 *νύμφην τὴν ἔνερθε*. Hades is elsewhere called *Ζεὺς*

(κατα)χθόνιος: *Op.* 465, *Il.* 9. 457, S. *OC* 1606, [Orph.] *H.* 18. 3, 41. 7, 70. 2, Nonn. *D.* 27. 77, 93, 44. 258; cf. A. *Suppl.* 156–8, 230–1, *Ag.* 1386–7 (cj.), E. fr. 912.

πρόσθεν: in 813 *πρόσθεν* cannot mean 'in front'; here it can, but there is no obvious reason why Hades' house should be in front of the dwelling-place of Sleep and Death, or why, if it was, the hinder house should be described first. It is perhaps easier to take the adverb in both places as meaning 'beyond', 'as you go further', *εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ἰόντι*. This was suggested for 813 by van Lennep, and for 767 by Peppmüller, *Hesiodos*, p. 76.

ἠχήεντες: a formulaic epithet appropriate to large and well-thronged houses, cf. *Od.* 4. 72, *h. Dem.* 104. One might expect this particular house to be silent; e.g. *Sc.* 131 *θανάτοιο λαθιφθόγγοιο*, Tymnes, *A.P.* 7. 199 and 211 *σιωπηραὶ νυκτὸς . . . ὁδοί*, Virg. *A.* 6. 264 *umbraeque silentes | et Chaos et Phlegethon loca nocte tacentia late.*

768. The line was justly suspected by Wolf; it is actually omitted by *Π*[29] and Par. 2772 (where restored by the second hand). That the impressive anonymity of *θεοῦ χθονίου* should be preserved is indicated by the fact that the *δεινὸς κύων* in 769 is not named either; and if 768 were genuine, we should expect *θεῶν* in 767, just as in *Od.* 10. 533 and 11. 46 we have *ἐπεύξασθαι δὲ θεοῖσιν, | ἰφθίμῳ τ' Ἄϊδῃ καὶ ἐπαινῇ Περσεφονείῃ*. It is from here that the interpolation stems; cf. also *Od.* 10. 491.

ἰφθίμου τ' Ἀΐδεω: cf. on 455.

ἐπαινῆς: a puzzling word, only used of Persephone, and only when she is coupled with Hades. See Buttmann, *Lexil.*, pp. 60 ff.; Leumann, *Hom. Wörter*, pp. 71–72.

769–73. The devouring aspect of death is embodied in the hound Cerberus. See A. Dieterich, *Nekyia* (1893), pp. 49 ff. The theme that Death welcomes visitors but does not let them go recurs, for example, in A. *Pers.* 688–90 *ἐστὶ δ' οὐκ εὐέξοδον | ἄλλως τε πάντως, χοὶ κατὰ χθονὸς θεοὶ | λαβεῖν ἀμείνους εἰσὶν ἢ μεθιέναι.* To the passages cited by Gow on Theocr. 12. 19 add *GVI* 1585. 9 (Cyzicus, *s.* ii–i B.C.) *Φερσεφόνας δ' ἀδίαυλον ὑπὸ στυγερὸν δόμον ἦλθον*, Catull. 3. 12 *illuc unde negant redire quemquam*; Virg. *A.* 6. 425 *irremeabilis undae.*

769. **φυλάσσει**: cf. Theocr. 29. 38 *φύλακον νεκύων πεδὰ Κέρβερον*, Virg. *A.* 6. 395 *Tartareum . . . custodem.*

770. **νηλειής**: this form, also found in *h. Aphr.* 245, is by metrical lengthening for *νηλεής*. Schulze, p. 290. Cf. on 765.

τέχνην: 'trick', 'habit'; cf. on 160.

ἐς μὲν ἰόντας: i.e. *τοὺς μὲν ἐσιόντας*, not *ἐς τοὺς ἰόντας. σαίνειν* takes a direct object as in S. *Ant.* 1214, fr. 687 (below), Ar. *Eq.* 1031. Cf. D.P. 95 *ἐς μὲν ἰόντι.*

On the asyndeton cf. 533 n.

771. Cf. *Od.* 17. 302 *οὐρῇ μέν ῥ' ὅ γ' ἔσηνε καὶ οὔατα κάββαλεν ἄμφω*; of Cerberus, S. fr. 687 *ἔσαινεν οὐρᾷ μ' ὦτα κυλλαίνων κάτω* (from the *Phaedra*; Theseus describing his entry into Hades?); Hor.

C. 2. 13. 33 *quid mirum ubi illis carminibus stupens | demittit atras belua centiceps | aures?*

The image of the dog that fawns and then bites is also used metaphorically: S. fr. 885 *σαίνεις δάκνουσα καὶ κύων λαίθαργος εἶ*, with Pearson.

ἀμφοτέροισιν: cf. 312 n.

772. αὖτις . . . πάλιν: *Od.* 14. 356, etc.

ἀλλὰ δοκεύων | ἐσθίει: cf. 466 f.

773. ἐσθίει, ὅν κε λάβῃσι: *Il.* 21. 24 (a dolphin) *κατεσθίει ὅν κε λάβῃσιν*. Cf. 765.

πυλέων ἔκτοσθεν: cf. 741.

774. The verse is, as Jacoby says, 'non "spurius" sed non traditus'. It is hardly more than an alternative place for the interpolation 768.

775. στυγερὴ: the same idea as in 739, but here with special allusion to the name Styx. Cf. p. 77.

θεὸς: cf. 442 n.

776. δεινὴ Στύξ: cf. *Sc.* 129 *δεινὸς ἀνήρ*, 148 *δεινὴ Ἔρις*, *Il.* 17. 211 *δεινὸς Ἐνυάλιος* (all at beginning of line).

θυγάτηρ ἀψορρόου Ὠκεανοῖο: *Il.* 18. 399. Cf. 361.

777. πρεσβυτάτη: cf. on 361.

νόσφιν δὲ θεῶν: cf. on 302.

κλυτὰ δώματα ναίει: the phrase apparently refers to a cave, as in 303. Cyllene's cave is called a *δόμος* (*h. Herm.* 27, 246), and Calypso's, *μέγαρα* (*Od.* 4. 557). For the idea that the god of a spring or river lives in a house on the site, cf. A. *PV* 133, 300, 396 (Oceanus), Virg. *A.* 8. 65, Ov. *F.* 5. 661 (Tiber), *M.* 8. 560 (Achelous). Hera in *Il.* 14. 202 speaks of Oceanus and Tethys as having *δόμοι*; cf. Q.S. 3. 748, 12. 160 *Τηθύος ἄντρα*. The *Ὠγηνοῦ δώματα* of Pherec. B 2 need not mean places where Ogenos himself dwells; cf. *C.Q.* 1963, p. 166.

778–9. Hesiod's description of the mythical Styx has long been compared with ancient and modern accounts of the waterfall at Nonacris in Arcadia, which also bore the name Styx at least as early as the sixth century (Hdt. 6. 74). Cf. Paus. 8. 17. 6–18. 6; Frazer, *Paus.* iv. 250 ff.; Bölte, *R.E.* iv A 457 ff. The Arcadian Styx similarly falls down an immense sheer cliff (cf. below, 786 f.), amid what is said to be some of the most awesome scenery to be found anywhere. Its water is very cold, cf. 786. Hesiod's 'silver columns', Frazer thinks (p. 253), may originally have been suggested by enormous icicles hanging over the cliff in winter. 'It is said that when a cloud rests on the summit of the precipice, the water of the cascade seems to drop straight from the sky. In winter the clouds must often be down on the mountain, and the icicles will then look like "silver pillars propped against the sky".' 'Im Februar sah Fürst Pückler (*Südöstlicher Bildersaal*, ii. 203 f.) den gefrorenen Wasserfall wie zwei Eiszapfen an der Felswand hängen.' (Bölte, p. 458.)

Whether the Arcadian Styx was the original of the mythical one, or received its name because of its awesome similarity to it, need not

concern us. It is the mythical one that Hesiod is describing, and he probably knew no other, although the tradition he is following may have been influenced by the actual features of the Arcadian Styx.

κατηρεφέ': cf. on 594. For the accompanying dative cf. *Od.* 9. 183.

πάντῃ: *πάντα* would be possible in itself, cf. 127. But *ἀμφὶ δὲ πάντῃ* is supported by the occurrence of the phrase in D.P. 596, [Opp.] *C.* 1. 335, 461, 3. 273, Q.S. 5. 3, 6. 2, etc.

ἀργυρέοισι: cf. 522 n. on the gender of *κίων*.

πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται: this may mean no more than 'reaches up to the sky'. *Il.* 4. 443 (Eris) *οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξε κάρη καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαίνει*, E. *Ba.* 1083. In *Il.* 18. 485 Zenodotus read *τὰ τείρεα πάντα τά τ' οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται* (*οὐρανῷ* Düntzer).

It seems impossible for such columns to rise straight from the underworld to the sky. It might be that Hesiod was unable to imagine even an infernal landscape with anything but a sky above. On the other hand, Styx is connected at one end with Oceanus (789), and Iris crosses the sea to draw its water (781). It is from Oceanus that it flows down the high rock through the darkness below the earth (786–8). So if Hesiod's ideas are at all definite, the columns are probably at the outer edge of the world. There may be some connexion with the common idea of pillars supporting heaven, cf. 522 n.

The description cannot be taken any further here, because it is of Styx as a goddess. The rest of what Hesiod has to say concerns the Styx as a waterfall, and he works it in after 785.

780. **παῦρα**: 'seldom'. Used adverbially also in *h. Herm.* 577, and might be so taken in *Il.* 3. 214.

πόδας ὠκέα Ἶρις: nine times in *Il.*, not in *Od.* Cf. on 266.

781. **†ἀγγελίη πωλεῖται**: *ἀγγελίη* in the sense of a female messenger is not found anywhere else, and would have to be explained as an artificial formation after masc. *ἀγγελίης*, as *ταμίη*: *ταμίης*. So Buttmann, *Lexil.*, pp. 11–18; Leumann, *Hom. Wörter*, p. 172; Shipp, op. cit. (on 266), p. 73. Unfortunately even the existence of *ἀγγελίης* is a matter of some doubt. It is assumed by some ancient and modern interpreters in such passages as *Il.* 11. 140 *ἀγγελίην ἐλθόντα*, 15. 640 *ἀγγελίης οἴχνεσκε* (*-ίην* Zenod.), 13. 252 (*ἠέ τι βέβληαι*) *ἦέ τευ ἀγγελίης μετ' ἔμ' ἤλυθες;* 3. 206 *δεῦρό ποτ' ἤλυθε . . . σεῦ ἕνεκ' ἀγγελίης.* (Hence perhaps Antip. Thess. *A.P.* 6. 198. 2 *ἰούλους . . . γενύων ἄρσενας ἀγγελίας* [*ἀγλαΐας* Hecker].) None of these cases is unequivocal. In 11. 140, *ἀγγελίην ἐλθεῖν* can be taken as 'go on an errand', as *ἐξεσίην ἐλθεῖν* 24. 235; in 3. 206 *ἀγγελίης* may be governed by *ἕνεκα*, as Leaf shows ad loc.; in the remaining passages it may be taken either as a peculiar use of the genitive—there is no exact parallel, but the possibility cannot be excluded; cf. Buttmann, pp. 13 f.—or as dative plural, 'on account of' or simply 'with' a message, cf. the uses of the dative exemplified by Monro, § 144. The plural *ἀγγελίαι* is used mostly of a number of separate dispatches (*Od.* 1. 414, 2. 92, 255, 13. 381, 24. 354; this would be appropriate in *Il.* 15. 640), but also of single ones (*Od.* 5. 150, *h. Dem.* 448, *Aphr.* 215). This interpretation has the

advantage that *ἀγγελίη(ι)* in Hesiod can be taken as dative singular (so already Guyet). Otherwise it seems necessary to write *ἀγγελίην* or *-ίης*: I would prefer the former, with Rzach and Jacoby.

782. The line may be taken either with 781 or with 783; but in the former case one would expect *γάρ* in 783. Jacoby punctuates only with commas at the end of 781 and 783, making 784 a continuation of the *ὁππότε* clause; I doubt whether this is what Hesiod meant.

ἔρις καὶ νεῖκος . . . ὄρηται: *Od.* 20. 267, cf. 513.

783. **ὅστις**: for *εἴ τις*.

ψεύδηται: the context and the parallel of *Op.* 283 rather favour the aorist given by Q Tr. Tr has *κε* for *τις*; one could read *ὅστίς κε ψεύσετ'*. The *μὲν* written above *ὅστις* in S might derive from a misreading of *κεν*, but is more likely an attempt to construe.

784. Iris is sent out with a jug, just as a Greek girl would be sent for water (but normally with a larger vessel). Because these are gods, the jug is of gold; and *ἀγγελίη* implies a formal summons to Styx herself. The myth may have originated as a popular explanation of the rainbow; so it is interpreted by the scholia.

δέ τε: 609 n.

θεῶν μέγαν ὅρκον: cf. on 400.

785. **ἐν χρυσέῃ προχόῳ**: see above. According to Paus. 8. 18. 5, Styx water eats through gold; this and similar tales are a later development, cf. Hirzel, *Der Eid*, p. 201, n. 1; Ninck, pp. 37 ff.; Frazer on Paus. 8. 18. 5.

πολυώνυμον: 'celebrated'; *-ώνυμος* as in 409 n. The epithet is applied to Poseidon in *h. Dem.* 18, to Apollo in *h. Ap.* 82. The reading of S, *πολυόμβριμον*, seems to be a reminiscence of *h. Herm.* 519 *Στυγὸς ὄβριμον ὕδωρ*, or else a conflation of *πολυώνυμον* with an actual variant *Στυγὸς ὄβριμον*. *ὄβριμον ὕδωρ* also occurs in *Il.* 4. 453. *ὄβριμος*, *ὀβριμόθυμος*, etc., are more often than not spelt *ὀμβρ-* in codd.

ὕδωρ: cf. on 805.

786. Cf. on 778–9.

καταλείβεται: cf. *Il.* 15. 37, *Od.* 5. 185 *τὸ κατειβόμενον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ*. The assonance with *ἠλιβάτοιο* is effective, whether deliberate or not.

787. **πολλὸν**: probably not 'in large quantity' (van Lennep, Paley), but with *ὑπὸ*, 'far below', as, for example, *Od.* 6. 40 *πολλὸν γὰρ ἀπὸ πλυνοί εἰσι πόληος*.

788. **ἱεροῦ**: often applied to rivers, *Il.* 11. 726, *Od.* 10. 351, Hom. *epigr.* 4. 7, cf. *h. Ap.* 263, 387, E. *Med.* 410, S. *Ph.* 1215, etc. But Oceanus is the holiest river of all.

789. **Ὠκεανοῖο**: Styx and Oceanus have in common that they are streams that flow beyond man's ken; outside Hesiod they are both associated with the land of the dead. So it is natural for them to be physically related.

κέρας: 'branch', as in Pi. fr. 201, Thuc. 1. 110, A.R. 4. 282, Strab. 458. So *cornua*, Ov. *M.* 9. 774. Sch. A.R. l.c. *κέρατα τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ λέγουσι πάντας τοὺς ποταμοὺς τοὺς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καταφερομένους*. The metaphor is probably connected with the representation of rivers as

bulls (E. *Or.* 1378 *Ὠκεανὸς ταυρόκρανος*, and A. S. Owen on *Ion* 1261): Strab. l.c. *οἱ δὲ . . . ταύρῳ μὲν ἐοικότα λέγεσθαι τὸν Ἀχελῷον φασι* (in S. *Tr.* 11) *καθάπερ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ποταμοὺς ἀπό τε τῶν ἤχων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰ ῥεῖθρα καμπῶν, ἃς καλοῦσι κέρατα.* A river's 'head' is at its source: Hdt. 4. 91, Virg. *G.* 4. 319, Tib. 1. 7. 24, etc.

δεκάτη δ' ἐπὶ μοῖρα δέδασται: 'and one part in ten is allotted to it'. For *δεκάτη μοῖρα* in this sense cf. *Il.* 15. 195 *καὶ κρατερός περ ἐὼν μενέτω τριτάτῃ ἐνὶ μοίρῃ.* 16. 849 *ἀλλά με Μοῖρ' ὀλοὴ καὶ Λητοῦς ἔκτανεν υἱός,* | *ἀνδρῶν δ' Εὔφορβος· σὺ δέ με τρίτος ἐξεναρίζεις* (only one among three). *Op.* 578 *ἠὼς γάρ τ' ἔργοιο τρίτην ἀπομείρεται αἶσαν.*

790. **ἐννέα**: sc. *μοίρας*. Cf. fr. 275 *ἐννέα μὲν μοίρας, δεκάτην δέ τε τέρπεται ἀνήρ.* For the progression nine–ten cf. on 636. Hesiod means only that the volume of water in the Styx is one-ninth of that in Oceanus, not that Oceanus winds round the earth nine times, as Virgil seems to have understood him (*A.* 6. 439 *nouies Styx interfusa*), misleading certain modern commentators.

791. **δίνης ἀργυρέης**: as in the common epithet of rivers, *ἀργυροδίνης*.

εἰλιγμένος: so in fr. 70. 23 of the Cephisus, *καί τε δι' Ἐρχομενοῦ εἰλιγμένος εἶσι δράκων ὥς.*

εἰς ἅλα πίπτει: as do all rivers of the upper world. *Il.* 21. 196, *ἐξ οὗπερ πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα*, refers as it stands to Oceanus, but with Zenodotus' omission of 195, to Achelous.

Cf. Procl. *in Tim.* iii. 180. 8 (Orph. fr. 116) *δηλοῦσι δὲ οἱ θεολόγοι τὸν Ὠκεανὸν ἁπάσης εἶναι κινήσεως χορηγόν, δέκα λέγοντες αὐτὸν ἐκπέμπειν ὀχετούς, ὧν ἐπὶ θάλατταν τοὺς ἐννέα χωρεῖν.*

792. **ἥ δὲ μί'**: cf. 278 *τῇ δὲ μιῇ. μοῖρα* is again to be supplied.

μέγα πῆμα θεοῖσιν: just as Horkos is *πῆμ' ἐπιόρκοις*, *Op.* 804.

793–805. Cf. Serv. *Aen.* 6. 565 *fertur namque ab Orpheo* (fr. 295) *quod dii peierantes per Stygem paludem nouem annorum spatio* (v.l. *nouem milibus annorum*) *puniuntur in Tartaro. unde ait Statius* (*Th.* 8. 30) *'et Styx periuria diuum arguit'*. The testimonium is doubted by Buse, *Quaest. Hes. et Orph.*, pp. 77 and 103, who thinks that Servius names Orpheus by mistake for Hesiod. But it receives confirmation from ps.-Galen (Porphyry) *ad Gaurum* p. 35. 2 Kalbfl. (*Abh. Ak. Berl.* 1895) = Orph. fr. 124, where the reference must be to the same Orphic passage; see *C.Q.* 1963, p. 169.

There is a similar doctrine in Emped. fr. 115, but without mention of Styx: whenever a god defiles himself by spilling blood, or perjures himself, he is banished from the immortals for 30,000 seasons, and undergoes a cycle of mortal lives as an animal, human, plant, fish, etc. It is not unlikely that 'Orpheus' too treated the banishment from the gods as a period of incarnation, and even Hesiod was apparently interpreted in this way, cf. Porphyry and *C.Q.*, ll.cc.

793. **ἀπολλείψας**: cf. A.R. 2. 291 *ὣς φαμένη λοιβὴν Στυγὸς ὤμοσεν.* The act of libation effects contact with the goddess, who then convicts the god if he makes a false declaration. Cf. on 231 and 400. Libation

is usual in taking an oath (e.g. E. *Ph.* 1240, Ar. *Ach.* 148, *V.* 1046); sometimes its place is taken by a more substantial sacrifice. Cf. P. Stengel, op. cit. (on 231), pp. 86, 136–7. In Pl. *Critias* 120AB, part of the libation is drunk; but there is no need to assume this as an explanation of the perjurer's coma in Hesiod, as Schoemann suggests (ed. p. 235, cf. F. Dümmler, *Kl. Schr.* ii. 134 ff.). See Hirzel, *Der Eid*, p. 201, n. 1.

Water is the oldest form of libation, according to Theophr. *ap.* Porph. *abst.* 2. 20, Nonn. *D.* 4. 352 ff.

794 = 118, cf. 42 n.

795. **νήυτμος**: perhaps only here.

τετελεσμένον εἰς ἐνιαυτόν: an un-Homeric phrase, also in *Op.* 561. A year is the duration of Ares' ordeal in *Il.* 5. 387, as of Apollo's servitude (Panyas. 16. 3, Apld. 3. 10. 4; but nine years according to Serv. *Aen.* 7. 761). See Frazer, *Apollodorus*, i, pp. 218–19. But this coma is perhaps only the event that proves who the perjurer is, the subsequent ordeal (800 ff.) being the actual punishment (Hirzel, pp. 158, 182). On the other hand, the motif of illness as punishment for a god's oath-breaking does occur in the Vedas. The Moon-god broke the oath he had sworn to Prajāpati, and so suffered the illness of Rājayakshma (consumption). Oldenberg, op. cit. (on 400), p. 522, cited by Hirzel.

796. Cf. on 639 ff.; 640. *H. Dem.* 49 *οὐδέ ποτ' ἀμβροσίης καὶ νέκταρος ἡδυπότοιο | πάσσατ' ἀκηχεμένη.*

ἔρχεται ἆσσον: cf. *Od.* 11. 147 *ὄντινα μέν κεν ἐᾷς νεκύων . . . | αἵματος ἆσσον ἴμεν, ὁ δέ τοι νημερτὲς ἐνίψει*, *Il.* 23. 44 *οὐ θέμις ἐστὶ λοετρὰ καρήατος ἆσσον ἱκέσθαι*, and 748 n.

797. **βρώσιος**: the word order indicates that this has a predicative force, 'by way of food'. In Homer *βρῶσις* is only found in conjunction with *πόσις*.

ἀλλά τε: Denniston, p. 530.

κεῖται ἀνάπνευστος καὶ ἄναυδος: cf. *Od.* 5. 456 *ὁ δ' ἄρ' ἄπνευστος καὶ ἄναυδος | κεῖτ'* (*ἀνάπνευστος* a few MSS.). See on 660, and p. 76.

798. **στρωτοῖς ἐν λεχέεσσι**: cf. *Il.* 24. 720 *τρητοῖς ἐν λεχέεσσι*, *h. Dem.* 285 *εὐστρώτων λεχέων.*

κακὸν δ' ἐπὶ κῶμα καλύπτει: for the reading of S, *δέ ἑ*, one may compare *Il.* 23. 693 *μέλαν τέ ἑ κῦμα κάλυψεν*, but against that may be set *Od.* 18. 201 *με . . . μαλακὸν περὶ κῶμα κάλυψεν* (similarly *Il.* 14. 359); Arist. *de anima* 429a7 *διὰ τὸ ἐπικαλύπτεσθαι τὸν νοῦν ἐνίοτε πάθει ἢ νόσοις ἢ ὕπνῳ. δέ ἑ* may be a Homeric reminiscence, like *κῦμα* in *a*.

κῶμα denotes a magic sleep, caused by the gods for some special purpose. Cf. *Il.* 14. 359, *Od.* 18. 201, Alcm. 7. 2, Sapph. 2. 8, Pi. *P.* 1. 12, Nonn. *D.* 16. 262; Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus*, p. 37; E. Risch, *Mus. Helv.* 1962, pp. 198 f. *καλύπτειν* is used in Homer of the darkness of death, or of unconsciousness following a blow, never of natural sleep. On the metaphor see Onians, pp. 421 ff.

799. **ἐπὴν**: with variant *ἐπεί*, as in *Op.* 728, *Il.* 1. 168, 7. 5, 16. 453,

Od. 12. 55, 14. 130, 22. 254, 440. ἐπήν is found in *Op.* 291, 600, 614, fr. 274. 2, and over forty times in Homer; see van Leeuwen, *Mnem.* 1887, p. 108.

τελέσει: so with ἀέθλους, 951 n.; πόνον, *Od.* 23. 250. For the short-vowel subjunctive see on 81.

μέγαν εἰς ἐνιαυτόν: 795 shows that this is not to be understood as a 'great year' in the sense of an ennaeteris (Cens. *de die nat.* 18. 4–5), as Goettling thinks, followed by Aly, who compares Apld. 3. 4. 2 (from Pherec. 3 F 22/89) *Κάδμος δὲ ἀνθ' ὧν ἔκτεινεν †ἀΐδιον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐθήτευσεν Ἄρει· ἦν δὲ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς τότε ὀκτὼ ἔτη*, and by Merkelbach, *Stud. Ital.* 1956, p. 292. The same phrase μέγαν εἰς ἐνιαυτόν is used of an ordinary year by Arat. 741 (in Rhian. fr. 10, where it is used of Apollo's servitude, it might have either meaning, see above on 795); likewise *magnum annum* in Virg. *A.* 3. 284, *magni menses Ec.* 4. 12. But in Hesiod ἐνιαυτός is not 'a year', but the day marking the end of a year, as often in early Greek; μέγας as in *Op.* 792 εἰκάδι δ' ἐν μεγάλῃ (a curious use); εἰς with the idea of 'arriving at', as in *Od.* 3. 138 *καλεσσαμένω ἀγορὴν ἐς πάντας Ἀχαιοὺς . . . ἐς ἠέλιον καταδύντα.*

800. ἄλλος δ': this reading now has respectable support in *k*, and may be adopted without hesitation. Cf. *Il.* 7. 149 (v.l.), 11. 268, 12. 145, etc., and on 60; L. Lahmeyer, *De apodotico qui dicitur particulae δέ in carminibus Homericis usu*, Diss. Kiel, 1879, pp. 2–4. In the rest of the tradition δ' was omitted; γ' in S is of course a metrical emendation.

The words ἄλλος δ' ἐξ ἄλλου δέχεται recur in Emped. 115. 12, in the same context but differently used.

δέχεται: 'follows on'. *Il.* 19. 290 *ὥς μοι δέχεται κακὸν ἐκ κακοῦ αἰεί.*

ἆθλος: in *Op.* 656 the MSS. have ἆθλ' (*γρ.* ἄεθλ' Vindob. gr. 242); in fr. 76. 5 the papyrus has ἆθλον. In Homer too the vulgate generally has ἀθλ- (-εῖν, -εύειν, -οφόρος) for the contracted form, but sometimes with ἀεθλ- as a variant. So A.R. 1. 1304 ἄθλων, 2. 783 ἀθλεύων. In Archil. 85, on the other hand, ἄεθλα is transmitted. It might be thought that this is the *lectio difficilior* and ἀθλ- a modernization, as in 435. But the introduction of epic and hyper-epic forms against the metre is not uncommon in the MSS. of Hesiod, e.g. γαίην for γῆν (762 n.), -οιο for -ου (368, 979 *k*), -άων for -έων (94 BK, 102 Q, 732 *a*, etc.) and even for -ων (235 n.), αὐτὰρ for ἀτὰρ (198 K*b*), -οισι for -οις (436 *a*K, 506 *ak*, 684 *a*U, etc.), ἐνὶ for ἐν (641 *k*), ἀϋτμῇ for αὐτμῇ (862 *b*QS), -ῆα for -έα (982 *a*). It is likely enough that ἄεθλος belongs in this class. See further O. Hoffmann, *Gr. Dialekte*, iii. 322.

801. εἰνάετες: ἐννάετες (Z) might be supported by *Op.* 436 ἐνναετήρῳ, Theocr. 26. 29 ἐνναέτης, sch.^{T} *Il.* 1. 1 ἐνναετία; but εἰνάετες *Il.* 18. 400, *Od.* 14. 240, cf. [Orph.] *L.* 348, Crinag. *A.P.* 7. 643; Wackernagel, *Glotta*, 2, 1910, p. 4 = *Kl. Schr.* ii. 836.

For the nine-year period of banishment, which Empedocles magnifies to 30,000 seasons (= years?), perhaps on the model of Aeschylus' Prometheus trilogy (793–805 n.), cf. Frazer, *Apollodorus*, i, pp. 218–19. Hephaestus stayed for the same period with Thetis and Eurynome when Hera cast him out of heaven, *Il.* 18. 394 ff. Cf.

also *Il.* 8. 404 *οὐδέ κεν ἐς δεκάτους περιτελλομένους ἐνιαυτοὺς | ἔλκε' ἀπαλθήσεσθον ἃ κεν μάρπτῃσι κεραυνός.*

ἀπαμείρεται: *ἀπομείρεται* would naturally have the opposite meaning, 'has a share in', as in *Op.* 578 cited on 789 (there, conversely, *ἀπαμείρεται* is v.l.). *μείρεσθαι* 'be divided from' rests on doubtful authority: in Arat. 522 *ἀπαμείρεται* is much better attested, and in *Il.* 7. 127 Zenodotus' *μειρόμενος* for *μ' εἰρόμενος* is hardly intelligible. We are left with Arat. 657 *ἀλλ' ἥ γ' ἐς κεφαλὴν ἴση δύετ' ἀρνευτῆρι | μειρομένη γονάτων* (a very odd expression: *αἰρομένη* Maass), and Hsch. *μείρεται· στέρεται, κληροῦται, μερίζεται.*

802. **οὐδέ ποτ'**: cf. 796.

ἐς: for the construction cf. *Il.* 18. 215 *οὐδ' ἐς Ἀχαιοὺς | μίσγετο.*

βουλὴν . . . δαῖτας: the gods combine the two activities, cf. *Il.* 1. 575, 579; 4. 1 ff.

ἐπιμίσγεται: *Il.* 5. 505, 10. 548, *Od.* 6. 205, 241. *περιμίσγεται* does not occur elsewhere; in *PMag.* 4. 2920 (*GDK* 59. 14. 6), van Herwerden's *πυρὶ μίγνυται* is to be accepted.

803. Again the nine–ten progression (636 n.).

ἔτεᾱ: cf. *Op.* 130 *ἀλλ' ἑκατὸν μὲν παῖς ἔτεα παρὰ μητέρι κεδνῇ*, *Il.* 20. 255 *πόλλ' ἐτεά* ('true') *τε καὶ οὐκί*, and altogether about a dozen Homeric examples of *-ᾱ* in the neuter plural, especially in *-εσ-* stems: Monro, § 374.

ἐπιμίσγεται: the prefix would be more normally omitted when the verb is repeated, cf. Kühner–Gerth, i. 552, ii. 568. P in fact has *μίσγεται*, whence Sittl conjectured *δέ τε μίσγεται* (*Sitz.-Ber. Bayr. Ak.*, 1889, p. 370). So in fr. 275 (version of the scholiast on Lycophron) *ἐννέα μὲν μοίρας, δεκάτην δέ τε τέρπεται ἀνήρ.*

804. **†εἰρέας ἀθανάτων**: some case of the word *εἶρα* 'assembly-place', 'speaking-place' (*Il.* 18. 531) should probably be restored. There seem to be three possibilities: (*a*) *εἴρας ἐς* (Hermann). This would accord with the construction in 802, and is in general the most attractive. If *εἴρες* had been written by mistake, a correction *εἰρᾶς* could have produced *εἰρέας*. (*b*) *εἴραις* (Ruhnken), the dative with *ἐπιμίσγομαι* as in *Il.* 10. 548, *Od.* 6. 205, 241. (*c*) *εἴρας* (Heyne: *εἰρὰς*), accusative as in Call. *H.* 1. 12 *οὐδέ τί μιν . . . | ἕρπετὸν οὐδὲ γυνὴ ἐπιμίσγεται.*

805. **τοῖον**: the description is rounded off in the usual way. Cf. on 93.

ὅρκον: 400 n.

θεοί: actually Zeus in 400.

Στυγὸς ἄφθιτον ὕδωρ: both the mythical and the Arcadian Styx were regularly called, not simply *Στύξ*, but *Στυγὸς ὕδωρ*. This is invariable in Homer (*Il.* 2. 755, 8. 369, 14. 271, 15. 37, *Od.* 5. 185, 10. 514; *h. Dem.* 259, *Ap.* 85); also Hdt. 6. 74, Theophr. fr. 160, Strab. 389, Paus. 8. 17. 6, etc.; other references in *R.E.* iv A 460 ff. (Bölte). This may have been the original name, 'the water of shuddering' (Schulze, p. 442, cf. above, 739 n.).

ἄφθιτον (cf. 389, 397 *Στυὸς ἄφθιτος*) is probably connected with the

belief that the water of Styx was an elixir of life, as in the story of the immersion of Achilles (Stat. *Ach.* 1. 269, Fulg. *mith.* 3. 7, Serv. *Aen.* 6. 57, etc.). There is said to be a modern superstition that whoever drinks from the Arcadian Styx on the right day in the year may attain immortality (C. T. Schwab, *Arkadien* (1852), p. 16). The modern equivalent of *ἄφθιτον ὕδωρ* is *τὸ ἀθάνατο νερό*. It is guarded by Lamia, who strikes it from a rock with a hammer. (J. G. von Hahn, *Griech. u. alban. Märchen*, 1864, ii. 234; Bernh. Schmidt, *Gr. Märchen*, p. 233.) Cf. Ninck, pp. 34–40; Lawson, p. 282.

806. The physical situation of Styx is once more touched on, as at the beginning of the section (777–9) and in the middle (786–92). This prepares the way for the continuation of the topography of Tartarus in 807–19.

ὠγύγιον: the meaning of this word is unknown. It is traditionally interpreted 'very ancient'. Callimachus at least speaks of 'very ancient water' (*H.* 1. 40, of Neda). Calypso lives on an *ὠγυγίη νῆσος* (*ὠγυγίη* may be taken as a proper name, but need not), *Od.* 1. 85, etc. See Wilamowitz, *Hom. Unters.*, pp. 16–17; Wörner, *Roscher*, iii. 692–4.

καταστυφέλου: *h. Herm.* 124. Hesychius gives another form, *κατάστυφλος*, cf. *στυφελός*/*στύφλος*. The accent should perhaps be *κατὰστυφελός*, as in variants both here and in *h. Herm.*

807–10. See notes on 736–9.

811. Cf. *Il.* 8. 15 *ἔνθα σιδήρειαί τε πύλαι καὶ χάλκεος οὐδός*.

μαρμάρεαι: 'shining', as always in Homer (*Iliad* only).

πύλαι: see on 741.

χάλκεος: *λάινος* is probably an ancient variant. *λάινος οὐδός* is used of Apollo's shrine at Delphi in *Il.* 9. 404, *Od.* 8. 80, *h. Ap.* 296. Parmenides has it at the gate of the paths of Night and Day (quoted on 748); this shows that it could be employed in cosmic architecture, and it might be urged that *χάλκεος* could be explained as a Homeric reminiscence. But it is what we expect here, cf. 726 n.

οὐδός: see on 749.

812. **ἀστεμφὲς**: *ἀστεμφής* may have been written under the influence of *αὐτοφυής* beneath. In 748 the adverb is *ἀστεμφέως*.

ῥίζῃσι διηνεκέεσσιν ἀρηρώς: *Il.* 12. 134 (mountain oaks) *ῥίζῃσιν μεγάλῃσι διηνεκέεσσ' ἀραρυῖαι*. Cf. also *h. Ap.* 254 f. *ὣς εἰπὼν διέθηκε θεμείλια Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων | εὐρέα καὶ μάλα μακρὰ διηνεκές*. For the 'roots' metaphor see 728 n., and on its application to foundations 816 n.

813. **αὐτοφυής**: natural, not manufactured. Compare the force of *αὐτο-* in *Op.* 433 *δοιὰ δὲ θέσθαι ἄροτρα . . . | αὐτόγυον καὶ πηκτόν*, *Il.* 23. 826 *σόλον αὐτοχόωνον*, A. *PV* 300–1 *πετρηρεφῆ | αὐτόκτιτ' ἄντρα*. For the idea inherent in *-φυής* cf. on 161.

πρόσθεν δὲ: see on 767.

θεῶν ἔκτοσθεν ἁπάντων: cf. *Op.* 115 *κακῶν ἔκτοσθεν ἁπάντων*, *h. Dem.* 303 *μακάρων ἀπὸ νόσφιν ἁπάντων*. For other gods living apart or far from the gods, i.e. not on Olympus, cf. 302 and 777.

814. πέρην χάεος: a reminder of the remoteness of all these regions. Cf. 116 n.

815. ἐρισμαράγοιο: an un-Homeric epithet, applied to Zeus also in *IGRom.* 4. 360. 13 (Pergamum, A.D. 166). Cf. *Il.* 21. 198 f. *ἀλλὰ καὶ ὃς δείδοικε Διὸς μεγάλοιο κεραυνὸν | δεινήν τε βροντήν, ὅτ' ἀπ' οὐρανόθεν σμαραγήσῃ*. A similar sounding epithet *ἐρισφάραγος* is used of Zeus and Poseidon, cf. on 706.

κλειτοὶ ἐπίκουροι: cf. 735. *κλητοί*, which is sometimes a variant in this formula in Homer too, might seem a more appropriate epithet than *κλειτοί*; but it cannot be adopted in face of *Il.* 12. 101 *ἀγακλειτῶν ἐπικούρων*. See Buttmann, *Lexil.*, pp. 383 ff.; Bechtel, *Lexil.*, pp. 315 f.

816. θεμέθλοις: the usage of this word overlaps that of *ῥίζαι*. Cf. *Il.* 14. 493 *κατ' ὀφθαλμοῖο θέμεθλα* ~ *Od.* 9. 390 *ῥίζαι*; Pi. *P.* 4. 180 *Παγγαίου θεμέθλοις* ~ A. *PV* 365 *ῥίζαισιν Αἰτναίαις*; Opp. *H.* 5. 679 cited on 732. Hitherto we have heard of the sources or roots of earth, sea, sky, and Tartarus, but not of Ocean.

Kottos and Gyges live at the end of the world, but clearly not in the same part as the Titans, as all three brothers seemed to in 734.

817. Κόττος τ' ἠδὲ Γύγης: after 618 *Κόττῳ τ' ἠδὲ Γύγῃ*, where *τ'* is copulative. *τ' ἠδὲ* where only two things are joined is found nowhere else in genuine Hesiod (twice in the *Days*, 767, 813), though it is common enough in Homer (cf. Denniston, p. 287).

Βριάρεων: on his individuality among the Hundred-Handers and his special connexion with the sea, see 149 n.

ἠὺν ἐόντα: cf. *Il.* 6. 191 *ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ γίνωσκε θεοῦ γόνον ἠὺν ἐόντα, | αὐτοῦ μιν κατέρυκε, δίδου δ' ὅ γε θυγατέρα ἧν.*

818. βαρύκτυπος: 388 n.

819. Κυμοπόλειαν: otherwise unknown. The name is of the same type as those of the Nereids (cf. especially Kymodoke, Kymo, Kymothoe, Kymatolege), and is not likely to be traditional. *-πόλεια* from *πολέω*; cf. *ἠριπόλη* of the Dawn, Paul. Sil. *A.P.* 5. 227 and 253.

θυγατέρα ἧν: *Il.* 6. 192 (817 n.), 5. 371, *al.*

820–80. Typhoeus. The Titans are defeated, but there is one more challenger for power, and Zeus overcomes him in single combat. The myth of a battle between the highest god and a physically or morally repulsive opponent is very widespread. But there are three particular features of the Typhonomachy that link it with the Near Eastern Succession Myth. Firstly, Typhon is himself associated with southern Asia Minor, at least as early as Pindar, and perhaps in the pre-Homeric tradition that located him *εἰν Ἀρίμοις*, see on 304. Secondly, he is the father of a whole band of monsters who remarkably resemble Tiâmat's progeny in *Enûma Eliš* (see on 270–336), and although they do not fight the gods as a group in Greek myth, there is a Greek tradition in which, as in the Babylonian myth, it is a band of monsters, under the leadership of a serpent-like parent, that the gods have to fight: the battle between Chronos and the Ophionidai, described by Pherecydes of Syros. Cf. above on 617–719. Thirdly, the dangerous

monster at this stage of the Succession Myth corresponds to Ullikummi in the Hurrian version; see p. 21.

Interpretation of the Typhoeus myth is complicated by the foreign elements added to it in later antiquity. As early as Hecataeus (1 F 300, *ap.* Hdt. 2. 144) and Aeschylus (*Suppl.* 560), Typhon is identified with the Egyptian Seth, and Pindar in a prosodion (fr. 91) told the story of the metamorphosis of the gods into different animals in their haste to escape from him, plainly an Egyptian motif (J. Gwyn Griffiths, *Hermes*, 88, 1960, pp. 374–6).[1] By the Hellenistic age, Typhon had been equated with the dragon of Mt. Casius in Syria, and this added a new motif to the story, the theft of Zeus' sinews (see on 853). It will be safest to treat only the early references as relevant to Hesiod's Typhoeus. They may be summarized as follows. (*a*) *Il.* 2. 782–3: Typhoeus lies *εἰν Ἀρίμοις*, or so they say; when Zeus lashes the earth about him, it groans. (*b*) Epimenides fr. 8: T. occupied Zeus' palace while Zeus was asleep. Zeus killed him with a thunderbolt. (?—The text, Philodemus, is very fragmentary.) (*c*) *H. Ap.* 305–55: Hera was angry at the birth of Athena, her own child Hephaestus having turned out a cripple. She prayed to Earth and Sky and the Titans for another child, as strong as Zeus. She duly gave birth to Typhon, and gave him to the female serpent of Pytho to rear. This serpent was shot by Apollo; we are not told what became of Typhon. (*d*) Stes. fr. 62 belongs to a similar version: *Στησίχορος δὲ (γενεαλογεῖ Τυφωέα) Ἥρας μόνης κατὰ μνησικακίαν Διὸς τεκούσης αὐτόν*. Stesichorus refers to the birth of Athena in fr. 56, and this may well have come from the same poem. (Sigrid Kauer, *Die Geburt der Athena im altgr. Epos*, 1959, p. 54.)

Of these four, (*a*) in no way conflicts with Hesiod's account, but it represents the lashing of Typhoeus (Hes. 857) not as a historic event but as something that happens even now—evidently a mythical interpretation of some natural phenomenon, probably the earthquake. (*b*) differs only in that Zeus is already king before Typhon's insurrection, and that he has a 'palace' (cf. Pherec. B 2). (*c*) and (*d*) differ more radically: Typhon is the son of Hera, he is not born until after Zeus' marriage and the births of Athena and Hephaestus (Hes. 886–929), and there is no mention of a battle between him and Zeus, though something of the sort is no doubt to be assumed. So in sch.^{B} *Il.* 2. 783, where several different versions are combined: Ge was put out because of the slaughter of the Giants, and complained to Hera of Zeus. Hera spoke to Kronos, who gave her two eggs rubbed with his semen, and told her to bury them in the earth, and a god would come forth who would depose Zeus. She laid them under Arimon in Cilicia, and Typhon was born. But she had made up her quarrel

[1] The identification of Typhon and Seth is attributed to Pherecydes of Syros by Wilamowitz, *Gl. d. Hell.* i. 266, n. 3, followed by W. Kranz, *Hermes*, 69, 1934, p. 114. This is based on a misunderstanding of Origen, *c. Cels.* 6. 42 (*Vorsokr.* 7 B 4), where the subject of *τούτου δὲ τοῦ βουλήματός φησιν ἔχεσθαι*, etc., is Celsus, not Pherecydes.

with Zeus, and told him all: and he thunderbolted Typhon, and named the mountain Etna. (The report is confused at the end.)

It has been held that T. is by origin and nature a wind-god. (See especially F. Worms, *Hermes*, 81, 1953, pp. 29–44.) The ancients certainly associated him with the words *τῡφώς*, *τῡφῶν* (cf. 306 n.). But it is far from certain that there is any real etymological connexion. Typhaon, Typhoeus is always *Τῡφ-* in early epic, *Τῡφ(ώς, ῶν)* occurring first in Pindar and Aeschylus. T. the tornado-spirit is quite absent from Homeric thought; the Harpies are the only similar powers. Typhoeus is the personification of the elemental forces imprisoned in a particular place on the earth ((*a*) above), just as in Pindar (*O.* 4. 6, *P.* 1. 17–20, fr. 92) and Aeschylus (*PV* 365) he is the force under Etna. In the *Scutum* we hear of a Typhaon's Mountain in Boeotia, cf. on 304. In Hesiod too he is associated with a mountain, though perhaps in a different way (see on 860). His association with the tornado is secondary, and due to popular etymology. It may already have influenced Hesiod, for there is at present no better explanation of the fact that the irregular stormwinds (especially those met at sea) are made the children of T. (869 ff.). Cf. also on 307 and 846.

This is one of the sections of the *Theogony* whose authenticity has most often been disputed. The following arguments have been brought against it:

1. It seems to be ignored in 881 f., where only the Titanomachy is mentioned. But this is because it is the overthrow of the Titans, not of Typhoeus, that makes it necessary for the gods to appoint a new king. The Typhoeus episode is subsidiary.

2. The Typhoeus episode is a doublet of the Titanomachy, and clearly composed in imitation of it. Yet the Hurrian myth of Ullikummi shows that such an episode is not out of place here (Dornseiff, p. 65); and the close structural and linguistic similarity with the Titanomachy is only what we expect if both passages were composed by the same poet.

3. Gaia's part in producing an enemy to Zeus' régime is at variance with her benevolence toward Zeus in the rest of the *Theogony*. Again, comparison of an Oriental parallel (*Enûma Eliš*) helps to explain the anomaly: see p. 24. The assumption of multiple authorship is the most naïve of all ways of accounting for contradictions in mythology.

4. The passage conflicts with 306 ff., which gives a 'different view' of T. Well, it says different things about him, and even uses a different form of his name. But there is no contradiction.

5. Tartarus (822) is not personified in Hesiod. If this were more than an empty assertion, it might be a reason for deleting a line (one which is suspect anyway, see ad loc.), but not for deleting 61 lines.

6. It is claimed that the language of the passage is not compatible with its authenticity—a difficult contention to prove, cf. on 404–452. The following are the particular points raised by Worms, p. 32, and Kirk, *Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique*, vii, 79:

(*a*) Line 823 'which is of course incurable by emendation, sinks to the lowest level' (Kirk). In its transmitted form the line is indeed not likely to have been written by Hesiod, or anyone else whose native language was Greek; it may well be incurable by emendation, but that does not mean it is not corrupt.

(*b*) 'The repetition of *κεφαλῇσι* with different epithets in 827 and 829 is jejune and ineffective.' Yes; but (*a*) Hesiod is trying to describe the most frightful monster he is able to imagine, and his powers of expression are not equal to the task: a failure to vary words, resulting in a lame repetition, is precisely the fault we have seen elsewhere in his work (67, 144–5, 153, 429 ff., 452, 555); (*b*) there is a strong possibility that 826–9 or some part thereof is interpolated.

(*c*) Various words and phrases in the passage are not found elsewhere in Hesiod or Homer: 826 *λιχμάω* (*Sc.* 235), 827 *ἀμαρύσσω* (*h. Herm.*; certainly an old verb), 832 *ἐριβρύχης*, *ἄγαυρος*, 839 *σκληρὸν βροντᾶν* (*Catalogue*), 841 *τάρταρα γαίης*, 846 *πρηστήρ*, 853 *κορθύνω* (*κορθύω* Homeric), 860 *ἀιδνός* (probably conceals a proper name), 872 *μαψαύρης* (false interpretation?), 879 *χαμαιγενής* (twice in Hymns). The argument is presumably not that these words did not exist in Greek in Hesiod's time, or that they were not used by poets (just look at them!), but that Hesiod, because he does not use them elsewhere, would not have used them here, in an obviously ambitious piece of composition. Some people may find this cogent, but I am not of their number.

Worms also refers to *γυιωθείς* (858, v.l.) and *κολοσυρτός* (880); both rare, but both Homeric.

(*d*) 'At 861 the phrase *πολλὴ δὲ πελώρη καίετο γαῖα* is an odd extension of *Γαῖα πελώρη* in 159 and 173.' There is nothing 'odd' about *πελώρη . . . γαῖα* (cf. 505, 731), and *πολλὴ* (if that is the right reading) is not an addition to the phrase, but predicative.

There are certainly other difficulties and awkwardnesses in the section, as the commentary will show. But surely that is just what one would expect of a poet like Hesiod writing on a theme like the Typhonomachy.

A positive argument for its authenticity: the concluding lines, 869–80, strongly recall the *Works and Days*, not only in their nautical and agricultural preoccupation, but also in phraseology. See on 869, 871, 873, 874, 876 Further, the 'Aeolic' *ἄεισι* in 875 (p. 82) must be put beside the notable number of Aeolisms in the section on sailing in the *Works and Days*, and may have the same explanation: cf. p. 90. 869–80, then, is strongly Hesiodic; and its presence presupposes at least the substance of what goes before.

The structure of the narrative is very like that of the Titanomachy, as A. Meyer pointed out:

664 ff.	820 ff.	Description of the combatants / of Typhoeus.
678 ff.	839 ff.	Description of the terrible conflict in general terms.
687 ff.	853 ff.	Zeus at last takes up his weapons and shows forth his strength.
693 ff.	855 ff.	The enemy is scorched; general conflagration, elaborated by means of an ambitious simile.
717 ff.	868	The enemy is thrown into Tartarus.

Note how Hesiod describes the battle in general before telling us what actually happened in it; cf. on 43 and 687. On the style of the section cf. also on 617–719.

On Typhoeus in Hesiod see Schoemann, pp. 340–74; W. Christ, *Sitz.-Ber. Bayr. Ak.* 1888, pp. 349–59; F. Dornseiff, *Die archaische Mythenerzählung*, 1933, pp. 17 ff., and *Antike u. alt. Orient*, pp. 64–68; Schwenn, pp. 41–47; F. Worms, *Hermes*, 81, 1953, pp. 29–44; M. H. van der Valk, *Mnem.* 1953, pp. 279–82; H. Schwabl, *Hermes*, 90, 1962, pp. 122–3; M. C. Stokes, *Phronesis*, 7, 1962, pp. 33–36.

On Typhoeus in general: R. Holland, *Philol.* 59, 1900, pp. 344–54; A. von Mess, *Rh. Mus.* 56, 1901, pp. 167–74; J. Schmidt, *Roscher*, v. 1426–54 (1924); Dornseiff, pp. 409–11; G. Seippel, *Der Typhonmythos*, Diss. Greifswald, 1939; J. Fontenrose, *Python*, 1959; F. Vian, in *Éléments orientaux dans la religion grecque ancienne* (Colloque de Strasbourg, 1958), Paris, 1960, pp. 17–37.

820. ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ: cf. *Op.* 111 *οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Κρόνου ἦσαν, ὅτ' οὐρανῷ ἐμβασίλευεν*, and above on 632.

ἐξέλασε: so all MSS.; cf. on 192.

Ζεύς: cf. on 711–12.

821. ὁπλότατον: a last addition to the children of Earth listed in 126–53 and 233–9. These children include the Titans, so there is probably a conscious antithesis between 821 and 820.

Schoemann compares Virg. *A.* 4. 178 (*Fama*) *illam Terra parens ira irritata deorum | extremam ut perhibent Coeo Enceladoque sororem | progenuit.*

822. Ταρτάρου: elsewhere in the *Theogony* Tartarus is only a place, though there is no reason why he should not also appear as a god with powers of generation, as do Gaia, Uranos, Chaos, Erebos, etc. It is possible (Stokes, p. 33) that this inorganic line is interpolated, Typhoeus originally having had no father, as in the version where Hera is his mother. It is noteworthy that in that version Hera calls upon Gaia, Uranos, and the Titans in Tartarus in her prayer for a child, *h. Ap.* 334–9. Tartarus as father of Typhoeus is known to Hyg. *fab.* 152, Apld. 1. 6. 3, sch. rec. A. *PV* 351, sch. Stat. *Th.* 2. 595.

διὰ χρυσῆν Ἀφροδίτην: un-Homeric, and not elsewhere in genuine Hesiod (below, 962, 1005, etc.), cf. on 881–1020, and p. 78. This is perhaps a considerable argument against the verse, in view of the amount of genealogy in the *Theogony*.

The MSS. consistently give *χρυσῆν* in this formula (also in fr. 23 (a) 35), and in 975 *χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης*, *Op.* 65 *χρυσῆν Ἀφροδίτην*. Otherwise they give uncontracted forms of *χρύσεος*, e.g. in 12, 578, 785,

Op. 109. The same distinction is maintained by and large in the Homeric MSS.

823. This verse is probably incurably corrupt. The present tense *ἔασιν* is impossible beside *ἦν* in 825, *ἀμάρυσσεν* 827, etc., and in view of Typhoeus' complete incapacitation by Zeus. Besides, no epic poet would have written *ἔασιν ἔχουσαι* for *ἔχουσιν. ἔργματ' ἔχουσαι* is hardly intelligible either by itself or if taken with *ἐπ' ἰσχύι* (Theocr. 16. 55–56 *βουσὶ . . . ἀμφ' ἀγελαίαις | ἔργον ἔχων* is scarcely comparable). The words *ἐπ' ἰσχύι ἔργματα* have recalled 146 *ἰσχὺς δ' ἠδὲ βίη καὶ μηχαναὶ ἦσαν ἐπ' ἔργοις*, but it is difficult to restore anything similar here (*ἐπ' ἰσχὺν ἔργματ'* Muetzell, who compares *Od.* 11. 115 *δήεις δ' ἐν πήματα οἷκῳ sim.*; *ἐπ' ἔργμασιν ἰσχὺν* Schoemann, who compares Paus. 10. 32. 6 *καὶ ἰσχὺν ἐπὶ ἔργῳ παρέχεται παντί*). Nor is light shed by fr. 17 (a) 17–18 *κεφαλαὶ δὲ δύω ἰδὲ χεῖρες εεις[. .]ν (ἕΐcαι?) [. . . ὤ]μων δ.φυ[. .]κ̣α̣πι̣χι[(καὶ ἐπ' ἰcχία? ἰcχυ[* cannot be read), despite a certain similarity.

The poet evidently said that Typhoeus' hands were strong. His hands are regularly mentioned when he is described, cf. A.R. 2. 1211 f. *ἔνθα Τυφάονά φασι Διὸς Κρονίδαο κεραυνῷ | βλημένον, ὁππότε οἱ στιβαρὰς ἐπορέξατο χεῖρας, | . . . στάξαι ῥόον*, Ov. *M.* 3. 303, Apld. 1. 6. 3, Ant. Lib. 28, Claud. *Bell. Get.* 63 f., Nonn. *D.* 1. 288, 297, 307, etc.

It is absurd to take *ἰσχύι* as for *ἰξύι* (Allen, *C.Q.* 1931, p. 149); on the word cf. 146 n. *ἔργμα* is another un-Homeric word; it is found again at *Op.* 801, *h.* xxvii. 20, xxxii. 19. I doubt if anything could be gained by reading *ἕργματα* 'defences'.

824. **πόδες**: cf. on 306.

ἀκάματοι: cf. on 39.

πόδες ἀκάματοι is still dependent on *οὗ* in 823 (*οὗ χεῖρες μὲν . . . καὶ πόδες . . . ἐκ δέ οἱ ὤμων . . .*), and it is odd to find *κρατεροῦ θεοῦ* added. Again in 849 and 859 it is implied that T. ranks as a god, but in 871 it is implied that he does not. The discrepancy is understandable; Hesiod cannot think of him as a god in his present incapacitated state, but must think of him as a god in the context of his challenge to Zeus. Cf. Hsch. *Τυφωεύς· θεός τις γηγενὴς ἐναντιωθεὶς τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν θεῶν*, Ant. Lib. 28 *ἐξαίσιος δαίμων πρὸς ἰσχύν*, etc.

ὤμων: cf. on 150–2 *med.* These serpent heads take the place of a human head, they do not surround one.

825. **ἦν**: 321 n.

κεφαλαὶ ὄφιος: an inversion of the usual art type of T., see on 306. Hyg. *fab.* 152 and sch. Stat. *Th.* 2. 595 follow Hesiod. Apld. 1. 6. 3 tries to combine both, but misunderstands Hesiod's *ἐκ δέ οἱ ὤμων*: *ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν ἄχρι μηρῶν ἄπλετον μέγεθος ἀνδρόμορφον, ὥστε ὑπερέχειν μὲν πάντων τῶν ὀρῶν, ἡ δὲ κεφαλὴ πολλάκις τῶν ἄστρων ἔψαυε· χεῖρας δὲ εἶχε τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑσπέραν ἐκτεινομένην, τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνατολάς· ἐκ τούτων δὲ ἐξεῖχον ἑκατὸν κεφαλαὶ δρακόντων. τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ μηρῶν σπείρας εἶχεν ὑπερμεγέθεις ἐχιδνῶν, ὧν ὁλκοὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκτεινόμενοι τὴν κορυφὴν συριγμὸν πολὺν ἐξίεσαν. πᾶν δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα κατεπτέρωτο, αὐχμηραὶ δὲ ἐκ κεφαλῆς καὶ γενείων τρίχες ἐξηνεμοῦντο,*

πῦρ δὲ ἐδέρκετο τοῖς ὄμμασιν. Cf. F. Vian, *La Guerre des Géants*, 1952, pp. 14 f.

δεινοῖο δράκοντος: the reading of *b* is *lectio difficilior*; κρατεροῖο of the other MSS. will be from 322 ὄφιος κρατεροῖο δράκοντος. κρατεροῦ in 824 may have assisted the reminiscence. For δεινοῖο cf. *Sc.* 161 ἐν δ' ὀφίων κεφαλαὶ δεινῶν ἔσαν . . . | δώδεκα, and 166 δεινοῖσι δράκουσιν.

826. **γλώσσῃσι**: so all MSS., not -σιν. The flickering tongue is a constant feature of descriptions of serpents; cf. *Il.* 11. 26 (Aristophanes' version), *Sc.* 235, E. *Ba.* 698 (with Dodds's note), Theocr. 24. 20, Euph. 51. 6, Nic. *Th.* 206, 229, Q.S. 5. 40, Nonn. *D.* 1. 159, Lucr. 3. 657, Virg. *G.* 3. 439, *A.* 2. 211, Stat. *Th.* 5. 509, Sil. It. 2. 587, 6. 223, etc.

δνοφερῇσι: cf. *Sc.* 167 (δράκοντες) μελάνθησαν δὲ γένεια.

λελιχμότες: λέλιχμα is perhaps formed after λίχμησα, after the pattern of γήθησα–γέγηθα, δούπησα–δέδουπα, etc. (Meister, *Die hom. Kunstsprache*, p. 125; Leumann, *Hom. Wörter*, p. 218). For the use of the perfect participle, cf. τετριγυῖαι 'squeaking', μεμυκώς 'roaring', κεχηνώς 'gaping'; L. R. Palmer in Wace–Stubbings, *Companion to Homer*, pp. 148 f.

The variant λελιχμότος is probably a conjecture, and a mistaken one, for as Schoemann pointed out (p. 348), there is no single snake: κεφαλαὶ ὄφιος means 'snake-heads', κεφαλαὶ ὀφιόνεαι. The nom. pl. is attested by Herodian, and supported by Ar. *V.* 1033 (= *Pax* 756) ἑκατὸν δὲ κύκλῳ κεφαλαὶ κολάκων οἰμωξομένων ἐλιχμῶντο (v.l. ant. ἐλιχνῶντο). The masculine form is to be explained as a κατὰ σύνεσιν use (cf. 592 n.) rather than as an instance of two-termination declension of the participle; this seems occasionally to occur in verse with participles in -εἰς (see Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 562, Barrett on E. *Hipp.* 1102–50), but there is no example in classical Greek with a participle in -ώς. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, pp. 216 f., cites a couple from late Greek.

ἐν δέ οἱ ὄσσε: I propose this reading for the following reasons. Firstly, θεσπεσίῃς κεφαλῇσιν in 827 has no construction in the received text. Secondly, in πῦρ ἀμάρυσσεν, to judge by πῦρ ἀμαρύσσων *h. Herm.* 415 (Q.S. 8. 29), πῦρ should be the object of the verb, not the subject; and in Homeric descriptions of fiery or flashing eyes, the eyes are regularly the subject of the sentence. Cf. *Il.* 1. 104, 200, 12. 466, 13. 474, 15. 607, 19. 16, 365, *Od.* 4. 662, 6. 131. (Exception: *Od.* 19. 446.) Thirdly, Homer uses only the dual ὄσσε: the plural is first found in Sapph. 138. 2, *Sc.* 145, 426, 430, *h.* xxxi. 9. ἐν for ἐκ (already conjectured by Hermann) is transmitted in U; for ἐν δέ οἱ ὄσσε cf. *Il.* 19. 16–17 ἐν δέ οἱ ὄσσε | δεινὸν ὑπὸ βλεφάρων ὡς εἰ σέλας ἐξεφάανθεν, *Od.* 6. 131 ἐν δέ οἱ ὄσσε | δαίεται, A.R. 4. 1543. ἐκ δέ οἱ ὄσσων will have been due to 824 ἐκ δέ οἱ ὤμων. (Par. 2708 actually had ὤμων a.c.) It may have been read by Quintus (3. 35–36).

The flashing eyes of a serpent are another typical feature; cf. Gow on Theocr. 24. 20 (adding Sil. It. 2. 586, 6. 220). For Typhon cf. A. *PV* 356, Apld. 1. 6. 3.

827. **θεσπεσίης κεφαλῇσιν**: a reminder that there was not just one pair of eyes. (The dual *ὄσσε* would be taken over with the formula; **ὄσσα* never occurs in the nominative.) Cf. 856 *θεσπεσίας κεφαλάς*. For the construction after *ἐν δέ οἱ ὄσσε* cf. *Il.* 17. 523 f. *ἐν δέ οἱ ἔγχος | νηδυίοισι μάλ' ὀξὺ κραδαινόμενον λύε γυῖα.*

ὑπ' ὀφρύσι: somewhat inappropriately transferred from standard references to human eyes, as *Il.* 14. 236 *κοίμησόν μοι Ζηνὸς ὑπ' ὀφρύσιν ὄσσε φαεινώ*, 15. 607 f. *τὼ δέ οἱ ὄσσε | λαμπέσθην βλοσυρῇσιν ὑπ' ὀφρύσιν.*

ἀμάρυσσεν: un-Homeric, also *h. Herm.* 278, 415; *ἀμαρυγαί* ib. 45, *ἀμάρυγμα* Sapph. 16. 18. For the singular verb with *ὄσσε* cf. *Il.* 12. 466, 23. 477, *Od.* 6. 132. In *Il.* 23 a variant has the dual; in the other two places neither dual nor plural would have scanned. Seeing that *ὄσσε* here represents in fact 200 eyes, it is tempting to write *ἀμάρυσσον*.

828. The verse adds nothing to 826–7, and seems to have been intended to stand in their place. Ruhnken condemned it, but there is perhaps as much to be said for condemning 826–7. It may be that neither version is original, see next note.

829–30. **φωναὶ . . . | παντοίην ὅπ' ἰεῖσαι** is an odd expression; *φωναὶ παντοῖαι* would have sufficed. Fick suggested that 830 originally followed 825 (*κεφαλαὶ ὄφιος . . . ὅπ' ἰεῖσαι* as, for example, Nonn. *D.* 2. 368 (Typhoeus) *κεφαλαὶ δὲ βοῶν, μυκηθμὸν ἰεῖσαι*); an interpolator of 826–7 or 828 would have to make up some such verse as 829 to restore sense to 830.

ὅπ' ἰεῖσαι: the same phrase in *h.* xxvii. 18. On the psilosis cf. p. 91, n. 1.

ἀθέσφατον: hardly in the sense of *Op.* 662 *ἀθέσφατον ὕμνον*: perhaps adverbial. So perhaps in A. R. 4. 635 *λίμνας εἰσέλασαν δυσχείμονας, αἵ τ' ἀνὰ Κελτῶν | ἤπειρον πέπτανται ἀθέσφατον* (*-αι* PE, *-οι* Fränkel).

831–5. The variety of noises emitted by T. is mentioned also by Nic. fr. 59 (*ap.* Ant. Lib. 28), and above all in Nonnus, where the noises correspond to the different animal shapes that T. combines (1. 157–62, 2. 250–7, 367–70). Cf. sch. rec. A. *PV* 351 *τὸν ἑκατοντακέφαλον Τυφῶνα . . . ἁπάντων θηρίων ἀγρίων ἔχοντα κεφαλάς*. A. *PV* 355 and Apld. 1. 6. 3 speak only of a hissing or whistling noise. The changing voices of Hesiod's Typhoeus suggest an earlier version in which he actually changed into different animals. This would be a parallel to the Egyptian myth of Seth, who changes with his followers into lions, snakes, hippopotami, crocodiles, etc. (Cf. H. Brugsch, *Rel. u. Myth. d. alt. Ägypter*, 1888, pp. 709 f.; J. Gwyn Griffiths, *Hermes*, 1960, p. 375.) The motif of ability to change into animal and other forms is familiar in Greek mythology, and the actual voices of Typhoeus (bull, lion, dog, serpent) correspond to typical metamorphoses: see the tables in Ninck, pp. 161 f. The canine form is the rarest; it is assumed by Mestra in Palaeph. 23. The use of *ἄλλοτε μὲν–ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε*, etc., recalls, for example, the account of Periclymenus' transformations in fr. 33 (a) 13 ff.

831. **ὥστε θεοῖσι**: 'as if (speaking) to gods'. *συνιέμεν* is epexegetic. This is Typhoeus' 'normal' voice. He makes the same kind of noise

as a human larynx does (cf. Nonn. *D.* 2. 256–7), though the language he speaks is of course that of the gods. The Greeks assumed that the gods spoke their own individual language, just as different societies of men and animals do. (Similarly in the Norse poem *Alvíssmál*, st. 9–34, the dwarf Alvíss (Know-all) rehearses the names of various familiar things (earth, heaven, sun, etc.) in the languages of men, the gods, the Vanir (defeated gods), the giants, the elves, and the dwarfs.) Sometimes we are told the gods' name for a thing: *Il.* 1. 402 ff. *ἑκατόγχειρον . . . | ὃν Βριάρεων καλέουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δέ τε πάντες | Αἰγαίων'*. 2. 813 f. (*κολώνη*) *τὴν ἤτοι ἄνδρες Βατίειαν κικλήσκουσιν, | ἀθάνατοι δέ τε σῆμα πολυσκάρθμοιο Μυρίνης*. 14. 290 f. *ὄρνιθι . . . ἣν τ' ἐν ὄρεσσι | χαλκίδα κικλήσκουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ κύμινδιν*. 20. 74 (*ποταμός*) *ὃν Ξάνθον καλέουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ Σκάμανδρον*. *Od.* 10. 305 (*φάρμακον*) *μῶλυ δέ μιν καλέουσι θεοί—χαλεπὸν δέ τ' ὀρύσσειν | ἀνδράσι γε θνητοῖσι*. 12. 61 (*πέτραι*) *Πλαγκτὰς δή τοι τάς γε θεοὶ μάκαρες καλέουσιν*. [Hes.] fr. 296 *νήσῳ ἐν Ἀβαντίδι δίῃ, | τὴν πρὶν Ἀβαντίδα κίκλησκον θεοὶ αἰὲν ἐόντες, | †τὴν τότε ἐπώνυμον Εὔβοιαν βοὸς ὠνόμασέν νιν Ζεύς†*. Pherec. B 12 *ἔλεγέ τε (Φερεκύδης) ὅτι οἱ θεοὶ τὴν τράπεζαν θυωρὸν καλοῦσιν*. Pi. fr. 33c. 4–6 *ἅν τε βροτοὶ Δᾶλον κικλήσκοισιν, μάκαρες δ' ἐν 'Ολύμπῳ τηλέφαντον κυανέας χθονὸς ἄστρον* (sc. Asteria); fr. 96 (Pan) *ὦ μάκαρ, ὅν τε μεγάλας θεοῦ κύνα παντοδαπὸν καλέοισιν 'Ολύμπιοι*. 'Homer' *ap.* Pl. *Phdr.* 252B *τὸν δ' ἤτοι θνητοὶ μὲν Ἔρωτα καλοῦσι ποτηνόν, | ἀθάνατοι δὲ Πτ-έρωτα διὰ πτερόφοιτον ἀνάγκην*. Philox. Leuc. fr. (e) 3–4 *τὰς ἐφήμεροι καλέοντι νῦν τραπέζας δευτέρας, ἀθάνατοι δέ τ' Ἀμαλθείας κέρας*. Orph. fr. 91 *μήσατο δ' ἄλλην γαῖαν ἀπείριτον, ἣν τε σελήνην | ἀθάνατοι κλήζουσιν, ἐπιχθόνιοι δέ τε μήνην*. Epich. 42. 10–11 (*ἀμαθίτιδες*) *τὰς ἀνδροφύκτιδας | πάντες ἄνθρωποι καλέονθ', ἁμὲς δὲ λεύκας τοὶ θεοί*. 43 *κόγχος ἂν τέλλιν καλέομες*. Sannyrion fr. 1 (i. 793 Kock) *πελανὸν καλοῦμεν ἡμεῖς οἱ θεοί, | ἃ καλεῖτε σεμνῶς ἄλφιθ' ὑμεῖς οἱ βροτοί*. Cratinus fr. 240 *μέγιστον τίκτετον τύραννον | ὃν δὴ κεφαληγερέταν θεοὶ καλέουσιν*. Hsch. *κύβηλις· τινὲς τὴν τυροκνῆστίν φασιν. ἔπαιξεν δὲ ὁ Κρατῖνος* (fr. 315) *παρὰ τὸ "χαλκίδα κικλήσκουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ κύμινδιν."* Sch. Theocr. 13. 22 *Καρύστιος ὁ Περγαμηνός* (fr. 16 Müller) *φησι Κυανέας μὲν ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων, ὑπὸ δὲ θεῶν Φόρκου πύλας καλεῖσθαι*. Ov. *M.* 11. 640 *hunc Icelon superi, mortale Phobetora uulgus nominat*. Max. Tyr. 35. 2 Hobein *αὕτη θνητῆς πρὸς θείαν ἀρετὴν ὁμοιότης, ἣ παρὰ μὲν θεοῖς καλεῖται Θέμις καὶ Δίκη καὶ ἄλλ' ἄττα μυστικὰ καὶ θεοπρεπῆ ὀνόματα, παρὰ δὲ ἀνθρώποις φιλία καὶ χάρις*. Anon. *de herbis* 152 (peony) *ἣν πάντες καλέουσι θεοὶ μάκαρες γλυκυσίδην*, 162 *οὕνεκα δὴ καλέουσι κυνόσπαστον κατ' Ὄλυμπον | ἀθάνατοι μάκαρες Ἐφιάλτειόν τε βοῶσιν*.

The most thorough and balanced discussion of this phenomenon is that by H. Güntert, *Von der Sprache der Götter und Geister*, Halle, 1921. Güntert shows that the belief in a peculiar language spoken by gods, angels, demons, etc., is widespread, and he gives reasons for thinking that it arises from the tendency of people in certain abnormal physical states to utter meaningless words and speeches, which are taken to be the utterances of spirits speaking through the person. But the actual words attributed to the language of the gods in Greek and Norse

literature are existing synonyms, archaisms, or poetic periphrases, the distinction being drawn for comic effect or poetic ornament. Van Leeuwen's view (*Mnem.* 1892, pp. 138–40) that the gods' words are Indo-European and the men's words not, cannot be maintained. For ancient views see Pl. *Crat.* 391D ff., Dio Chrys. 11. 22–24, Clem. *str.* 1. 143. 1, sch.^{AT} *Il.* 20. 74, Eust. 124. 24 ff.; for other modern discussions, Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, pp. 858 ff.; Nägelsbach–Autenrieth, *Hom. Theol.*, 3rd ed., pp. 191, 435 ff.; J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 4th ed. (1875), pp. 275–8; Hirzel, quoted on 400.

832. **ἐριβρύχεω**: the word is also found in Bacch. 5. 116, Opp. *H.* 1. 476, 709. For the formation cf. *ἐριμύκης*, *ἐριβόας*.

μένος ἀσχέτου: the formula occurs five times in the *Odyssey* in the nominative and vocative, being applied to Telemachus (thrice, voc.), the Achaeans, and the Cyclops. *ἀσχέτου* is implied by the version in the Basel edition of 1542 (cf. p. 62): *interdum enim sonabant ut diis intelligere liceret, interdum rursum tauri valde mugientis, robore incoercibilis vocem, ferocis.* (Rzach confuses the prose version with that of Mombritius.)

ὅσσαν: cf. on 10 and 701. The word probably qualifies *ἀγαύρου*, so that *μένος ἀσχέτου, ὅσσαν ἀγαύρου* make balancing phrases; in this case *φθέγγοντο ταύρου* stands for *φθέγγοντο ταύρου φθόγγον*. This would be abnormal (for *φθέγγεσθαι ταῦρον*: cf. Virg. *A.* 1. 328 *nec uox hominem sonat*), but cannot be called impossible. The alternative is to take *ὅσσαν* as object of *φθέγγοντο*: then *ἀγαύρου* is oddly placed, and it would be better to write *ἄγαυρον* with Schoemann. Cf. Paulson, *Stud. Hes.*, pp. 51 f.

The adjective is not found elsewhere in early epic. On its accentuation cf. Rzach, *ed. mai.*, ad loc.

833. **ἀναιδέα**: cf. 312.

834. **σκυλάκεσσιν**: compare Scylla in *Od.* 12. 86 *τῆς ἤτοι φωνὴ μὲν ὅση σκύλακος νεογιλῆς*. The plural means 'a pack of whelps'. Periclymenus, besides turning into single animals, can turn into a whole swarm of bees, fr. 33 (a) 16 (the text is suspect, because he is a single bee when Heracles catches him, according to sch.^{A} *Il.* 2. 336).

θαύματ': plural by attraction after *ἐοικότα*, rather than *θαῦμά τ'*, though in 581 we had *θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι* after *δαίδαλα πολλά*. The plural *θαύματα* is not found elsewhere in epic before *Batr.* 58.

835. **ῥοίζεσχ'**: cf. the Homeric forms from verbs in *-έω*, *οἴχνεσκε, ὤθεσκε, πωλέσκετο*, Monro, § 49. *ῥοιζεῖν* is used of a variety of continuous noises, whirring, whizzing, hissing, buzzing, grating, etc. Here it probably represents the hissing of Typhoeus' serpent heads; Hesiod is unlikely to have made no mention of this, the most constant feature of later accounts of T.'s vociferation. *ῥοιζεῖν* is used of serpents in A.R. 4. 129, cf. 138, 1543; Opp. *H.* 1. 563.

ὑπὸ δ' ἴχεεν: first here.

836. **καί νύ κεν . . . εἰ μὴ**; a common epic formula, *Il.* 3. 373, 5. 679, 7. 273, etc., altogether some twenty-seven times in *Il.* and *Od.*, also *h. Dem.* 310. In three further places (*Od.* 9. 79, 12. 71, 21. 128) *καί νύ κε* is followed by *ἀλλά* instead of *εἰ μή*.

ἔπλετο: cf. *Il.* 12. 271 *νῦν ἔπλετο ἔργον ἅπασι.*

ἔργον ἀμήχανον: 'a thing past help'. Cf. *Il.* 8. 130 = 11. 310.

ἤματι κείνῳ: 667 n. 'That day', sc. the day that Zeus saw and attacked him; perhaps the actual day of his birth, cf. 492 n.

837. **θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἄναξεν**: cf. 506, 331 n. The aorist signifies 'would have become king'; cf. Hdt. 2. 2. 1 *Ψαμμήτιχος βασιλεύσας*, 'Psammetichus, when he became king'.

838. The same line occurs in *Il.* 8. 132, *Batr.* 269.

839–40. **σκληρὸν**: the adjective is un-Homeric. Cf. fr. 54 (a) 7 *σκ]ληρ[ὸν] δ' ἐβ[ρόντησε καὶ ὄβριμον, ἀμφὶ δὲ γαῖα] κ[ι]νήθ[η*, Hdt. 8. 12 (twice) *βρονταὶ σκληραί*, Arr. *Anab.* 1. 17. 6.

δ' is supported against *τ'* by *Il.* 7. 277, 8. 92, 133. The same variants in a similar case at *Il.* 7. 107.

ἀμφὶ δὲ γαῖα | σμερδαλέον κονάβησε: cf. *Il.* 15. 648, 16. 276, 21. 255, 592, *Od.* 10. 398, 17. 542, *h. Herm.* 420, *h.* xxviii. 10. On the reading of Π^{12}, cf. *C.Q.* 1962, p. 180.

καὶ οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὕπερθε: 110 n.

841. **τάρταρα γαίης**: this expression may be older than the plain *τάρταρα* and *τάρταρος* (so Schwenn, p. 18). It occurs also in E. *Hipp.* 1290, Antim. P. Oxy. 2518 fr. 1. 6, Orph. fr. 121 and 167b 3, *PMag.* 5. 405; *Aetna* 279 (v.l.) *Tartara mundi*. Cf. Lawson, p. 98: 'Even the name Tartarus (now *τὰ Τάρταρα*, with the addition frequently of *τῆς γῆς*) may still be heard.' For Tartara as part of the earth cf. on 119.

842. Cf. *Il.* 8. 443 (Zeus sat down) *τῷ δ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶ μέγας πελεμίζετ' Ὄλυμπος.* 13. 18 f. *τρέμε δ' οὔρεα μακρὰ καὶ ὕλη | ποσσὶν ὕπ' ἀθανάτοισι Ποσειδάωνος ἰόντος.*

Zeus is often described as striding along when he thunders; cf. 690, fr. 30. 15.

843. **ὀρνυμένοιο ἄνακτος**: cf. *Il.* 4. 420 (Diomedes) *ἄνακτος | ὀρνυμένου.*

ἐπεστονάχιζε: either *ἐπ-* or *ὑπ-* is possible; cf. *Il.* 2. 95 *τετρήχει δ' ἀγορή, ὑπὸ δὲ στοναχίζετο γαῖα*, 24. 79 *ἔνθορε μείλανι πόντῳ, ἐπεστονάχησε δὲ λίμνη*; above, 679, 835. But *ὑπ-* may have been caused by *ὑπ-* in 842, 844, and *ἐπ-* sounds better between them. Π^{15} has *ἐπ'* for *ὑπ'* in 844. On *στον-/στεν-* see 159 n.

844. **καῦμα . . . κάτεχεν**: cf. 700.

ἀμφοτέρων: this may mean Zeus and Typhoeus, or the two sources of heat named in 845. If the former, as the parallel of 685 may suggest, the genitives in the next lines depend directly on *καῦμα*, as 681–2 *ἔνοσις ποδῶν*, 699 *αὐγὴ κεραυνοῦ.*

ἰοειδέα πόντον: *Il.* 11. 298, *Od.* 11. 107. The sea is picked out as the least inflammable of elements. Compare the battles of Hephaestus and Scamander in *Il.* 21, and of Dionysus and Hydaspes in Nonn. *D.* 23–24; also Luc. *Dial. Mar.* 4.

845. **πυρός**: not the 'fire' flashed from his eyes (826–7)—fiery eyes are never actually said to burn anything—but the fire that burst from his body as the thunderbolts struck home: an anticipation of 859. Later authors, probably misled by this passage, say that Typhoeus

exhaled fire from his mouth by nature; cf. A. *PV* 370–2, *Th.* 493, Apld. 1. 6. 3, etc.

τοῖο πελώρου: the article is used as in Homeric *τοῖο ἄνακτος* (493 n.), *τοῖο γέροντος*.

846. **πρηστήρων ἀνέμων**: an unusual reinforcement of Zeus' thunder and lightning. Having put in 'and the fire from the monster', Hesiod cannot add the essential burning element *κεραυνός* without filling up another half line first. Later authors associate *πρηστῆρες* with Typhon, or make him fight with winds as weapons. Cf. sch. *πρηστήρων ἀνέμων· διαπύρων, τυφωνικῶν*. Ar. *Nub.* 336 *πλοκάμους θ' ἑκατογκεφάλα Τυφῶ πρημαινούσας τε θυέλλας*. Val. Fl. 3. 130–1 *Typhon | igne simul uentisque rubens*. Sch. Pi. *P.* 1. 34 *συμβαίνουσι γὰρ αὐτόθι* (Pithecusae) *κυμάτων ἐξαισίων κινήσεις καὶ ἀνέμων σφοδροτάτων ἐπίπνοιαι καὶ πρηστήρων ἐπιφάνειαι καὶ πυρὸς καταφλέξεις, ὡς μυθολογεῖσθαι ὑποκεῖσθαι τὸν Τυφῶνα*. But elsewhere Zeus' *κεραυνός* is called *πρηστήρ*: [Luc.] *astr.* 19 *ἐπὶ τοῖσι δὴ τὸν Δία ἀγανακτέοντα βαλεῖν πρηστῆρι Φαέθοντα μεγάλῳ*. [Orph.] *H.* 19. 5, 11, 47. 5, Nonn. *D.* 48. 65, Colluth. 52. He is able to raise fierce winds against his opponents: A. *PV* 1043 ff. *πρὸς ταῦτ' ἐπ' ἐμοὶ ῥιπτέσθω μὲν | πυρὸς ἀμφήκης βόστρυχος, αἰθὴρ δ' | ἐρεθιζέσθω βροντῇ σφακέλῳ τ' | ἀγρίων ἀνέμων*, ib. 1080 ff., Sen. *Thy.* 1079. In Nonn. *D.* 2. 423, when Zeus faces Typhoeus, winds draw his chariot. Cf. Cook, *Zeus*, iii. 162–5, and above on 706–9. We may recall the Babylonian myth, where Marduk uses the winds as weapons against Tiâmat (cf. p. 23). In Hesiod too it must be Zeus who wields them, not Typhoeus: *πρηστήρ* and *κεραυνός* are so closely related in themselves (cf. Arist. *Meteor. B* 9. 369ª10 ff., [Arist.] *Mund.* 4. 394ª18, 395ª21 ff., Theophr. *Ign.* 1. 1, Chrys. fr. 703–5, Aët. *plac.* 3. 3, etc.) that when we find them side by side, as here, it is impossible to allot one to Zeus and the other to his adversary. The association of *τυφῶν*, however, on the one hand with *πρηστήρ* (Ar. *Lys.* 974—even there controlled by Zeus; Arist., [Arist.], Chrys., Aët. ll.cc.), on the other with *Τυφωεύς*, made it natural for later readers to interpret Hesiod the other way. Ill winds are caused by T. in 869 ff., after his destruction, but during the battle—if such it can be called—he wields neither fire nor wind, he is simply a powerful monster.

φλεγέθοντος: the adjective is used four times in the *Iliad*, but not of *κεραυνός*. S's *φλογόεντος* is a word unknown before Hellenistic literature.

847. **ἔζεε δὲ χθὼν πᾶσα**: 695 n. Most MSS. have *πυρὶ* for *δὲ*, possibly a reminiscence of *Il.* 2. 780 *ὡς εἴ τε πυρὶ χθὼν πᾶσα νέμοιτο*. On the intrusion of this word, cf. on 694.

οὐρανὸς: this time the solid firmament melts too.

848. **ἀκτὰς**: my conjecture *ἄκρας* is suggested by *Il.* 4. 425 (*κῦμα*) *ἀμφὶ δέ τ' ἄκρας | κυρτὸν ἐὸν κορυφοῦται*. *ἄκρη* and *ἀκτή* are variants, e.g. at A.R. 1. 929, [Opp.] *C.* 3. 314. I find *ἀμφ' ἀκτάς* at D.P. 243.

περί τ' ἀμφί τε: fr. 150. 28, *Il.* 17. 760, *h. Dem.* 276. The pleonasm

with *ἀμφ' ἀκτὰς* is remarkable. Pleonastic combination of *περί* and *ἀμφί* is common in later poetry too; cf. Theocr. 7. 142 *περὶ πίδακας ἀμφί*, Call. fr. 260. 13, and Schneider on Call. *H.* 4. 300.

849. **ῥιπῇ ὕπ' ἀθανάτων**: 681 n.

ἔνοσις δ' ἄσβεστος ὀρώρει: cf. the Iliadic formula *βοὴ δ' ἄσβεστος ὀρώρει* (five times). On *ἔνοσις* cf. 681 n.

850. The battle of the gods is so fierce that the powers of the lower world are afraid that their domain will be invaded. *Il.* 20. 61 ff. *ἔδδεισεν δ' ὑπένερθεν ἄναξ ἐνέρων Ἀιδωνεύς, | δείσας δ' ἐκ θρόνου ἆλτο καὶ ἴαχε, μή οἱ ὕπερθε | γαῖαν ἀναρρήξειε Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων, | οἰκία δὲ θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι φανείη | σμερδαλέ' εὐρώεντα, τά τε στυγέουσι θεοί περ.* The motif is Near Eastern; cf. Kroll, *Gott und Hölle*, pp. 367 ff. Above, 682 n.

τρέε: this reading is attested by sch. Hephaest. p. 320. 3 Consbr., *ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα εἴδη συνιζήσεως . . . καὶ ὅταν δύο βραχείας φύσει εἰς μίαν κοινὴν δεχώμεθα· "τρέε δ' Ἄϊδης ἐνέροισιν"*, by Π^{31} *τρέε*, and by Π^{15} *τρέ*[[*ε*]] (*ε* del. m^1). *τρεῖ* may have been avoided because it looked like a present; in that case *τρέε* is an 'etymological spelling' (cf. on 714 and 983). Trisyllabic *ἠείδεε* is written in P. Oxy. 2316. 4 (Archil.; fr. 170. 2 Lasserre); but the Ionic vernacular form is *ἤδεε*, and *ηιδεε* could easily be a corruption of *ηιδεεν*.

Ἄϊδης ἐνέροισι . . . ἀνάσσων: *Il.* 15. 188.

851. **ὑποταρτάριοι**: 'who are down in Tartarus'. *Il.* 14. 279 f. *θεοὺς . . . | τοὺς ὑποταρταρίους, οἳ Τιτῆνες καλέονται.* Sch.^{BT} *τοὺς ἐν τῷ Ταρτάρῳ ὄντας. οὐδὲν γάρ ἐστιν ὑπὸ Τάρταρον.*

Κρόνον ἀμφὶς ἐόντες: *Il.* 14. 274, 15. 225.

852. Hermann condemned the line. *δηιοτής* and *κέλαδος* are not very appropriate words for single combat, and the genitive with *τρέω* is unusual. J. Klinghardt, *De genitivi usu homerico et hesiodeo* (Diss. Halle, 1879), p. 47, quotes *Od.* 4. 820 *τοῦ δ' ἀμφιτρομέω*, but there the meaning is not 'I am afraid of him' but 'I am afraid for him', the genitive being as with *κήδομαι* etc.; cf. also Hdt. 1. 111. 1 *ὁ μὲν τοῦ τόκου τῆς γυναικὸς ἀρρωδέων*. Elsewhere, when a genitive follows a verb of fearing, it is reinforced by a preposition: fr. 204. 127 *τρόμεσκε δὲ πάντ' ἀπὸ τοῖο. Sc.* 213 *τοῦ δ' ὕπο χάλκειοι τρέον ἰχθύες.* (In Arat. 290 *νυκτὸς* is not governed by *πεφοβημένῳ*; ib. 766 *ἦρι θαλάσσης* cannot mean 'the morning sea', and I suspect that we should write *πεφοβημένος ἦρα θαλάσσης*.)

Perhaps neither of these difficulties is serious enough to justify excision, but some suspicion must remain.

853. Goettling thought that this line implied a story like that in Apollodorus, where Typhon temporarily has the best of the fight, cuts the sinews of Zeus' hands and feet, and carries him off to Cilicia and the Corycian cave. *Ἑρμῆς δὲ καὶ Αἰγίπαν ἐκκλέψαντες τὰ νεῦρα ἥρμοσαν τῷ Διὶ λαθόντες· Ζεὺς δέ, τὴν ἰδίαν ἀνακομισάμενος ἰσχύν, ἐξαίφνης ἐξ οὐρανοῦ . . . βάλλων κεραυνοῖς, ἐπ' ὄρος ἐδίωξε Τυφῶνα τὸ καλούμενον Νῦσαν* (1. 6. 3). Cf. Opp. *H.* 3. 15–25, Pisand. Larand. *GDK* S6, fr. 15, Nonn. *D.* 1. 482–516. This myth closely resembles

the Hittite myth of the battle between the Weather-god and the dragon Illuyanka, *A.N.E.T.*, pp. 125–6. Illuyanka overcame the Weather-god, and took away his heart and eyes; but his son, who was married to Illuyanka's daughter, succeeded in getting them back. When the Weather-god's frame had been restored to its former state, he engaged Illuyanka in battle and killed him. Cf. W. Porzig, 'Illujankas und Typhon', *Kleinasiat. Forsch.* 1, 1930, pp. 379–86. But this myth only came to Greece in the Hellenistic period: see Vian, op. cit. (on 820–80), pp. 28–31. Zeus 'rears up his strength' not because he has been deprived of it, but in preparation for the second part of the narrative, in which the battle moves and is decided. See on 687.

οὖν: the particle has a resumptive force, as if it were a digression that had delayed the account of the end of the battle. It is often so used with *ἐπεί* in Homer, see Denniston, p. 417.

κόρθυνεν ἐὸν μένος: 'heaped up his strength', an unparalleled expression.

854. **τε καὶ**: Π^{12} has *τ' ἠδ'*, perhaps after 72, 504 *βροντὴν ἠδ' αἰθαλόεντα κεραυνόν*. Where *τε* is needed, *τε καὶ* is preferred to *τ' ἠδ'*. Cf. 707, which is identical with this line. *m* has *ἰδὲ* for *καὶ* in 293 (against Π^{16} *ak*).

855. **πλῆξεν**: cf. Pi. *N.* 10. 71 *Ζεὺς δ' ἐπ' Ἴδᾳ πυρφόρον πλᾶξε ψολόεντα κεραυνόν*, and below on 857.

ἀπ' Οὐλύμποιο ἐπάλμενος: cf. 689 f. *ἐπάλμενος* 'leaping upon him', as *Il.* 7. 260. Zeus is not usually so energetic. Cf. S. *OT* 469 *ἔνοπλος γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπενθρῴσκει πυρὶ καὶ στεροπαῖς ὁ Διὸς γενέτας*.

ἀμφὶ: adverbial.

856. **ἔπρεσε**: neither this form nor *ἔπρεε* is known from elsewhere. Aly adopts Halbertsma's *πρῆσεν*.

θεσπεσίας κεφαλὰς: cf. 827. Schoemann, p. 359, compares the burning of the Hydra's heads by Heracles—they had to be burned off, because they grew again if they were only cut.

κεφαλὰς δεινοῖο πελώρου: cf. *Il.* 5. 741 = *Od.* 11. 634 *Γοργείη κεφαλὴ δεινοῖο πελώρου*, *Sc.* 223.

857. **δάμασε πληγῇσιν ἰμάσσας**: cf. *Od.* 4. 244 *αὐτόν μιν πληγῇσιν ἀεικελίῃσι δαμάσσας*. *Il.* 12. 37 *Διὸς μάστιγι δαμέντες*, 15. 17 *καί σε πληγῇσιν ἰμάσσω*. For *πληγή*, *πλήσσεσθαι* referring to Zeus' thunderbolt cf. *Il.* 14. 414, 15. 117. *ἰμάσσας* is specially used with reference to Typhoeus: *Il.* 2. 781–3 *γαῖα δ' ὑπεστονάχιζε Διὶ ὣς τερπικεραύνῳ | χωομένῳ ὅτε τ' ἀμφὶ Τυφωέα γαῖαν ἰμάσσῃ | εἰν Ἀρίμοις*.

858. **γυιωθείς**: cf. *Il.* 6. 265, 8. 402, 416, Hippocr. v. 484. For the variant of Π^{12}, cf. *Il.* 2. 266, 12. 205, 13. 618.

στονάχιζε δὲ γαῖα πελώρη: this is the *tertium comparationis* in the Homeric simile. The lashing of Typhoeus was apparently a mythical explanation of earthquakes.

859. Cf. 845.

κεραυνωθέντος: un-Homeric verb, 'thunderbolted'.

τοῖο ἄνακτος: *Il.* 11. 322, *Od.* 3. 388, 21. 62, cf. 493 n. *ἄναξ* is equivalent to *θεός*, cf. on 543, and on 824 for Typhoeus as a god. There need be no allusion to 837.

860. οὔρεος ἐν βήσσῃσιν: this phrase occurs in 865, *Op.* 510, *h. Herm.* 287, and five times in the *Iliad*. It must be taken with *πληγέντος* in 861.

†ἀιδνῆς: this adjective means 'dark, opaque', and occurs in A. fr. 750 M. (conjectured in *Suppl.* 782), Mel. adesp. 78, A.R. 1. 389, *al.*; by-forms *ἀιδνής* in Opp. *H.* 4. 245, *ἀιδνήεις* Euph. 139. It does not seem very appropriate to wooded mountain glens, and as Hesiod must have some particular mountain in mind, this word may conceal a proper name. *παιπαλοέσσης* too would be more acceptable as a genitive singular qualifying the mountain-name (as *h. Ap.* 39 *παιπαλόεις τε Μίμας*, 141 *Κύνθου . . . παιπαλόεντος*), than as dat. pl. qualifying *βήσσῃσιν*. Tzetzes in Lyc. 688 understands Hesiod to be speaking of Etna, and two MSS. actually have *Αἴτνης* in his citation. The scholiast on A. *PV* 351 also locates Typhon under Etna, in an account that is evidently based mainly on Hesiod. But this was the vulgate tradition after Pindar and Aeschylus, and we cannot assume on the strength of these mythographers' annotations that they really found Etna named in the text of Hesiod. There are weighty reasons against it. Firstly we should have to read *Ἄϊτνης*, a prosody for which there is no parallel. Secondly, it would be hard to account for the corruption of a name so familiar and suitable to the context into a rare and unsuitable adjective; it would be somewhat far-fetched to assume that a marginal variant to 858 *ΔΙΔΝ(ωθείς)* was misread as *ΑΙΔΝ* and mistaken for a correction of 860. Thirdly, Hesiod's account differs from the Etna myth in that Typhoeus is not put under the mountain, and there is no mention of fire bursting from the mountain: he collapses flaming on the mountainside, and he is not left there to the present day, but picked up again and flung into Tartarus (868). So Hesiod seems not to be thinking of a volcano, but of a bare, scorched region (Vian, p. 22). Of the places traditionally associated with Typhoeus, the Asiatic Katakekaumene (304 n.) would most obviously fit. But there are other possibilities, among them that the Boeotian Typhaonion was such a place: it cannot have been a volcano. Whatever place Hesiod means, he apparently referred to it under an otherwise unrecorded name, whether *Ἀιδνή* or something else that *ἀιδνῆς* has replaced. He may never have heard of Etna. The myth can only have been transferred there after the discovery that it was a volcano, but we do not know when that was. Thuc. 3. 116 states that Etna had erupted three times since the Greek colonization of Sicily; the second eruption was that of 474 (or 479, by the Parian Marble), but the date of the first is unknown.

861. πληγέντος cf. 857 n.

πολλὴ: 'widely'; cf. *Il.* 7. 156 *πολλὸς ἔκειτο*, and similar expressions. Aly suggests *πολλῇ*, to go with *αὐτμῇ*; Peppmüller *πάντῃ*, comparing *Il.* 20. 490 ff. *ὡς δ' ἀναμαιμάει βαθέ' ἄγκεα θεσπιδαὲς πῦρ | οὔρεος*

ἀζαλέοιο . . . | πάντῃ τε κλονέων ἄνεμος φλόγα εἰλυφάζει, Q.S. 3. 22 *πάντῃ δὲ φερέσβιος αἵματι γαῖα | δεύετο.*

862. **αὐτμῇ**: the prosody is unparalleled, but certain. There is no such word as *ἀτμῇ*; the same error is found in U at 696. If Hesiod and not an earlier poet was the first to make *ἀϋτμή* into a disyllable, one might infer that he, and by implication other singers of his time, still pronounced upsilon in epic as *u*, not *ü*. The alternation *εὖ* | *ἐΰ* must, of course, have been established much earlier, being deeply entrenched in the epic tongue; *ἀυτμή* was presumably originally **ἀϝυτμά* (cf. *ἄϝημι*), and could not become a disyllable until after the loss of the vau. For the reverse development, cf. *ἀϋσταλέος* for *αὐσταλέος* in *Od.* 19. 327, *Sc.* 265 (Schulze, p. 417).

κασσίτερος ὣς: something may be wrong with the text in what follows, for postpositive *ὡς* cannot govern a verb (866 *τήκεται*). The problem cannot be evaded by writing *ὡς* as some editors do; *ὡς* is a proclitic conjunction, and cannot stand at the end of the line. Rzach follows Paley in proscribing 866; but the *τήκεται* there leads back in a characteristic way to *ὣς ἄρα τήκετο γαῖα* in 867, and the line is thus formally above suspicion. I suggest writing *οὔρεος δ' ἐν βήσσῃσι* (or possibly *Ἴδης δ' ἐν βήσσῃσι*) in 865. This gives an attractive antithesis to *ὅπερ κρατερώτατός ἐστιν* in 864. The corruption is natural after *οὔρεος ἐν βήσσῃσιν* in 860. It is noteworthy that QSv have *δ' ἐν* for *ἐν* in 866; this might be due to a marginal correction of the line before. Alternatively, one may admit an anacoluthon.

863. **ὑπ'**: Rzach follows L. Dindorf in writing *ὕπ'*, but the dative *τέχνῃ* can stand alone as in *Il.* 3. 61 *ὑπ' ἀνέρος, ὅς ῥά τε τέχνῃ | νήιον ἐκτάμνῃσιν.*

αἰζηῶν: the word is used of various kinds of working man, cf. *Op.* 441, *Il.* 5. 92, 17. 520, 23. 432, *Od.* 12. 83, 440.

ἐν εὐτρήτοις χοάνοισι: Peppmüller's conjecture, though somewhat violent, is a great improvement in sense. The word *χόανος* denotes anything in which metal is smelted; cf. H. Blümner, *Technologie u. Terminologie der Gewerbe u. Künste bei Griechen u. Römern*, iv. 330, n. 1. If the tin was melted in a cavity in the earth, like the iron in 866, that is what is meant here; otherwise the reference is to a crucible of some kind. *εὔτρητος* refers to the holes or passages through which bellows were inserted to excite the fire. Hephaestus uses no less than twenty, *Il.* 18. 470 *φῦσαι δ' ἐν χοάνοισιν ἐείκοσι πᾶσαι ἐφύσων, | παντοίην εὔπρηστον ἀυτμὴν ἐξανιεῖσαι.* Cf. A.R. 3. 1299 *ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἐνὶ τρητοῖσιν ἐΰρρινοι χοάνοισι | φῦσαι χαλκήων ὁτὲ μέν τ' ἀναμαρμαίρουσι | πῦρ ὀλοὸν πιμπρᾶσαι, ὁτ' αὖ λήγουσιν ἀυτμῆς.* Hippocr. ix. 86.

The metal is naturally spoken of as being heated *in* the crucible, not by it. Cf. Nic. *Al.* 51–52 *ἠὲ σιδηρήεσσαν ἀπὸ τρύγα, τήν τε καμίνων | ἔντοσθεν χοάνοιο διχῇ πυρὸς ἤλασε λιγυύς.* Maneth. 6. 387 f. *ἐν χοάνοις χρυσόν τε καὶ ἄργυρον αἰγλήεντα | τήκοντας ῥέζει.* F. Illek, *Über den Gebrauch der Präpositionen bei Hesiod*, Teil II, Progr. Brünn, 1889, p. 11, takes *ὑπό* to mean 'down in', and Mazon translates 'que l'art des jeunes hommes recueille au-dessous du creuset troué où ils l'ont fait

chauffer'. But we should expect the dative in this sense; and if *ὑπό* is to stand twice in different senses in one line (as Pi. *O.* 6. 43 *ἦλθεν δ' ὑπὸ σπλάγχνων ὑπ' ὠδίνεσσ' ἐραταῖς Ἴαμος*, Claud. *A.P.* 5. 86. 2 *ἐβλήθης ὑπ' Ἔρωτος ὑπ' ὠκυπόροισιν ὀιστοῖς*), the copulative *τε* must be removed. One might compromise by writing *ὑπ' ἐυτρήτοις χοάνοισι*.

Tin was mainly used in antiquity for making bronze; see Blümner, op. cit. iv. 376–8.

864. **θαλφθείς**: for the addition of a participle to a noun followed by *ὥς*, cf. *Sc.* 426 *λέων ὡς σώματι κύρσας*, *Il.* 2. 781 *Διὶ ὡς . . . | χωομένῳ*.

ὅ περ: masculine, as in *Il.* 7. 114, 21. 107. See Barrett on E. *Hipp.* 525–6.

κρατερώτατος: 'the strongest of all things'. A later writer would probably have used the neuter, as Thgn. 1157 *πλοῦτος καὶ σοφίη θνητοῖς ἀμαχώτατον αἰεί*, E. *Med.* 329, Hdt. 3. 108. 4, 7. 10 *η* 2, Thuc. 1. 138. 5, etc. For the retention of the gender of *σίδηρος* cf. *Op.* 279, 471–2.

865. **οὔρεος ἐν βήσσῃσι**: on the text see 862 n. Iron ore was evidently smelted in the ground (cf. 866), a primitive practice known in modern India and Africa, and described by Blümner, op. cit. iv. 216 f. Cf. *Phoronis* fr. 2. 5 ff. (p. 211 Kinkel), of the Idaean Dactyls: *οἳ πρῶτοι τέχνην (-ης?) πολυμήτιος Ἡφαίστοιο | εὗρον ἐν οὐρείῃσι νάπαις ἰόεντα σίδηρον, | ἐς πῦρ τ' ἤνεγκαν καὶ ἀριπρεπὲς ἔργον ἔδειξαν*.

δαμαζόμενος: E. *Alc.* 980 (Ananke is addressed) *καὶ τὸν ἐν Χαλύβοις δαμάζεις σὺ βίᾳ σίδαρον*. The present *δαμάζω* is un-Homeric.

866. **χθονὶ δίῃ**: *χθόνα δῖαν Op.* 479, *Sc.* 287, *Il.* 24. 532, *h.* xxx. 3, cf. Hom. *epigr.* 4. 9.

867. **σέλαι πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο**: *Il.* 8. 563. There, as here, most MSS. give *σέλᾳ* or *σέλα*: similarly *σέλᾳ Od.* 21. 246, *γήρᾳ Od.* 11. 136. But there can be no justification for a long alpha. In *Od.* 10. 316 MSS. give *δέπαι* or *δέπα'*. Elsewhere the dative of these nouns is *-αϊ* unresolved. Cf. Meister, *Die hom. Kunstsprache*, pp. 130 ff.

For the variant of Π^{12}, cf. *h. Dem.* 239. It is really more appropriate than *σέλαι* for the heat that melts the earth, but it is not necessarily right on that account.

868. **ῥῖψε**: cf. *Il.* 8. 13 *ἤ μιν ἐλὼν ῥίψω ἐς τάρταρον ἠερόεντα*, fr. 54 (a) 5–6 *ῥείψειν ἤμελ[λεν . . . | τ]άρταρον ἐς[*, 30. 22 *[τὸν δὲ λα]βὼν ἔρριψ' ἐς τάρταρον ἠερόεντα*. Π^{12} appears to have space for two letters before]*ιψε*, presumably *ῥε]ιψε*.

For the abrupt reversion to Zeus without his being named, cf. on 112–13.

ἀκαχὼν: cf. p. 82. Elsewhere *ἤκαχον* always has a transitive sense.

ἐς τάρταρον εὐρύν: *h. Herm.* 374.

869. On the origin of ill winds from Typhoeus cf. 820–80 n. If the association is due to popular etymology, it is surprising that the winds are not more pointedly described as *τυφῶνες*. 'Ventos e Typhoeo ortos potius siccos et fervidos esse exspectamus.' (Gercke *ap.* P. F. Kretschmer, *De iteratis hesiodeis*, Diss. Breslau, 1913, p. 53.)

ἐκ . . . ἔστ': cf. on 590–1.

ἀνέμων μένος ὑγρὸν ἀέντων: *Op.* 625, *Od.* 5. 478, 19. 440.

870. On these divine winds see 379.

Βορέω: although *a* here and all MSS. in *Op.* 518 and 553 give *Βορέου*, Rzach is probably right in preferring the Homeric form (*Il.* 14. 395, with v.l. *-ου*, 23. 692, *Od.* 14. 533) throughout. In all three places another word ending in *-ου* immediately precedes; but the intrusion of *Βορέου* is most simply explained as a modernization.

ἀργεστέω Ζεφύροιο: see on 379.

871. **οἵ γε μὲν . . . μέγ' ὄνειαρ, | αἱ δ' ἄλλαι**: cf. *Op.* 822–3 *αἵδε μὲν ἡμέραι εἰσὶν ἐπιχθονίοις μέγ' ὄνειαρ, | αἱ δ' ἄλλαι μετάδουποι, ἀκήριοι, οὔ τι φέρουσαι.*

ἐκ θεόφιν: Typhoeus no longer counts as a god, cf. on 824.

γενεήν: the reading of *a* is confirmed by *Il.* 21. 187 *γενεὴν μεγάλου Διὸς εὔχομαι εἶναι*, 23. 471, *Od.* 15. 225, *GVI* 42. 1 (Corcyra, *s.* vi B.C.) *ἰνιοῦ Τλασίαρο Μενεκράτεος τόδε σᾶμα, | Οἰνανθέος γενεάν*, A.R. 2. 990.

θνητοῖς μέγ' ὄνειαρ: cf. *Op.* 41, 346, 822.

872. **αἱ δ' ἄλλαι μὰψ αὖραι**: in most MSS. *μαψαῦραι* is written as one word. It was so taken by Callimachus (fr. 714. 3–4 *ἢ ὅτε κωφαῖς | ἄλγεα μαψαύραις ἔσχατον ἐξερέῃ*) and Lycophron (395 *κόκκυγα κομπάζοντα μαψαύρας στόβους*); but of course that is no evidence that Hesiod so intended it. *μαψαύρης* would be possible as an adjective, cf. *μαψυλάκας* Sapph. 158. 2, Pi. *N.* 7. 105, but a noun *μαψαύρη* would be without parallel. Yet a feminine noun is presupposed by *αἱ . . . πίπτουσαι* in 873, *αἱ δ' αὖ* 878, etc. It follows that we must write *μὰψ αὖραι*. Schoemann's *οἱ δ' ἄλλοι* would have been preferable with *μαψαῦραι*, but as it is, the manuscript text can be left undisturbed.

873. **δή τοι**: cf. 142 n.

πίπτουσαι ἐς ἠεροειδέα πόντον: in *Op.* 620 the same words are used of the setting Pleiades, but in the same context of irregular tempests: 621 *δὴ τότε παντοίων ἀνέμων θυίουσιν ἀῆται. ἀνέμων μένος ὑγρὸν ἀέντων* follows four lines later. For the wind 'falling upon' land or sea, cf. *Op.* 511 (Boreas) *ἐμπίπτων*, 547 *Βορέαο πεσόντος*, *Od.* 14. 475. *πίπτειν* can also have the opposite sense, 'abate', as *Od.* 19. 202.

874. **πῆμα μέγα θνητοῖσι**: 592 n.

κακῇ: cf. *Op.* 645 *εἴ κ' ἄνεμοί γε κακὰς ἀπέχωσιν ἀήτας.*

θυίουσιν: cf. *Op.* 621 quoted above, and Aristophanes' reading in *Il.* 12. 40 *ἐμαίνετο ἶσος ἀέλλῃ* (*ἐμάρνατο* vulg.).

ἀέλλῃ: *θύελλαι* and *ἄελλαι* are variants at *Od.* 4. 727. *ἀέλλῃ* is perhaps supported by the echoes in D.P. 677 *κακῇ θυίοντες ἀέλλῃ* and Q.S. 3. 704 *θοῇ θυίοντας ἀέλλῃ*. On the possibility of a word-play *ἀέλλῃ* ~ *ἄλλοτε ἄλλαι*, see 269 n. *ad fin.*

875. **ἄλλαι**: *ἄλλῃ* might be right; *ἄλλοι* cannot be. If *ἄλλαι* is kept, the meaning is not 'different ones blow at different times', for this is equally true of the good winds, but rather 'they blow different at different times', they have no constant character, but appear in unforeseen guises.

ἄεισι: cf. p. 82.

διασκιδνᾶσι: perhaps 'wreck', as *Od.* 7. 275 (σχεδίη) *τὴν μὲν ἔπειτα θύελλα διεσκέδασ'*.

876. **φθείρουσι**: the verb is found only twice in Homer, *Il.* 21. 128 and *Od.* 17. 246. It occurs again in 879 and in *Op.* 178 codd.

κακοῦ δ' οὐ γίνεται ἀλκὴ: cf. *Op.* 201 *κακοῦ δ' οὐκ ἔσσεται ἀλκή*, *Il.* 4. 245 *οὐδ' ἄρα . . . γίνεται ἀλκή*. In this place not even S has *γίγνεται* (cf. on 429). For *ἀλκή* cf. on 657.

877. **συνάντωνται**: the verb is used of encounters with either friend or foe, see Ebeling's *Lex. Hom.* s.v.

878. **ἀπείριτον**: used of the sea in 109, otherwise in early epic only in phrases with *ἐστεφάνωται* or *-ωτο*: *Od.* 10. 195 (*πόντος*), *h. Aphr.* 120 (*ὅμιλος*), *Sc.* 204 (*ὄλβος*).

ἀνθεμόεσσαν: not of the earth in Homer.

879. **ἔργ' . . . ἀνθρώπων**: cf. *Il.* 5. 92, 16. 392.

χαμαιγενέων: *h. Dem.* 352, *Aphr.* 108, cf. Thgn. 870.

880. **κολοσυρτοῦ**: the word occurs in two Homeric similes, where wild boars face the approaching *κολοσυρτός* of hunters and dogs, *Il.* 12. 147, 13. 472. Aristophanes uses it in two anapaestic passages, *V.* 666 and *Pl.* 536, both times of a crowd of people. Hesychius also records a verb *κολοσυρτεῖ* = *θορυβεῖ*, *ταράσσει*.

881–1020. The wars are over. By universal consent Zeus becomes king of the gods (881–5). He consolidates his régime by means of a series of seven marriages (886–923). The first is with Metis; it comes to a strange conclusion, but one that puts a stop to the chain of revolutions, and ensures that Zeus shall not be overthrown in his turn. The other marriages are partly well-known traditional unions from which younger gods came forth (= Demeter→Persephone; = Leto→Apollo and Artemis; = Hera→Hebe, Ares, and Eileithyia), partly less familiar ones, which surround Zeus (and must be meant to characterize his régime) with young goddesses representing civilization, prosperity, and stability: the Horai (Eunomia, Dike, Eirene), the Moirai, the Charites (Aglaia, Euphrosyne, Thalia), and the nine Muses. Cf. pp. 24, 37; Solmsen, pp. 34 ff., 54 f.

To round off the series we have lines on Zeus' motherless daughter Athena, and by way of a counterpiece, on Hera's fatherless son Hephaestus (924–9). Then we pass on to the children of Poseidon by Amphitrite and of Ares by Aphrodite, and then to other marriages of the younger gods, characterized either by the circumstance that they have no issue (or at least, none is mentioned), or that the wife is a nymph or mortal (930–62). Here the poet takes his leave of the gods, and after a reinvocation of the Muses, lists ten unions of goddesses with mortal men (963–1018). The order of this catalogue appears to be haphazard. It too is concluded by a summing-up sentence (1019–20), after which the ancients drew the dividing line between the *Theogony* and the *Catalogue*, though the poet clearly went on over

the break. Cf. pp. 48–49. The first two lines of the *Catalogue* are added in some MSS.

The genuine work of Hesiod certainly ends before this point, but there is no general agreement on how far it goes. Aly, Jacoby, and Schwenn take it to 929, Wilamowitz apparently to 939 (*Hesiods Erga*, pp. 6, 7, n. 1), Goettling, Paley, A. Meyer, and J. Schwartz (*Pseudo-Hesiodeia*, p. 435) to 962, Heyne, Sittl, Robert, Bethe (*Die gr. Dichtung*, p. 57), and Mazon to 964. I believe that it goes no further than 900. There are four main arguments that bear on the question.

1. A structural argument. This has been presented in the Prolegomena, pp. 48–49.

2. A historical argument. The end of the *Theogony* contains several mythological statements that it is impossible or gravely implausible to attribute to the age of Hesiod: the deification of Heracles; the birth from the Colchian Medea of Medeios, the ancestor of the Medes; the birth from Odysseus and Circe of Latinus, king of the Etruscans. For each of these passages a sixth-century date can be argued, and for the two last, a date in the second half of that century. See on 947–55, 1001, and 1016.

The historical and structural arguments prove that the end of the *Theogony* is post-Hesiodic. The other two arguments help us to determine where the 'end' begins.

3. A stylistic argument. Aly notes 'Katalog der Zeusgattinnen nur Kapitelüberschriften'; and this is equally true of all that follows the wives of Zeus. It is set out in a homogeneously bare and characterless style which seems to aim at according approximately equal space to each item: unlike Hesiod, who composes, not compiles, and whose style is neither characterless nor bare, nor homogeneous. The new style alludes to events that it refrains from narrating, and which the reader or hearer is assumed to know (951, 954, 994): this too is un-Hesiodic. This style sets in suddenly at 901; the principle of quantitative uniformity of treatment is at its most prominent from there to 929 (see on 901–29), and stylistically 901–1020 is a unity.

4. This conclusion is reinforced by a linguistic argument, a much stronger one than most linguistic arguments applied to problems of authorship in Hesiod. There are no less than four formulae relating to marriage and reproduction which are used two, three, or four times in this section 901–1020, and also in the *Catalogue*, but nowhere else in the *Theogony*. (*a*) *θαλερὴν ποιήσατ' ἄκοιτιν* 921, 946, 948, 999, fr. 14. 5, 23 (a) 31, 33 (a) 7, 85. 5, 180. 16. (*b*) *θέτ' ἄκοιτιν* 937, 953. (*c*) *μιχθεῖσ' ἐν φιλότητι* 923, 941, 944, 980, fr. 5. 3, 165. 9; also in the *Great Ehoiai*, fr. 253. (*d*) *μιγεῖσ' ἐρατῇ φιλότητι* 970, 1009, 1018. To these may be added (*e*) *διὰ χρυσῆν Ἀφροδίτην*, which occurs in the suspect verse 822 as well as in 962, 1005, [1014], fr. 23 (a) 35, 172. 4?, 221. 3. Cf. on 822.

It is evident that we are here reading a poet with a different formulaic vocabulary from Hesiod's. The fact that his language recurs in the *Catalogue*, together with the structural link at 1019 ff., makes it not unlikely that he is identical with the author of the *Catalogue*.

The occurrence of two of his formulae in 921 and 923 confirms the stylistic argument, which indicated that pseudo-Hesiod's work began earlier than is generally suspected. Either the linguistic argument must be rejected *in toto*, or we must accept its clear indication that the registrar poet, as he may be called, begins before 929; and if we grant that, it is reasonable to let ourselves be guided by the stylistic criterion, and to say farewell to genuine Hesiod at 900. Now it is obvious that he did not mean to leave us there. The marriages of the younger gods, especially those of Zeus, were integral to the plan of his poem. *πρώτην ἄλοχον θέτο Μῆτιν* in 886 itself presupposes further wives to come; Leto and Hera at least are compulsory, Mnemosyne has already been made the mother by Zeus of the Muses (53 ff.), and both she and Themis, alone among the female Titans, have so far been held in spinsterhood. So 901–29, even if not worded by Hesiod, correspond fairly closely to his intentions. They contain one or two other features that are like Hesiod, though he cannot have had a monopoly of them: the etymologizing of Ὧραι in 901–3, and the special praise of Apollo and Artemis in 919 (cf. on 404–52). The most likely explanation of these facts is that the later poet received a complete *Theogony*, not one that broke off at 900, and that he remodelled the end in his own style, but following the outlines of the original. Then he hastened on towards the *Catalogue* he planned, composing 965–1018 as a bridge passage.

On this section see Schoemann, pp. 375–92; Ziegler, *Roscher*, v. 1490–4; Wilamowitz, *Hesiods Erga*, pp. 6–7; Jacoby, pp. 27–43; Schwenn, pp. 48–52; Solmsen, l.c.

881. **πόνον**: cf. 629.

μάκαρες θεοὶ ἐξετέλεσσαν: fr. 211. 9.

882. **Τιτήνεσσι**: cf. on 197 *κικλήσκουσι*. The dative is used as if *ἐς κρίσιν τιμάων ἦλθον* had been written.

τιμάων κρίναντο: cf. on 535. For the genitive cf. *Sc.* 405 ff. *ὥς τ' αἰγυπιοὶ . . . μάχωνται | αἰγὸς ὀρεσσινόμου ἢ' ἀγροτέρης ἐλάφοιο*. Ar. *Ach.* 229 *οἷσι παρ' ἐμοῦ πόλεμος ἐχθοδοπὸς αὔξεται τῶν ἐμῶν χωρίων*.

883. **βασιλευέμεν ἠδὲ ἀνάσσειν**: similar pleonasm in 403 *μέγα κρατεῖ ἠδὲ ἀνάσσει*, fr. 308 (Zeus) *πάντων βασιλεὺς καὶ κοίρανός ἐστιν*, 195. 7 *ἄναξ καὶ κοίρανος ἦεν*, 144; *Od.* 20. 194 *βασιλῆι ἄνακτι*. Both *βασιλεύειν* (71, *Op.* 111) and *ἀνάσσειν* (403, 491, 506) are used by Hesiod of kingship in heaven, but the king is only called *βασιλεύς* (486, 886, 923, *Op.* 668), not *ἄναξ*. In *Iliad* and *Odyssey* Zeus is never called *βασιλεύς*, and never '*ἄναξ* of the gods', though he bears the honourary title *ἄναξ*, as do Apollo, Hermes, and other gods. Cf. on 886.

884. **Γαίης φραδμοσύνῃσιν**: 626 n.

Ὀλύμπιον εὐρύοπα Ζῆν: the full phrase is not found in the accusative in Homer, but *εὐρύοπα Ζῆν Il.* 8. 206, 14. 265, 24. 331. In all these three places, as in Hesiod, the following line begins with a vowel; this may be coincidence (about 50 per cent. of all lines begin with

a vowel), but it may on the other hand indicate that the early rhapsodes took the archaic accusative *Ζῆν* to be an elided form of *Ζῆνα*, and for that reason always began the following line with a vowel. In that case the apostrophe should be printed. Aristarchus regarded this as a case of elision over the line-end, and most of the MSS. of Hesiod have *ζῆν'* or *ζῆνα*. Cf. Christ, *Homeri Ilias* (1884), p. 124; Peppmüller on *Il.* 24. 331 (*Commentar des vierundzwanzigsten Buches der Ilias*, 1876); Wackernagel, pp. 160–3; B. Snell, *Gr. Metrik*, 3rd ed., pp. 4–5.

There is no certain case of such elision in Greek hexameters. In Panyasis P. Oxy. 221 *Ἀχελωίου ἀργυροδίνα | Ὠκεανοῦ*, Wackernagel, l.c., argues for *-δίνα'(ο)*; but the endings *-αο* and *-οιο* are never elided in epic, *-εω* and *-ου* being used in hiatus instead (Kühner–Blass, i. 237; cf. *καλλιστεφανο αφροδιτες* in the 'Nestor's cup' inscription, *C.R.* 1956, p. 95). *-δίνα* can be explained as a Dorism, though a unique one in epic. Callimachus *ep.* 41. 1 has elision between hexameter and pentameter, but this probably had a precedent in the period when the elegiac couplet was treated as a formal unit, as in some sixth- and fifth-century inscriptions. Cf. also Simon. fr. 76 Diehl *Ἀριστο|γείτων*. In Roman poets the licence is extended to the hexameter: Lucil. 547, Lucr. 5. 849, Cat. 64. 298 (and 115. 5 in elegiacs), Virg. *G.* 1. 295, 2. 344, *A.* 1. 332, 6. 602, 7. 160, 470, Ov. *M.* 4. 11, 780, 6. 507, Hor. *Sat.* 1. 4. 96, 6. 102, Val. Fl. 4. 293. Ennius was probably the first to use it, cf. Seneca *ap.* Gell. 12. 2. 10.

885. **ἀθανάτων**: it is remarkable how late an 'epexegetic' genitive may stand. Cf. on 682.

ἐὺ: *Π*[15] and all codd. (with the exception of S, which omits the word) have the circumflex accent, and one would not expect the word to be scanned as an iambus before a single delta. The word itself is supported by the parallel of 73 *εὖ δὲ ἕκαστα | ἀθανάτοις διέταξε νόμους καὶ ἐπέφραδε τιμάς*; cf. also *Il.* 1. 368 *καὶ τὰ μὲν εὖ δάσσαντο μετὰ σφίσιν υἷες Ἀχαιῶν*. Hermann suggested *⟨μάλ'⟩ εὖ*. Solmsen's *⟨τότ'⟩ εὖ* is a less attractive attempt on the same lines (*Hermes*, 1960, p. 4, n.1). Jacoby's *ὁμῶς*, based on the manuscript text of 74, makes no sense here. Rzach adopts Ahrens's *ἑὰς*, which was suggested by Theocr. 17. 50 *ἐς ναὸν κατέθηκας, ἑας δ' ἀπεδάσσαο τιμας*, but there *ἑᾶς τιμᾶς* is probably genitive, 'of your honour' (so Legrand and Gow). We should probably accept *ἐὺ*. Homeric examples of a short final vowel occupying the arsis (other than before *δϝ*, *ϝ*, *λ*, *μ*, *ν*, *ρ*, *σ*) mostly fall into the following classes: (*a*) acc. neut. pl. in *-α* (see on 803), (*b*) dat. sing. in *-ι* (see Monro, § 373), (*c*) voc. *-ε* (Monro, § 387). But very occasionally we find other examples, like *Od.* 1. 40 *ἐκ γὰρ Ὀρέσταο τίσις ἔσσεται*, 10. 141 *ναύλοχον ἐς λιμένα, καί τις θεὸς ἡγεμόνευεν*. Some examples from late poets of short vowel lengthened before initial *δ* (misunderstanding of lengthening before *δϝ*?) are quoted by Rzach, *Sitz.-Ber. Wien. Ak.* 100, 1882, p. 316. It would be possible to assume that Hesiod pronounced the combination *δι* (before a vowel) with a thickened delta (Hermann); cf. Lesbian *ζά*, and pp. 85–86 on *μέζεα* in *Op.* 512.

886–900. Gaia and Uranos warn Zeus that his first wife Metis will bear dangerously bold and clever children, and advise him to swallow her. He does so, and thus forestalls the birth of the son who would have overthrown him, but not that of Athena (her birth is, however, not recorded until 924–6); at the same time he assimilates Metis' practical wisdom.

This appears to be a composite myth built up as follows. (1) The new king, Zeus, might have expected to be deposed in his turn, like his divine predecessors. But an endless chain of succession was impracticable in myth, besides being offensive to religious feeling, which regarded Zeus as invincible. In Greek myth, the son stronger than Zeus is a threat that does not materialize. In one version it depends on Zeus marrying Thetis (A. *PV* 755 ff., 907 ff., Pi. *Isth.* 8. 27 ff., A. R. 4. 800 ff., etc.): he discovers the danger in time, and ceases his attentions. In the Hesiodic version, the marriage takes place, but the bride is swallowed before she can give birth: a reduplication of the Kronos-motif. In a third version (*h. Ap.* 338 f., sch.^{B} *Il.* 2. 783), the part of the child is played by Typhoeus. He is actually born, but again Zeus is warned in time, and the child is destroyed before he can grow to his full strength. (2) Athena was traditionally born from Zeus' head. Originally this was an independent motif, connected with the primitive view of the head as the source of generation. (See Onians, pp. 111, 178 f.) It is paralleled by the birth of Pegasus and Chrysaor from Medusa's neck (above, 280), and more exactly on a relief pithos from Tenos (*A.J.A.* 58, 1954, p. 240 and pl. 46), where a male god is shown emerging from the crown of a goddess's head. A myth in which Zeus swallowed a wife enabled the Athena-myth to be rationalized, to the extent that she could be provided with a mother. (In the earlier stage the male seed sufficed for procreation. So in many early myths; cf. especially the birth of the Weather-god from Kumarbi, p. 20, 453–506 n.). The combination entailed a certain illogicality; if the swallowing did not prevent the birth of Athena, it ought not to have prevented the birth of the son. (3) The identity of the mother may have been determined by that of the daughter: Metis was a suitable mother for Athena (*Od.* 13. 299 *μήτι τε κλέομαι καὶ κέρδεσιν*, *h.* xxviii. 2 *πολύμητιν*; [Orph.] *H.* 32. 10 *μῆτι*), though, of course, not the only possible one. But the choice of her allowed the poet to use the myth as a crude aition for the fact that *μῆτις* is a characteristic of Zeus—*μητίετα Ζεύς*, *Δία μητιόεντα*, *Διὶ μῆτιν ἀτάλαντος*. One may compare the myth that explains Zeus' constant alliance with Nike, Kratos, etc., above, 383 ff.

A similar account of Athena's birth from Metis is given in the passage of 19 hexameters quoted by Chrysippus fr. 908 (= [Hes.] fr. 343). There it is expressly related to the birth of Hephaestus. A quarrel between Zeus and Hera had been mentioned in what preceded the fragment, and in consequence of this quarrel, Hera gave birth to Hephaestus without Zeus' aid, and Zeus lay with Metis, and swallowed her, *δείσας, μὴ τέξῃ κρατερώτερον ἄλλο κεραυνοῦ*. But she

conceived Athena, and Zeus gave her birth through his head. That Hephaestus' birth was a complement to Athena's, and connected with a quarrel between Zeus and Hera, is also implicit in *Th.* 924–9, but the logical order of events has been destroyed: Zeus swallows Metis six wives before his marriage with Hera. Cf. also *h. Ap.* 307 ff.

The source of Chrysippus' fragment is not certainly known. Some people, he says, say simply that Athena was born from Zeus' head, and do not explain how or why. But Hesiod gives more details *ἐν ταῖς (θεογονίαις)* (the word is added by the second hand in the MS. on which we depend, the Hamiltonianus of Galen, and is probably a conjecture), *τινῶν μὲν ἐν τῇ Θεογονίᾳ γραφόντων τὴν γένεσιν αὐτῆς, πρῶτον μὲν Μήτιδι συγγενομένου τοῦ Διός, δεύτερον δὲ Θέμιδι, τινῶν δὲ ἐν ἑτέροις ἄλλως γραφόντων [τὴν γένεσιν αὐτῆς], ὡς ἄρα γενομένης ἔριδος τῷ Διὶ καὶ τῇ Ἥρᾳ γεννήσειεν ἡ μὲν Ἥρα δι' ἑαυτῆς τὸν Ἥφαιστον, ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἐκ τῆς Μήτιδος καταποθείσης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.* A few lines further on Chrysippus quotes the two versions verbatim. *λέγεται δ' ἐν μὲν τῇ Θεογονίᾳ οὕτω·* (*Th.* 886–900; at some stage 891–9 have fallen out owing to homoeoteleuton), *εἶτα προελθών φησιν οὕτως·* (*Th.* 924–6). . . . *ἐν δὲ τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα, πλείω διεληλυθότος αὐτοῦ, τοιαῦτ' ἐστὶ τὰ λεγόμενα·* (fragment).

It emerges from his words, firstly, that he attributes both versions to Hesiod; secondly, that the fragment was not read in the *Theogony*, but *ἐν ἑτέροις* or *ἐν τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα, πλείω διεληλυθότος αὐτοῦ*, i.e. in a poem appended to the *Theogony* (for the phraseology cf. *τὰ μετὰ τὰ Φυσικά*, Q.S. *τὰ μεθ' Ὅμηρον*, Procl. *chrestom.* 173 (p. 105. 21 Allen) *Ἰλιὰς Ὁμήρου· μεθ' ἣν ἐστιν Αἰθιοπίδος βιβλία ε̄*, and 306 (p. 109. 6) *μετὰ ταῦτά ἐστιν Ὁμήρου Ὀδύσσεια*); thirdly, that *τινές* wrote the *Theogony* version in the *Theogony*, while others wrote the other version in the other poem, in other words that the two versions were alternative. The best parallel for such an arrangement may be the catalogue of the Trojan allies, which stood (*a*) at the end of the *Cypria* (Procl. 169, p. 105. 17; omitted however in cod. Ottob. 58, edited by A. Severyns, *Mélanges H. Grégoire*, II, 1950, pp. 571 ff.), and (*b*) in our *Iliad*, 2. 786–877: presumably it only appeared once in the full cyclic version. (Somewhat differently Jacoby, *Kl. Schr.* 1. 100–1.) Compare also the alternative proems of the *Iliad* (p. 49).

The poem that came after the *Theogony* is obviously most likely to have been the *Catalogue*. If a difference between Zeus and Hera was mentioned at some point, the births of Hephaestus and Athena could be narrated in digression. But it is worth remarking that such a quarrel was related in the *Melampodia* (fr. 275). Zeus and Hera had an argument over whether the man or the woman derives most pleasure from sexual intercourse. Teiresias, having had experience of both, judged that 90 per cent. of the pleasure is the woman's, at which Hera was so angry that she struck him blind, and Zeus so pleased that he gave him the gift of prophecy. Now a sequel in which Hera said, 'I'll show you that I can do without sex: I'll bear a child without your help', would fit the story very well. Zeus would then

retaliate by generating Athena without Hera. There is no other evidence that the *Melampodia* ever followed the *Theogony* (±*Catal.*) in ancient editions, but there is no inherent improbability in the idea of an edition which brought together all the poems attributed to Hesiod. So the passage Chrysippus quotes may well be from the *Melampodia*: at all events, it must be printed among the Hesiodic fragments.

On the birth of Athena in Hesiod see T. Bergk, *N.Jb.* 81, 1860, pp. 289 ff., 377 ff. = *Kl. phil. Schr.* ii. 635 ff.; Farnell, i. 283–6; Usener, *Rh. Mus.* 56, 1901, pp. 174–86 = *Kl. Schr.* iii. 176–87; Wilamowitz, *Sitz.-Ber. Berl. Ak.* 1921, pp. 950–65 = *Kl. Schr.* v (2), 36–53; Cook, *Zeus*, iii. 733, 739 ff.; Solmsen, pp. 67–68; N. O. Brown, *T.A.P.A.* 83, 1952, pp. 130–43; H. Jeanmaire, *Rev. Arch.* 48, 1956, pp. 12–39; Sigrid Kauer, *Die Geburt der Athena im altgr. Epos*, Diss. Köln, 1959; M. Pope, *A.J.P.* 1960, pp. 113 ff.; H. Schwabl, *R.E.* Suppl. ix. 1453–4; M. C. Stokes, *Phronesis*, 7, 1962, pp. 36–37.

886. **Ζεὺς δὲ θεῶν βασιλεύς**: *Cypr.* 7. 3 *Ζηνὶ θεῶν βασιλῆι*, 923 below *θεῶν βασιλῆα καὶ ἀνδρῶν*, *h. Dem.* 358 *Διὸς βασιλῆος*. Cf. on 883. The phrase resembles a formulaic title, but is not being used as such; there is a strong predicative sense, 'Zeus, now that he was king of the gods'.

πρώτην: the wives are not numbered through the list; Themis is noted as the second (901), Hera as the last (921). Cf. Apld. 2. 1. 1 *Νιόβης δὲ καὶ Διός, ᾗ πρώτῃ γυναικὶ Ζεὺς θνητῇ ἐμίγη, παῖς Ἄργος ἐγένετο*. D. S. 4. 14. 4 *Ζεὺς γὰρ πρώτῃ μὲν ἐμίγη γυναικὶ θνητῇ Νιόβῃ τῇ Φορωνέως, ἐσχάτῃ δ' Ἀλκμήνῃ*.

ἄλοχον θέτο: cf. 937, 953 *θέτ' ἄκοιτιν*. A different expression is used for each of Zeus' seven marriages.

887. **εἰδυῖαν**: 264 n. Hesiod's Metis represents simply knowledge and the practical wisdom that is based on knowledge (cf. 900).

888. **ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ἄρ' ἔμελλε**: so Fick, from *Od.* 6. 110, 7. 18. Cf. 468 *ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ Διί' ἔμελλε*, and for the hiatus *Il.* 6. 393 (*πύλας*) *Σκαιάς, τῇ ἄρ' ἔμελλε διεξίμεναι πεδίονδε* (vv.ll. *τ' ἄρ, γὰρ*).

θεὰν γλαυκῶπιν Ἀθήνην: not Homeric in the accusative (p. 79), but *γλαυκῶπιν Ἀθήνην* without *θεὰν Od.* 1. 156, *h. Ap.* 314, 13 above. In Chrysippus' citation *γλαυκώπιδ'* is written, and so *h. Ap.* 323 codd., *Aphr.* 8 v.l. Both forms of the accusative certainly existed, cf. 895, 924, *Il.* 8. 373, with *h.* xxviii. 2.

889. **δόλῳ**: according to sch. and Apld. 1. 3. 6, Metis had the ability to change into different shapes, a talent appropriate to her resourceful nature, and one which she shared with Thetis among others, the other bride dangerous to Zeus. Both nymphs' versatility is connected with their relationship to water: Thetis is a Nereid, Metis an Oceanid. Cf. Ninck, pp. 138–80. Such people are dealt with either by holding on to them relentlessly, as with Proteus in the *Odyssey*, or by catching them at the moment when they have assumed some particularly vulnerable form, as with Periclymenus, whom Heracles killed as a fly or bee. Possibly Metis turned into water, and Zeus drank her.

Cf. Ninck, p. 141, n. 2: 'Wenn also Zeus das prophetische Wassernumen verschlingt, um vorahnendes Wissen zu erlangen, so liegt hier ganz offenbar die Vorstellung vom mantisch erregenden Wassertrunk (vgl. S. 83 ff.) zugrunde.' The scholiast's account is unfortunately obscure: *πλανήσας οὖν αὐτὴν ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ †πικρὰν ποιήσας κατέπιεν* (*μικρὰν ποιήσας* Goettling, *ἐπικρατήσας* Heyne).

890. **αἱμυλίοισι λόγοισιν**: *Od.* 1. 56, cf. *Op.* 78, 789. Evidently verbal persuasion was used to induce Metis to adopt a vulnerable position.

ἐὴν ἐσκάτθετο νηδύν: see on 487. In the fragment, vv. 4–7, Zeus *'Ωκεανοῦ καὶ Τηθύος ἠυκόμοιο | κούρῃ νόσφ' Ἥρης παρελέξατο καλλιπαρήῳ | ἐξαπαφὼν Μῆτιν καί περ πολύιδριν ἐοῦσαν, | συμμάρψας δ' ὅ γε χερσὶν ἑὴν ἐσκάθετο νηδύν.*

891. Cf. 463 n.

892. **τὼς γάρ οἱ**: *Sc.* 20 (pap., *ὣς* codd.), cf. *τὼς γάρ μιν* ib. 219, 478.

ἵνα μὴ βασιληίδα τιμὴν | ἄλλος ἔχοι: cf. on 462.

893. **ἀντί** comes after its case five times in Homer. On its lack of accent cf. Wackernagel, *Kl. Schr.*, p. 1196.

θεῶν: the late position again; cf. on 82.

894. **ἐκ γὰρ τῆς**: cf. on 590.

εἵμαρτο: in 464 and 475 Hesiod has *πέπρωτο*, but Kronos really was destined to be overthrown; now it is a case of something prepared by fate, yet not inevitable. *εἵμαρτο* is used thrice in Homer, *Il.* 21. 281, *Od.* 5. 312, 24. 34.

περίφρονα: of a deity also in *h. Dem.* 370, *περίφρων Περσεφόνεια*. As Paley notes, it is here ambivalent: in the case of Athena it refers to her wisdom, in the case of her brother it has more the sense of *ὑπέρβιον* (898), as in A. *Suppl.* 757, *Ag.* 1426.

895. **κούρην**: 'a daughter'; contrasted with *παῖδα* 897. Cf. *Schwyzer* 324. 12 (Delphi, *s.* iv B.C.) *μήτε παῖδα μήτε κόραν*, *Sitz.-Ber. Berl. Ak.* 1927, p. 7 (Locris, *s.* v B.C.).

Τριτογένειαν: the original meaning of this ancient title remains uncertain. See Bergk, *N. Jb.* 1860, pp. 289–94, 305–13; Schulze, p. 177; Farnell, i. 265–70; O. Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Rel.* ii. 1143, n. 1; Kretschmer, *Glotta*, 10, 1920, pp. 38–45; Fehrle, *Roscher*, v. 1146–50; Kruse, *R.E.* viiA 244–5; Trencsényi-Waldapfel, *Acta Antiqua Acad. Scient. Hung.* 3, 1955, pp. 45–56 (Russian, with résumé in German). The author of the fragment, v. 12, understood it as 'born by the river Triton'.

896. **μένος**: 688 n. Athena is not as strong as Zeus, only as fierce.

καὶ ἐπίφρονα βουλήν: cf. 122 n.

897. **αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' ἄρα**: I have not met this combination elsewhere. *ἄρα* is combined with *αὐτάρ* in *Il.* 2. 103, *Od.* 23. 297, *h. Herm.* 69.

θεῶν βασιλῆα καὶ ἀνδρῶν: in 923 the phrase is used of Zeus himself. Cf. on 883.

898. **ἤμελλεν**: 478 n.

ὑπέρβιον ἦτορ ἔχοντα: cf. 139.

899. **ἄρα**: 'as I said'.

πρόσθεν: in time to forestall what would naturally have happened. Cf. *Op.* 96–98 *μούνη δ' αὐτόθι Ἐλπὶς ἐν ἀρρήκτοισι δόμοισιν | ἔνδον ἔμιμνε πίθου ὑπὸ χείλεσιν, οὐδὲ θύραζε | ἐξέπτη· πρόσθεν γὰρ ἐπέμβαλε πῶμα πίθοιο.*

900. Onians, p. 489, n. 1, connects the manner of Zeus' assimilation of *μῆτις*, putting her in his belly, with the idea of a prophetic spirit in the belly, as claimed by Eurycles (sch. Ar. *V.* 1014, sch. Pl. *Soph.* 252c, cf. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, pp. 71 f.).

ὥς οἱ συμφράσσαιτο: Chrysippus' reading gives the preferable sense, 'that she might advise him'. *ὡς δή οἱ φράσσαιτο* would mean 'devise for him'; as *δή* does not refer back to anything in what precedes, it presumably indicates that this was the reason Zeus gave to Metis for swallowing her (cf. 890), but one wonders whether she would have found it an adequate one. A similar variant in 471.

ἀγαθόν τε κακόν τε: she advises him what is good and what not. Differently in 906.

901–29. The remainder of the catalogue of Zeus' wives is marked by its regular triadic structure, only interrupted in 907–11. Other 'strophic' passages in the *Theogony* are shorter, less clearly articulated, and probably fortuitous: cf. 161–75, 383–94. The numerous attempts to find or impose a strophic principle throughout the poem, that began with Soetbeer in 1837, were foredoomed to failure, though they have persisted into modern times—an ineradicable superstition, as Wilamowitz wrote in 1921 (*Gesch. d. Philologie*, p. 61). Welcker's moderate judgement may be quoted: 'Sehr weit reicht die Sache nicht, und ist auf knapp gehaltene genealogische Verse und auf Reihen verwandter, ähnlicher Götter zu beschränken.' (*Die hes. Theog.*, p. 95.) On the present passage, Peppmüller, *Hesiodos*, pp. 88 f., writes: 'Es ist aber nicht einmal hier nötig, anzunehmen, Hesiod habe Strophen bauen wollen: indem er die Sätze in den einzelnen Abschnitten analog bildete, stellten sich ganz von selbst ein gewisser Parallelismus und symmetrische Zahlenverhältnisse heraus.' Similarly van Groningen, p. 12, n. 1. If the structure of the individual triads is compared, however, it will be seen that this explanation is not entirely adequate, for the elements of which they are made up vary. The names of the wife and the children, with the statement that she bore them, usually take up about two lines, and then there is often a note on the children's nature or function (903, 910, 917, 919, 929). But when the birth itself occupies only a line, then the characterization is expanded to two lines (924–6, cf. 904–6); while in 921–3, as a joint characterization of Hebe, Ares, and Eileithyia in one line would have been impossible, it is omitted, and the triplet is made up with a superfluous expansion of *ἔτικτε*. Thus by judicious expansion and compression, the three-line mean is maintained. Cf. on 881–1020.

901. **δεύτερον**: *τὸ τρίτον* in the citation of sch.T *Il.* 3. 191 is a careless repetition from *τὸ τρίτον αὖτ' Αἴαντα*, which has been cited immediately before.

Wilamowitz supported his condemnation of the Metis-episode with the argument that in Pi. fr. 30 Themis is Zeus' first wife, and the mother of the Horai as in Hesiod, therefore he did not know the lines about Metis (*Aisch. Interpr.*, p. 146, n. 1, *Sitz.-Ber. Berl. Ak.* 1921, pp. 957–8 = *Kl. Schr.* v (2). 45; cf. *Pindaros*, p. 190, n. 3, *Glaube*, i. 360, n. 3). So Jacoby, p. 40; Solmsen, pp. 67–68. The argument is unconvincing. For one thing, we cannot be sure, without the context of the fragment, that Themis actually was said to be Zeus' first wife ever: for example, Pindar might have said '⟨So he swallowed Metis; but he did not remain without wives.⟩ First the Fates brought Themis to Olympus', etc. For another thing, even if Pindar does make Themis the first wife, he does not follow Hesiod's account, for he makes the Moirai exist beforehand. It is just as reasonable to argue with Kauer, op. cit. (on 886–900), p. 13, 'Es ist auffällig, wie Pindar betont, daß Zeus die Themis *πρῶτον* als *ἀρχαίαν* Gattin erhält, was ganz wie eine ablehnend polemisierende Stellungnahme zu dem ihm nicht unbekannten anderen Mythos aussieht.' Cf. Dornseiff, *Die archaische Mythenerzählung*, p. 21; Nilsson, *Gr. Rel.* i, 2nd ed., p. 438, n. 4; Snell, *Discovery of the Mind*, pp. 75 f. (= *Entdeckung des Geistes*, 3rd ed., p. 123); Stokes, *Phronesis*, 7, 1962, p. 37.

λιπαρὴν Θέμιν: cf. *Il.* 9. 156 = 298 *λιπαρὰς τελέουσι θέμιστας*, where *λιπαράς* is variously translated; perhaps 'such as attend prosperous *εὐνομία*'. For the application of the adjective to a goddess cf. Bacch. 7. 1 *ὦ λιπαρὰ θύγατερ Χρόνου τε καὶ Νυκτός*.

Themis is associated with Zeus in *Od.* 2. 68, *λίσσομαι ἠμὲν Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἠδὲ Θέμιστος, | ἥ τ' ἀνδρῶν ἀγορὰς ἠμὲν λύει ἠδὲ καθίζει*, and often later; cf. Jane Harrison, *Themis*, pp. 518 f.

Ὧρας: usually the Horai are the personified seasons, *τῇς ἐπιτέτραπται μέγας οὐρανὸς Οὔλυμπός τε, | ἠμὲν ἀνακλῖναι πυκινὸν νέφος ἠδ' ἐπιθεῖναι* (*Il.* 5. 750 f., 8. 394 f.); particularly the seasons of life and growth, as expressed by their names in Attic cult, Thallo and Karpo (Paus. 9. 35. 2, cf. Hyg. *fab.* 183). Hence they are often associated with Aphrodite and the Charites, cf. *Op.* 73–75, *h. Ap.* 194–6, *h.* vi. 5–13, *Cypr.* 4, Ar. *Pax* 456; Preller–Robert, p. 479, n. 4. But here they are something quite different, as their individual names show. This may well be an innovation by the poet. Solmsen (p. 34) thinks it was determined by the etymological interpretation *αἱ ὠρεύουσι* (903); but this could have been applied equally well to the Horai as seasons, and did not entail a new identification of them. They are from the beginning goddesses who protect men's *ἔργα*, their cultivated land (cf. 879 n.). The poet, however, regards the prosperity of these *ἔργα* as depending primarily on peace and just administration (cf. *Op.* 225–47, *Od.* 19. 109–14; the relationship is reversed in *h.* xxx), and he therefore transfers the collective name of the protectresses to goddesses who represent these civic tempers. (Similarly Bowra, *C.Q.* 1958, p. 238.) The association of Horai and Charites survives the new development: the Charites appear as the daughters of Zeus' next wife in 907. The affiliation of the Horai to Themis suits either view

of them (cf. Pi. fr. 52a. 5–6 *Ἐνιαυτὸς Ὧραί τε Θεμίγονοι*, Harrison, pp. 517 f.), and may be older than the reidentification.

902. Εὐνομίην: the word occurs once in Homer, *Od.* 17. 487, in a passage strongly reminiscent of *Op.* 249–55; also in *h.* xxx. 11, Alcm. 64, and as the title (doubtless suggested by the content) of a poem by Tyrtaeus (Arist. *Pol.* 1306^{b}36 ff., Strab. 362), by whose time it had probably already become a political catchword. It implies not so much having good laws, as a condition in which the laws are observed; see Arist. *Pol.* 1294^{a}3 ff., A. Andrewes, *C.Q.* 1938, pp. 89 ff. Cf. *Δυσνομίη* in 230, with her brothers and sisters. At Athens Eunomia was worshipped together with Eukleia: Andrewes, p. 102. For her association with Dike cf. Bacch. 15. 55, Pi. *O.* 13. 6–8, Mel. adesp. 100 (b) 6–7 (all influenced by the *Theogony*); [Dem.] 25. 35 *καὶ Δίκης γε καὶ Εὐνομίας καὶ Αἰδοῦς εἰσι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις βωμοί, οἱ μὲν κάλλιστοι καὶ ἁγιώτατοι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ψυχῇ ἑκάστου καὶ τῇ φύσει, οἱ δὲ καὶ κοινῇ τοῖς πᾶσι τιμᾶν ἱδρυμένοι.*

Δίκην: a goddess of special importance in the *Works and Days* (213 ff., 256 ff.); for her cult see Deubner, *Roscher*, iii. 2131 f. She is in many ways a very similar figure to her mother Themis; cf. Harrison, *Themis*, pp. 516 f.; Hirzel, *Themis Dike u. Verwandtes*, pp. 156 ff.

Εἰρήνην τεθαλυῖαν: Peace is 'flourishing' because cities flourish under her rule. *Op.* 225 ff. *οἳ δὲ δίκας ξείνοισι καὶ ἐνδήμοισι διδοῦσιν | ἰθείας . . . | τοῖσι τέθηλε πόλις, λαοὶ δ' ἀνθεῦσιν ἐν αὐτῇ, | Εἰρήνη δ' ἀνὰ γῆν κουροτρόφος.* Here too she is directly associated with Dike. Cf. *hymn. Curet.* 37 ff. *[καρποὶ δὲ β]ρύον κατῆτος | καὶ βροτὸς Δίκα κατῆχε | [. . . . .]ιπ' ἔξω | ἁ φίλολβος Εἰρήνα.* For her association with Eunomia cf. Bacch. 13. 186 ff., Tim. *Pers.* 240. She had an altar at Athens from about 465 B.C. (Plut. *Cim.* 13); cf. Isocr. 15. 109 f., Nepos, *Timoth.* 2. 2, Deubner, l.c.

903. ἔργ': 901 n.

ὠρεύουσι: S has *ὡραίουσι*, not *ὠρεύουσι* as Rzach reports. *ὠρεύουσι* is confirmed by Cornut. 29 *ἐκ Θέμιδος λέγεται ὁ Ζεὺς γεννῆσαι τὰς Ὥρας, ὑφ' ὧν τὰ ἀγαθὰ πάντα καθ' ἡμᾶς ὠρεύεται καὶ φυλάττεται.* ib. 1 *ἔνιοι δέ φασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὠρεῖν ἢ ὠρεύειν τὰ ὄντα, ὅ ἐστι φυλάττειν, οὐρανὸν κεκλῆσθαι, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ὁ θυρωρὸς ὠνομάσθη καὶ τὸ πολυωρεῖν. Et. Gud.* *Ὧραι· ἀπὸ τοῦ ὠρεύειν, ὅ ἐστι φυλάττειν· αὗται γὰρ φύλακες τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἔργων· ὠρεύουσι δέ, φυλάττουσι καὶ φροντίζουσι.* (Cf. sch. Hes.) Hsch. *ὠρεύειν· τὸ τῶν ἀγρίων νομῶν καὶ ἐθνῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι*, and *ὀρεύειν· φυλάσσειν. LSJ* suggests that the word is a Doric form of *οὐρεύειν*, a verb found in a Cretan inscription of *s.* iii B.C. (*SIG* 527. 127) and meaning 'do garrison duty'; *ω* represents secondary *ō* in Aeolic and Boeotian among other dialects. Another possibility is that it is formed *ad hoc* from *ὥρη* (as *ἀγορά—ἀγορεύω, θήρα—θηρεύω*, etc.). This would perhaps give a more appropriate sense. There may be a play between *ὥρη* and *ὡραῖος* in *Op.* 30–32 (Wilamowitz). The disregard of the difference in aspiration between the two words is paralleled in fr. 235, where Ileus' name is derived from *ἵλεως*:

epic psilosis (p. 91, n. 1.) would explain it, but hardly needs to be invoked.

904. **Μοίρας θ'**: see on 217. The contradiction does not prove that the poet is departing from the substance of Hesiod's original text; cf. Solmsen, p. 36. Here the Moirai are subordinate to Zeus; not only are they his daughters, but he gives them their *τιμή*. What they have in common with the Horai is expressed in their common relationship to Themis: a principle of order and regularity. The Horai and Moirai were represented together above the statue of Zeus in his temple at Megara, and among other deities on the altar of Hyacinthus at Amyclae (Paus. 1. 40. 4, 3. 19. 4). At Thebes the shrine of the Moirai stood near those of Themis and Zeus Agoraios (Paus. 9. 25. 4). See also Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 1535 f.

905. **Κλωθώ**: in *Od.* 7. 197 the Fates are called the *Κλῶθες*, 'Spinsters'. Cf. *LSJ* s.v. *κλώθω*.

Λάχεσιν: a third-century A.D. Spartan inscription has *Μοιρῶν Λαχέσεων*, *IG* 5 (1) 602. 8.

Ἄτροπον: *Sc.* 258–60 presents Atropos as smaller than her sisters, but senior. *ἄτροπος* is also used as an epithet of things connected with fate: of Klotho, *GVI* 1903. 9; Hades, *A.P.* 7. 483; cf. *GVI* 1029. 4, 1325. 5.

906. **ἀγαθόν τε κακόν τε**: cf. *Od.* 8. 63 *τὸν πέρι Μοῦσ' ἐφίλησε, δίδου δ' ἀγαθόν τε κακόν τε.* 4. 236 *ἀτὰρ θεὸς ἄλλοτε ἄλλῳ | Ζεὺς ἀγαθόν τε κακόν τε διδοῖ. Il.* 24. 527 f. *δοιοὶ γάρ τε πίθοι κατακείαται ἐν Διὸς οὔδει | δώρων οἷα δίδωσι, κακῶν, ἕτερος δὲ ἐάων.* Solon 1. 63 *Μοῖρα δέ τοι θνητοῖσι κακὸν φέρει ἠδὲ καὶ ἐσθλόν. Op.* 669 (the sailor's safety depends on Poseidon and Zeus), *ἐν τοῖς γὰρ τέλος ἐστὶν ὁμῶς ἀγαθῶν τε κακῶν τε.*

The same phrase is differently used in 900.

907–11. If these five lines are to be reduced to three (cf. on 901–29), the most dispensable line is obviously 911; after that I would sooner reject 908 (Paley) than 910 (O. F. Gruppe, Rzach). Most of the triplets end with a relative clause or its equivalent, saying something about the newborn deities.

907. **τρεῖς**: cf. on 76.

Εὐρυνόμη: see on 358.

Χάριτας: the most famous and ancient cult of these goddesses was that at Orchomenos, reputedly founded by Eteoclus the son of Cephisus (fr. 71). Their temple there stood near one to Dionysus and a spring sacred to Aphrodite. Their festival, the Charitesia, included musical contests and nocturnal dancing. They were also worshipped in other places, e.g. Athens, Sparta, Paros, Thasos, Elis. At Athens they bore the names Auxo and Hegemone (Paus. 9. 35. 2).

908. **Ὠκεανοῦ κούρη**: when goddesses from the Oceanid list reappear, we are generally reminded of their origin, cf. (288), 383, 507, 776, 956, 959, 979. But not so in the case of Metis (886); so the verse is not indispensable.

πολυήρατον εἶδος ἔχουσα: *h. Dem.* 315, cf. fr. 25. 39, 136. 2. The

adjective is found four times in *Od.*, not in *Il.* Peppmüller's *ἐχούσας* is attractive, though the phrase is not inappropriately applied to an Oceanid.

909. Although the Charites are mentioned a number of times in Homer, the only individual name found there is Pasithea, *Il.* 14. [269], which is in Hesiod the name of a Nereid (246). The Hesiodic names stand for concepts that are often closely associated; cf. *Sc.* 276 *ἀγλαΐῃ τεθαλυῖαι*, 284–5 *πόλιν θαλίαι τε χοροί τε | ἀγλαΐαι τ' εἶχον*, *h. Herm.* 449 *εὐφροσύνην* . . . 452 *μολπὴ τεθαλυῖα*, 476 *ἀγλαΐας* . . . 480 *δαῖτα θάλειαν* . . . 482 *εὐφροσύνην*, *h.* xxx. 13 *εὐφροσύνῃ νεοθηλέι*, Thgn. 776–8, Q.S. 2. 112. According to Paus. 9. 35. 5, a similar account of the Charites to that in the *Theogony* was given in a poem by Onomacritus (= fr. 3 Kinkel).

Ἀγλαΐην: the youngest of the three. She married Hephaestus (945).

τε καὶ Εὐφροσύνην: *τε* is omitted by *k*, implying *Εὐφροσύνην*. In the five places in the Odyssey where this word is found, *ἐϋ-* and *εὐ-* are each certain in one place, in the other three the issue is made unclear by variants. Hesiod has *εὐφρόναι Op.* 560, *εὔφρονες* 119 v.l., *εὔφρονα* 775, and *τε καὶ Εὐφρ.* is supported (weakly) by [Orph.] *H.* 60. 3 *Ἀγλαΐῃ Θαλίῃ τε καὶ Εὐφροσύνῃ πολύολβε*, Orph. fr. 200 *Πλουτώνη τε καὶ Εὐφροσύνῃ Βενδῖς τε κραταιῇ*.

Θαλίην: cf. on 65.

ἐρατεινήν: 136 n. *ad fin.*

910. τῶν καὶ: *earundem*. Used in passing to a new detail not very closely connected with what has gone before. Cf. *Sc.* 7 *τῆς καὶ ἀπὸ κρῆθεν βλεφάρων τ' ἀπὸ κυανεάων | τοῖον ἄηθ' οἷόν τε . . . Ἀφροδίτης*. 57 *ὃς καὶ Κύκνον ἔπεφνε*, with Russo's note.

ἀπὸ βλεφάρων ἔρος εἴβετο: cf. Alcm. 1. 20–21 *Χάριτες . . . ἐρογλεφάροι*, Sapph. 138. 2 *καὶ τὰν ἐπ' ὄσσοισ' ὀμπέτασον χάριν*. Love, or beauty, is thought of as a sort of physical emanation from the person of the lovely girl, and particularly from her eyes: *Sc.* 7 quoted above, fr. 43 (a) 73 *[τῆς μὲν ἀπὸ χρ]οιῆς ἠδ' εἵματος ἀργυφέοιο | [λάμφ' οἷόν τε] θεοῦ, χαρίεν τ' ἀπὸ εἶδος ἄητο*, *h. Dem.* 276, *Aphr.* 174, Pl. *Phdr.* 251c. Love coming from or through the eyes is a commonplace; cf. Pearson, *C.R.* 23, 1910, pp. 256 f. and on S. fr. 157 and 474; E. Rohde, *Der griech. Roman*, 3rd ed., p. 159, n. 2; Bühler on Mosch. *Eur.* 86. For its 'dripping', cf. Alcm. 59 (a) *Ἔρως με δηῦτε Κύπριδος ϝέκατι | γλυκὺς κατείβων καρδίαν ἰαίνει*, E. *Hipp.* 525 *Ἔρως ὃ κατ' ὀμμάτων στάζεις πόθον*, Onians, p. 202. *βλέφαρα* here 'eyes', as often later; cf. 16 n.

The imperfect is used by attraction to the narrative past tenses of the context; cf. *Il.* 2. 448 (Athena's aegis) *τῆς ἑκατὸν θύσανοι παγχρύσεοι ἠερέθοντο* (so Zenod. and vulg., *-ονται* Ar.); 14. 213 f. *ἦ, καὶ ἀπὸ στήθεσφιν ἐλύσατο κεστὸν ἱμάντα | ποικίλον, ἔνθά τέ οἱ θελκτήρια πάντα τέτυκτο*. Kühner–Gerth, i. 145 (5).

δερκομενάων: Leo, *Ausgew. Kl. Schr.* ii. 354, pointed out that the author of *Sc.* 7 (quoted above) must have taken this participle with *βλεφάρων* instead of with *τῶν*—it is not likely that such an ambiguity

would arise more than once. As *Sc.* 1–56 came from the *Catalogue*, it might seem to follow that this part of the *Theogony* is not by the poet of the *Catalogue*, as I suggested on 881–1020. But this reasoning would only be valid if the poet composed the line himself; he might have used it in *Th.* 910 without having actually composed it, and misunderstood it even as he used it.

911. **λυσιμελής**: see on 121. The rest of the line is a dilution of 910, and seems to have been composed as a filler, to allow *λυσιμελής* to be appended to *ἔρος* as in 120–1.

ὑπ' ὀφρύσι: cf. on 827.

δερκιόωνται: Schoemann conjectured *-όωντο*. *δερκιάομαι* occurs nowhere else.

912. **πολυφόρβης**: elsewhere an epithet of earth, *Il.* 9. 568, 14. 200, 301, *h. Ap.* 365, and perhaps fr. 150. 22, where the two-termination declension is used if the text is sound: [*οὗς τέκε Γῆ*] *φέρβουσα π*[*ολ*]*υσπερέας πολύφορβος*.

ἐς λέχος ἦλθεν: metrically equivalent to *ἦλθεν ἐς εὐνήν*, 404. The usual phrase with *λέχος* is *ὁμὸν* or *ἱερὸν λέχος εἰσαναβαίνειν*, 508 n.

913–14. **Περσεφόνην**: the form in *-εια* is the only one used in Homer; the short form occurs four times in *h. Dem.* (56, 360, 387, 405).

ἣν Ἀιδωνεὺς | . . . μητίετα Ζεύς: cf. *h. Dem.* 2–3 *ἣν Ἀιδωνεὺς | ἥρπαξεν, δῶκεν δὲ βαρύκτυπος εὐρύοπα Ζεύς*. See Allen–Halliday, ad loc.; below on 969.

915–17. The union with Mnemosyne and birth of the Muses has already been described in 53 ff., and it is no doubt because their names are listed in 77–79 that the poet does not think it necessary to name them here; indeed, he could not have done so within the limits of the triplet.

Peppmüller, *Hesiodos*, p. 86, suggested putting 915–17 before 912, because of the natural association between the Muses and Charites (above, 64 n.). But they have as close an association with Apollo (918), cf. 94.

χρυσάμπυκες: in *h.* vi. 5, 12, the epithet is applied to the Horai, in Homer only to the gods' horses (four times in *Il.*, 5. 358, 363, 720, 8. 382). See on 578.

ἐννέα: 60 n.

ἄδον: cf. 926, *h. Ap.* 22, *Aphr.* 9, 10, 18, 21, xiv. 4.

θαλίαι: music and banquets are frequently associated, cf. 65, 77; fr. 305, *h. Herm.* 55–56, 454, 480, Xenoph. 1. 12. *θαλίη* refers to popular festivity (cf. *Sc.* 284–5 cited on 909), rather than to palace dinners such as those at which Phemius and Demodocus sang.

τέρψις: cf. 37, 78 n., 206 n., and for the association with *θαλίαι*, the passages referred to on 65, and Archil. 10. 4 *τερπωλὰς καὶ θαλίας*.

918. Cf. *h. Ap.* 14 f. *χαῖρε μάκαιρ' ὦ Λητοῖ, ἐπεὶ τέκες ἀγλαὰ τέκνα, | Ἀπόλλωνά τ' ἄνακτα καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ἰοχέαιραν*. Cf. 14 above and note.

The anonymous Exegesis, p. 412. 21 ff. Flach, has a curious note on Artemis here: *ἣν κελαδεινήν φησι διὰ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ γεννήσει ταύτης*

ἐγγινομένους κελάδους, ἰοχέαιράν τε διὰ τὰς ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀκτινοβολήσεις, κυνηγέτιδα δὲ παρόσον δοκεῖ πλησιάζουσα τοῖς ὄρεσι (ἡ σελήνη) κυνηγετεῖν. One would naturally infer that the author read a line before or instead of 919 in which Artemis was honoured by further epithets, including *κυνηγέτιν* or *κυνηγέτιδα* and *κελαδεινήν*. The latter is a frequent epithet of hers in Homer; but she is only called *κυνηγέτις*, so far as I know, in Cornut. 34 (where a similar interpretation to that of Exeg. is one of several presented), [Orph.] *H.* 36. 5, and Nicetas *de deorum cognominibus* 8 (*Mythogr. gr.* p. 356 Westermann). It is possible that the exegete is carelessly importing foreign material from some systematic allegorizing account of the gods such as that of Cornutus; if he did read an extra verse, it was probably an interpolated one. Cf. on 216. If one changed *φησι* to *φασι*, the problem would disappear.

919. ἱμερόεντα γόνον: cf. on 404–52. E. *IT* 1234 *εὔπαις ὁ Λατοῦς γόνος, τόν ποτε Δηλιὰς ἐν καρποφόροις γυάλοις ⟨ἔτικτε⟩, χρυσοκόμαν ἐν κιθάρᾳ σοφόν, ἅ τ' ἐπὶ τόξων εὐστοχίᾳ γάνυται*; *HF* 689. In *A.P.* 9. 525. 10 Apollo in particular is *ἱμερτός*, in Nonn. *D.* 35. 332 *ἱμερόφωνος*, in [Orph.] *H.* 34. 5 *ἐράσμιος*. An atmosphere of beauty and gladness surrounds his birth, cf. *h. Ap.* 118 ff., Thgn. 5–10, etc., and his works, especially his music-making, *h. Ap.* 182 ff. For *γόνος* cf. on 495.

περὶ πάντων Οὐρανιώνων: cf. 929.

920. The line is transmitted in two forms; I see no way of deciding between them. The version of *k* resembles *Od.* 11. 268 *γείνατ' ἐν ἀγκοίνῃσι Διὸς μεγάλοιο μιγεῖσα. φιλότητι (τινος μιγεῖσα)* is used both with and without *ἐν*, cf. 944, *h. Herm.* 4, *Aphr.* 150, vii. 57, *Sc.* 35–36. *ἄρα* was deleted by Fick, leaving hiatus after the first dactyl as in 532, *Il.* 1. 203, 14. 182, 23. 71, *Od.* 6. 296, *h. Ap.* 391; [Orph.] *A.* 1376 *γείνατο ἐν λέκτροις μεγαλήτορος Οἰάγροιο* (*ἐνὶ* Hermann). But *ἄρα* is not out of place in an enumeration (cf. 938, 940, 943, *Il.* 2. 546, 615, 6. 12, 29, etc.); for its postponement to follow the main verb, especially where this stands at the beginning of the line, cf. above 551, *Il.* 5. 748 *Ἥρη δὲ μάστιγι θοῶς ἐπεμαίετ' ἄρ' ἵππους*, *Od.* 23. 297 *αὐτὰρ Τηλέμαχος καὶ βουκόλος ἠδὲ συβώτης | παῦσαν ἄρ' ὀρχηθμοῖο πόδας*, *h.* vii. 48 *οἱ δ' ἐς πρύμνην ἐφόβηθεν, | ἀμφὶ κυβερνήτην δὲ σαόφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντα | ἔσταν ἄρ' ἐκπληγέντες*, E. *Ion* 789 *τὸν δ' ἐμὸν ἄτεκνον ἄτεκνον ἔλακεν ἄρα βίοτον*, *IT* 886, 1310, fr. 54, 377, Hdt. 1. 141. 2, 4. 64. 3. The postponement is particularly common with *ἦν*, *ἦσθα*, etc., see Barrett, *Hippolytos*, p. 436.

921. λοισθοτάτην: this form is rare; it also occurs in *GVI* 773. 8 (Rome, *s.* i A.D.). The statement that Hera was Zeus' last wife (cf. 886 n.) takes no account of the unions recorded in 938 ff.; probably they are not regarded as regular marriages.

θαλερὴν ποιήσατ' ἄκοιτιν: see on 881–1020. Homer has *θαλερὴν παράκοιτιν Il.* 3. 53, *ποιήσατ' ἄκοιτιν Od.* 7. 66 (cf. *Il.* 9. 397), *θαλερὴν κεκλῆσθαι ἄκοιτιν h. Dem.* 79.

922. Hera's family plainly owes more to artificial construction than to ancient tradition. The Greek Hebe, the Thracian Ares, and the Cretan Eileithyia have nothing in common except their relatively

junior status in the Olympian pantheon. But each of them is also related to Hera. (*a*) For Eileithyia cf. *Il.* 11. 270–1 *μογοστόκοι Εἰλείθυιαι | Ἥρης θυγατέρες*. Hera herself is a goddess of birth, among her other aspects; she was worshipped under the name *Ἥρα Εἰλείθυια* at Argos and Athens (Hsch. s.v. *Εἰλειθυίας*, Keil, *Philol.* 23, 1866, p. 619), and she is able to retard the births of Apollo (*h. Ap.* 96 ff.) and Heracles (*Il.* 19. 119), and to accelerate that of Eurystheus (ib.). Cf. also Pi. *N.* 7. 1 *Ἐλείθυια . . . παῖ μεγαλοσθενέος ἄκουσον Ἥρας*. Crinag. *A.P.* 6. 244; Paus. 1. 18. 5 *Κρῆτες δὲ χώρας τῆς Κνωσσίας ἐν Ἀμνισῷ γενέσθαι νομίζουσιν Εἰλείθυιαν* (cf. *Od.* 19. 188), *καὶ παῖδα Ἥρας εἶναι*. Roscher, *Roscher*, i. 2091–3; Farnell, ii. 608 ff. (*b*) Ares is son of Hera in *Il.* 5. 892, where Zeus chides him with having inherited her *μένος ἀάσχετον*. In Ov. *F.* 5. 229–58 it is Ares, not Hephaestus, that she bears without Zeus' aid in her anger at the birth of Athena. A martial aspect of Hera is occasionally evident in cult. At Argos there was a festival in her honour called Aspis, which involved an armed procession, and a contest for which a bronze shield was given as a prize: Farnell, i. 249, n. 36b. An armed procession also took place at Samos (Polyaen. 1. 23). Lycophron calls Hera *Τροπαία* (1328) and *Ὁπλοσμία* (614; *ἐπίθετον Ἥρας τιμωμένης ἐν Ἤλιδι*, Tz.). (*c*) Hebe is several times mentioned as *παῖδα Διὸς μεγάλοιο καὶ Ἥρης χρυσοπεδίλου*, always in the context of her marriage to Heracles: 952, *Od.* 11. 604, fr. 25. 29, 229. 9. She and Ares were mentioned together as Hera's children by Olen, Paus. 2. 13. 3. Her only contact with him in Homer is at *Il.* 5. 905, where she bathes him.

There is no other single line in the *Theogony* or, so far as is hitherto known, in the *Catalogue*, where both male and female children are named. Normally they are kept apart in separate verses. This is another indication of the compression exercised by the poet for the sake of quantitative equality.

Ἄρηα: replaced by *Ἄρην* in *a*; compare the variants at *Il.* 5. 909. The same corruption in the archetype at Call. *H.* 4. 173.

Εἰλείθυιαν: for Tzetzes' plural cf. p. 72. Both singular and plural are Homeric.

923. See on 901–29.

μιχθεῖσ' ἐν φιλότητι: see on 881–1020.

θεῶν βασιλῆι καὶ ἀνδρῶν: cf. on 886, 897.

924–9. On the births of Athena and Hephaestus see on 886–900.

924. **αὐτὸς**: cf. Hera's reproach in *Il.* 5. 880 *ἀλλ' ἀνιεῖς, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς ἐγείναο παῖδ' ἀίδηλον*; *h.* xxviii. 4 *Τριτογενῆ, τὴν αὐτὸς ἐγείνατο μητίετα Ζεύς | σεμνῆς ἐκ κεφαλῆς*.

γείνατ' Ἀθήνην: this reading is strongly supported, being both that of Chrysippus' citation and that of a medieval MS. which elsewhere (albeit rarely) has unique good readings. *Τριτογένειαν* of the remaining MSS. is repeated from 895; the ellipse of the verb which it involves is extremely harsh.

Although the following lines emphasize Athena's warlike temperament, it is not explicitly said that she was born fully armed. Stesichorus

is said to have been the first to record this detail (fr. 56), but his claim is uncertain beside fr. 343. 19 and *h.* xxviii. 5.

925. For the composition of the line from a series of epithets see on 320.

δεινὴν ἐγρεκύδοιμον: cf. Lamprocles fr. 1 (b) *Παλλάδα περσέπολιν δεινὰν θεὸν ἐγρεκύδοιμον* (also ascribed to Phrynichus or Stesichorus; see Page, ad loc., Wilamowitz, *Textgesch. d. gr. Lyriker*, pp. 84 f.). *ἐγρεκύδοιμος* is not found elsewhere in early epic; cf., however, *h. Dem.* 424 *Παλλάς τ' ἐγρεμάχη*, and similarly in the longer version (D.S. 8. 29) of the oracle given to Battus the founder of Cyrene.

ἀγέστρατον: also first here. Cf. on 318.

ἀτρυτώνην: seven times in Homer, but always combined with *Διὸς τέκος*.

926. **πότνιαν**: cf. on 11. The initial *πότνιαν* followed by a relative resembles *h. Aphr.* 24 (Hestia) *πότνιαν, ἣν ἐμνῶντο Ποσειδάων καὶ Ἀπόλλων*. *πότνια* is an epithet of Athena once in Homer (*Il.* 6. 305); and it is claimed that a word on a Linear B tablet from Knossos is to be transcribed *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja*, and that this represents *Athānāi Potniāi* (Ventris–Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, p. 126) or *Athanas Potnia* ('Lady of Athens').

ἣ . . . μάχαι τε: cf. *h. Aphr.* 10 (Athena) *ἀλλ' ἄρα οἱ πόλεμοί τε ἄδον καὶ ἔργον Ἄρηος | ὑσμῖναί τε μάχαι τε. Il.* 1. 177 (Agamemnon to Achilles) *αἰεὶ γάρ τοι ἔρις τε φίλη πόλεμοί τε μάχαι τε.*

927. **κλυτὸν**: of Hephaestus *Op.* 70, *Sc.* 244, *h. Herm.* 115, *Il.* 18. 614; likewise *περικλυτός* (571 n.), *ἀγακλυτός* (945), *κλυτοτέχνης* (fr. 141. 4, *Il.* 18. 143, 391, *Od.* 8. 286, *h.* xx. 5), *κλυτοεργός* (*Od.* 8. 345), *κλυτόμητις* (*h.* xx. 1).

οὐ φιλότητι μιγεῖσα: in Homer Hephaestus is the son of Zeus and Hera, *Il.* 1. 578, 14. 338, *Od.* 8. 312. Here he takes the part of the son born to Hera without coition (in other versions Typhoeus or Ares, cf. on 886–900, 922). According to Wilamowitz, *Glaube d. Hell.* i. 332, n. 1, this is to avoid making Zeus the father of a cripple. But there is a more obvious point in that Hephaestus is placed on equal terms with Athena. Both are patron deities of craftsmen (*Od.* 6. 233, 23. 160, etc.), although this aspect of Athena is not brought out in the *Theogony* (for Hesiod cf., however, *Op.* 430); and as such they are closely associated in Attic cult, see Farnell, v. 377 ff., Rapp, *Roscher*, i. 2069. The only trace of such an association elsewhere is on Lemnos (sch.^{AB} *Il.* 2. 722).

928. **γείνατο καὶ ζαμένησε**: hysteron proteron. Cf. on 886–900. *ζαμενεῖν* is found only here; it is formed from *ζαμενής*, like *ἀμελεῖν*, *δυσμαθεῖν*, etc.; Debrunner, § 196.

καὶ ἤρισεν ᾧ παρακοίτῃ: cf. fr. 30. 26 [*οὔνεκα νε*]*ικείεσκε καὶ ἤρ*[*ισε*] *Σαλμωνῆι.*

929. Cf. fr. 343. 1–3 *ἐκ ταύτης ἔριδος ἡ μὲν τέκε φαίδιμον υἱόν | Ἥφαιστον †τέχνῃσιν ἄνευ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο, | ἐκ πάντων παλάμῃσι κεκασμένον Οὐρανιώνων. τέχνῃσιν*, or rather *τέχναις*, was apparently written above *παλάμῃσι* as a gloss (cf. Hsch. *παλάμαι· αἱ χεῖρες, καὶ αἱ τέχναι*),

where it displaced a word in the previous line. Ruhnken suggested, not implausibly, that *τέχνῃσι* has replaced *παλάμῃσι* in the *Theogony*, in a similar manner.

κεκασμένον: cf. *Il.* 4. 339 *κακοῖσι δόλοισι κεκασμένε*, *Od.* 4. 725 = 815 *παντοίῃς ἀρετῇσι κεκασμένον ἐν Δαναοῖσιν*.

930. After Zeus we go on to Poseidon; cf. fr. 1. 14–17, and above on 11–21. In the illustration of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis on the François Vase, Zeus and Hera arrive in one car, followed by Poseidon and Amphritrite, and then by Ares and Aphrodite, the same order as in the *Theogony*. Cf. on 78. In fr. 1 too, Poseidon may be directly followed by Ares, if we supplement *ὅσσῃσί]ν τ' Ἄρης[* (Stiewe) in v. 18 instead of *Ἀπόλλω]ν τ' Ἄρης [τε* (Lobel).

Ἀμφιτρίτης: cf. on 243.

ἐρικτύπου Ἐννοσιγαίου: 441 n.

931. **Τρίτων**: first mentioned here. The poet seems to be no longer following a Hesiodic original, for Hesiod would surely have put such a figure as Triton, a *μέγας* and *δεινὸς θεός* who lives in the sea, among the descendants of Pontos with Nereus, Phorkys, and Keto; and Poseidon's daughter Kymopoleia (819) has been forgotten.

εὐρυβίης: see on 239. The interpretation of sch., *διὰ τὸ τοὺς πλέοντας . . . τρεῖν, ἤγουν φοβεῖσθαι, καὶ εὐρέως βοᾶν*, suggests that he read *εὐρυβόης*, as Wakefield pointed out; but in view of the parallels for *εὐρυβίης*, this is not likely to be the right reading, although Triton is *ἠπύτα* (orac. *ap.* Ael. *NA* 13. 21), *canorus* (Ov. *M.* 2. 8), and in general notorious, especially in Latin poets, for trumpeting upon a conch (Virg. *A.* 6. 171, 10. 209, Prop. 4. 6. 61, etc.). Mombritius read *Εὐρυβόην* in 239 (cf. Vat. 2185 *εὐρυβοίην*).

μέγας: E. *Cycl.* 263 *μὰ τὸν μέγαν Τρίτωνα καὶ τὸν Νηρέα*, Virg. *A.* 10. 209 *immanis Triton*, Val. Fl. 1. 679, Serv. *Aen.* 1. 144.

ὅς τε θαλάσσης: *Od.* 1. 52 (Atlas), 4. 385 (Proteus), both times continuing | *πάσης βένθεα οἶδε*.

932. **πυθμέν'**: the word is used of the base of a tree (*Od.* 13. 122, 372, 23. 204), and may therefore be compared in this metaphorical use with *ῥίζαι* (728 n.) and *θέμεθλα* (816 n.). Cf. A. *PV* 1046–7 *χθόνα δ' ἐκ πυθμένων | αὐταῖς ῥίζαις πνεῦμα κραδαίνοι*, Pi. fr. 207 *Ταρτάρου πυθμένα*, Pl. *Phd.* 109C, 112B.

ἔχων: 'occupying', as in 2, not 'holding' as in 517.

παρὰ μητρὶ: i.e. he is unmarried. Cf. *Od.* 15. 127.

933. **χρύσεα δῶ**: Poseidon's *χρύσεα δώματα* in the depths of the sea at Aigai are mentioned in *Il.* 13. 21–22. They are of gold because they belong to a god (cf. Pi. *Isth.* 3. 78); but there is no doubt a connexion with the common belief that there are great treasures in the deep (where they are inaccessible to man): (cf. Anticlides 140 F 4, [Theocr.] 21. 52 ff., Sotion 42 (*Paradoxographi*, p. 190 Westermann); Ninck, p. 135, n. 1; Bernh. Schmidt, *Volksleben der Neugriechen*, p. 135.

The form *δῶ* is found twenty-three times in Homer, always at the end of the line and with a singular adjective. This is the only place

where it stands for the plural. It is always accusative except at *Od.* 1. 392.

δεινὸς θεός: *Il.* 4. 514, cf. above on 759.

αὐτὰρ Ἄρηι: the transition to a different family in mid-verse is unparalleled. For the sequence (Zeus–)Poseidon–Ares, cf. on 930.

In Homer Aphrodite is associated with Ares as his sister (*Il.* 5. 359, cf. 21. 416) or lover (*Od.* 8. 267); she is married to Hephaestus (ib.; but in *Il.* 18. 382 Hephaestus is married to Charis). Her marriage with Ares is known to early sixth-century art: the Cypselus chest (Paus. 5. 18. 5), and the François Vase (*Monum.* iv, pls. liv–lviii, cf. above on 930). At Sparta, behind the temple of Athena Chalkioikos, was one of Aphrodite Areia, the wooden images in which seemed to Pausanias *ἀρχαῖα εἴπερ τι ἄλλο ἐν Ἕλλησιν* (3. 17. 5). There are other traces of an association of the two deities in cult, see Farnell, iv. 745, n. 96; they are probably connected with the warlike attributes that seem to have been an ancient feature of Aphrodite (Farnell, iv. 653–4).

934. **ῥινοτόρῳ**: *Il.* 21. 392.

Φόβον καὶ Δεῖμον: this pair appears in *Il.* 4. 440, 11. 37, 15. 119, *Sc.* 195, in the last two places closely associated with Ares; Phobos is actually called his son in *Il.* 13. 299. Cf. 2. 767 (*ἵπποι*) *φόβον Ἄρηος φορέουσαι*. The Seven swear by Ares, Enyo(?) and Phobos in A. *Th.* 45. A cult of Phobos is attested for Sparta (Plut. *Cleom.* 8–9) and Selinus (*SIG* 1122). See also p. 33; Usener, *Götternamen*, pp. 367 f.; Gruber, op. cit. (on 167), pp. 15 f., 32 ff.

935. **ἀνδρῶν πυκινὰς κλονέουσι φάλαγγας**: cf. *Il.* 5. 93 *ὡς ὑπὸ Τυδείδῃ πυκιναὶ κλονέοντο φάλαγγες | Τρώων*, Mimn. 13. 3. Phobos and Deimos are active on the battlefield in *Il.* 4. 440, *Sc.* 195.

936. **κρυόεντι**: the adjective is applied to *Ἰωκή Il.* 5. 740, *Φόβος* 9. 2, and nothing else in Homer; in *Sc.* 255 it is used of Tartarus.

σὺν Ἄρηι: cf. on 253.

πτολιπόρθῳ: cf. *Il.* 20. 152 *καὶ Ἄρηα πτολίπορθον*.

937. The addition of Harmonia makes the family up to three; cf. p. 36, n. 2. Whereas her brothers take after their father, she takes after her mother. Cf. 975 *Ἁρμονίη θυγάτηρ χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης*. In *h. Ap.* 195 she takes her place in the dance with Aphrodite, Hebe, the Charites, and the Horai. Cf. A. *Suppl.* 1041. In Empedocles she is placed in opposition to *Δῆρις* (122. 2), and seems not to be differentiated from Aphrodite (27. 3; 96. 4, cf. 87); so P. Derveni xvii. 5–7 *Ἀφροδίτη Οὐρανία . . . καὶ Ἁρμονία τῷ αὐτῷ θεῷ ὄνομα κεῖται*. She is probably to be distinguished from the nymph Harmonia who became by Ares mother of the Amazons (Pherec. 3 F 15). She is mainly important as the wife of Cadmus in the Theban myth (cf. 975–8). An actual cult at Thebes has been inferred from Plut. *Pelop.* 19. 2; cf. Farnell, ii. 620, 658.

ὑπέρθυμος: in a good sense, as often. Cf. Pi. *P.* 3. 88 *ἀντιθέῳ Κάδμῳ*, *Dith.* 2. 27 *ἔνθα ποθ' Ἁρμονίαν [φ]άμα γα[μετὰν] Κάδμον ὑψη[λαῖ]ς παπίδεσ[σι λαχεῖν κεδ]νάν· Δ[ιὸ]ς δ' ἄκ[ουσεν ὀ]μφᾶν*.

θέτ' ἄκοιτιν: cf. on 881–1020.

938. **Ἀτλαντὶς**: the weddings of the sons of Iapetos are not recorded in the *Theogony* but in the *Catalogue* (frs. 2, 169).

Μαίη: a hyper-Ionism, p. 80.

κύδιμον Ἑρμῆν: this phrase comes five times in *h. Herm.* Cf. on 444.

939. **κήρυκ' ἀθανάτων**: cf. *Op.* 80 *θεῶν κῆρυξ*, fr. 170 *θεῶν κήρυκα τέχ' Ἑρμῆν*. Hermes is not described by any corresponding phrase in Homer.

ἱερὸν λέχος εἰσαναβᾶσα: cf. on 508.

940. **Καδμηὶς**: this reading is preferable to *Καδμείη* in view of *h.* vii. 56–57 *ὃν τέκε μήτηρ | Καδμηὶς Σεμέλη Διὸς ἐν φιλότητι μιγεῖσα*. Cf. *Ἀτλαντίς* above.

Semele's own birth is not recorded until 976. For other cases of someone's marriage being dealt with before their birth see 241/350, 288/351, 306/821.

941. **Διώνυσον πολυγηθέα**: cf. *Op.* 614, fr. 70. 6, Pi. fr. 29. 5, 153. In *Il.* 14. 325 he is called *χάρμα βροτοῖσιν*; in *Sc.* 400 = [Hes.] fr. 239. 1, on the other hand, his gifts are *χάρμα καὶ ἄχθος*.

942. **νῦν δ' ἀμφότεροι θεοί εἰσιν**: Pi. *O.* 2. 25 *ζώει μὲν ἐν Ὀλυμπίοις ἀποθανοῖσα βρόμῳ κεραυνοῦ ταννέθειρα Σεμέλα. P.* 11. 1 *Σεμέλα . . . Ὀλυμπιάδων ἀγυιᾶτι*. That her apotheosis was the result of the lightning-stroke was the usual version: D.S. 5. 52, Charax 103 F 14, Aristid. 41. 3 (ii. 331 Keil), Philostr. *im.* 1. 14, Ach. Tat. 2. 37. 4, Nonn. *D.* 8. 409, 9. 206. It corresponds to the belief that what is struck by lightning becomes holy and imperishable; not destroyed, but translated to a higher form of existence. See Cook, *Zeus*, ii. 22–29; Nilsson, *Gr. Rel.* i, 2nd ed., pp. 71–73; W. Burkert, *Glotta*, 39, 1960/1, p. 211. But there is another version according to which Dionysus brought his mother to Olympus after he had grown up. This is shown on a black-figure hydria in Berlin (Beazley, *ABV* 364. 54), and was represented on the Amyclaean throne (Paus. 3. 19. 3). Cf. D.S. 4. 25, Plut. *Mor.* 566A, *A.P.* 3. 1; Jessen, *Roscher*, iv. 667. See in general Dodds on E. *Ba.* 6–12 and 997–1001 (second ed.).

943–4. The birth of Heracles was related more than once in the *Catalogue*, fr. 193. 19–23, and at length in fr. 195 = *Sc.* 1–56.

945. **Ἀγλαΐην**: 909. In *Il.* 18. 382 Hephaestus' wife is simply called Charis; in *Od.* 8. 266 ff. he is married to Aphrodite.

ἀγακλυτὸς: cf. 927 n.

946. **ὁπλοτάτην Χαρίτων**: cf. p. 39. In *Il.* 14. 267 Hera promises Hypnos *Χαρίτων μίαν ὁπλοτεράων* as a reward for his services.

947–55. Sch.^{z} reports that these nine lines were athetized, and this is evidently the correct location of the nine-line athetesis recorded in other versions of the scholia on 943, as Gerhard guessed long before Schultz's discovery of Z. (Cf. Rzach, *ed. mai.*) The reason given is *τοὺς γὰρ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων θεῶν γενεαλογεῖν αὐτῷ πρόκειται*. There is no one passage of nine lines to which alone the objection applies: marriages where one partner is a mortal are recorded in 943–4 and 958–62; if we include those where a mortal partner has been deified,

we add 940–2 and 947–55. (An athetesis of 940–4 is actually reported in sch.Z.) It is likely that originally another argument was given for the athetesis of 947–55, viz. the deification of Heracles and the divinity of Dionysus. Sch.A *Il.* 6. 131 says *σημειοῦνταί τινες ὅτι ὡς περὶ θεοῦ τοῦ Διονύσου διαλέγεται*, as if some critic (Aristarchus?) treated him where possible as not yet accorded divine status. Heracles' deification is referred to in *Od.* 11. 602–4, *h.* xv (perhaps also *h. Herm.* 525–6), and at least twice in the *Catalogue*, frs. 25. 26–33 and 229. 6–13, probably also in the list of gods in the proem, fr. 1. 22. The *Odyssey* passage was athetized (all three lines, no doubt), and said to be the work of Onomacritus (cf. Onom. fr. 4 Kinkel). Several grounds are given in the scholia, among them that Heracles' apotheosis and Hebe's marriage were unknown to Homer. In fr. 25 the eight relevant lines are obelized in the papyrus, and while this may have been, as Lobel suggests, because they were repeated elsewhere (in fr. 229), it is as likely that it was their subject matter that was objected to (cf. Merkelbach, *Die Hesiodfragmente auf Papyrus*, pp. 18–19). If so, the critic responsible (Aristarchus?) must also have athetized the *Theogony* passage.

The deification of Heracles is indeed an indication of lateness. He is said to have been first worshipped as a god, as distinct from a hero, at Marathon (Paus. 1. 15. 3, 32. 4, cf. D.S. 4. 39, Aristid. 40. 11 (ii. 327 Keil), etc.), and the Attic cult seems to have sprung up at about the beginning of the sixth century. (Gruppe, *R.E.* Suppl. iii. 924.) His cult as a hero is, of course, older; cf. P. Friedländer, *Herakles*, pp. 162 ff., Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, pp. 95 ff. The lateness of his translation to Olympus explains the fact that the very numerous deeds with which he is credited in mythology all belong to his life on earth; he never acts as a god, because he did not become a god until the very end of the myth-making age. His divinity is apparently unknown to the poet of *Il.* 18. 117 ff. *οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ βίη Ἡρακλῆος φύγε κῆρα, | ὅς περ φίλτατος ἔσκε Διὶ Κρονίωνι ἄνακτι, | ἀλλά ἑ μοῖρ' ἐδάμασσε καὶ ἀργαλέος χόλος Ἥρης. | ὣς καὶ ἐγών, εἰ δή μοι ὁμοίη μοῖρα τέτυκται, | κείσομ' ἐπεί κε θάνω*, and there is no hint of it in the *Scutum*.

His entry into Olympus, accompanied by Athena, is a favourite subject of Attic vase painting; cf. F. Brommer, *Vasenlisten zur gr. Heldensage*, 2nd. ed., pp. 123–33.

947–8. **χρυσοκόμης**: Tyrt. 3a. 2 (of Apollo). Dionysus' golden hair is mentioned in Archil. 121 Bergk (probably); in *h.* vii. 5, however, he has black hair. For other gods with golden hair cf. *h. Ap.* 205 (Leto), Alc. fr. 327 (Zephyrus), E. *Ph.* 191 (Artemis); even their horses have it, *Il.* 8. 42, 13. 24. Agni, Indra and other gods have golden hair in the *Ṛgveda*. Compare Sophocles' remark *ap.* Ion of Chios 392 F 6 (*ap.* Ath. 604B).

Ἀριάδνην | κούρην Μίνωος: *Od.* 11. 321–2.

949. **ἀθάνατον καὶ ἀγήρων**: cf. on 277. The MSS. have *ἀγήρω*: this form is a variant for *ἀγήρων* (which Aristarchus read) in *Il.* 2. 447 and *Od.* 5. 136, and occurs occasionally elsewhere: E. fr. 910. 6 (*-ων*

Nauck, who compares fr. 999 and *Suppl.* 1178); Page, *Gr. Lit. Pap.* no. 105 (b) 4 (*s.* iii B.C.). Here I am not sure that *-ων* was not written, see the facsimile in Guéraud–Jouguet, *Un Livre d'écolier*, pl. vi; or the boy may have written a dative by mistake, as in the following line); Hippol. *Ref.* 1. 6. 1; Jul. *Or.* 11 (4). 142b; Q.S. 10. 312; cf. *Suda* *ἀγήρω· τὰ μὴ γηρῶντα. καὶ σὺν τῷ ῡ ἀγήρων. οἱ δὲ ἄνευ τοῦ ῡ θηλυκόν φασιν εἶναι, οἱ δὲ τὸ μὲν σὺν τῷ ῡ τὴν αἰτιατικὴν δηλοῦν πτῶσιν, τὸ δὲ ἄνευ τούτου τὴν γενικήν τε καὶ δοτικήν.* It is quite anomalous—otherwise we find in epic only forms from *ἀγήραος* (contr. *-ως*) or *ἄγηρος*—and while it seems to be used in late Greek, there is no reliable early instance. (In *h. Dem.* 242 the MS. has *ἀγήρων*.) Cf. Peppmüller, *Philol.* 1898, pp. 387 f.

Divine honours were paid to Ariadne in a number of places: Farnell, *Hero Cults*, pp. 48 f., 403, *Cults of the Greek States*, ii. 631–4. She is clearly of Cretan origin, and a trace of the original divinity that is assumed for her may be preserved in *Il.* 18. 590–2, where it is said that Daedalus made a dancing-floor for her at Knossos—perhaps the actual square arena that adjoins the palace. Her union with Dionysus is sometimes put in Crete (Hyg. *astr.* 2. 5, Himer. 9. 5, sch. Germ. *Arat.* p. 62 Br.), though much more often in Naxos, where Theseus left her (first in [Hes.] fr. 298). A different version, perhaps older, is preserved in *Od.* 11. 321–5: Theseus was taking her to Athens, but Dionysus drew attention to the elopement, and Artemis killed Ariadne on Dia (*ἔκτα* vulg., *ἔσχεν* Aristophanes with some MSS., clearly a conjecture to harmonize with the usual version). The part played by Dionysus is best understood on the assumption that Ariadne was already his bride in Crete before Theseus arrived; cf. Epimenides B 25, and the parallel of Coronis (frs. 59–61; Barrett on E. *Hipp.* 339).

Later sources attribute a number of children to the marriage: sch. A.R. 3. 997, sch. Arat. 636, Paus. 1. 3. 1, Hyg. *fab.* 14. 10 and 19, etc.

950. **Ἥβην**: she could not be made Heracles' wife before his deification. The match resembles that of Ares and Aphrodite. It confirms Heracles' reconciliation with Hera, the bride's mother, Wilamowitz, *Glaube*, ii. 21; Apld. 2. 7. 7 *ἐκεῖθεν δὲ τυχὼν ἀθανασίας καὶ διαλλαγεὶς Ἥρᾳ τὴν ἐκείνης θυγατέρα Ἥβην ἔγημεν· ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ παῖδες Ἀλεξιάρης καὶ Ἀνίκητος ἐγένοντο.* (These sons, named only here, are hypostasized from titles of Heracles.)

Ἀλκμήνης...υἱός: 526 n.

951. **ἣς Ἡρακλῆος**: cf. 332 *ἧς βίης Ἡρακληείης.*

τελέσας στονόεντας ἀέθλους: 994, cf. *Od.* 3. 262. Pi. *N.* 1. 69 ff. *αὐτὸν μὰν ἐν εἰρήνᾳ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἐν σχερῷ ἡσυχίαν καμάτων μεγάλων ποινὰν λαχόντ' ἐξαίρετον ὀλβίοις ἐν δώμασι δεξάμενον θαλερὰν Ἥβαν . . . σεμνὸν αἰνήσειν νόμον.* Sen. *Ag.* 813 *bis seno meruit labore | adlegi caelo*; *Herc. Oet.* 1–98; Apld. 2. 4. 12 *κατοικεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν εἶπεν (ἡ Πυθία) ἐν Τίρυνθι Εὐρυσθεῖ λατρεύοντα ἔτη δώδεκα, καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτασσομένους ἄθλους δέκα ἐπιτελεῖν, καὶ οὕτως ἔφη, τῶν ἄθλων συντελεσθέντων, ἀθάνατον αὐτὸν ἔσεσθαι.* Sch.^{T} *Il.* 15. 639. Cf. on 954.

952. = fr. 25. 29 = 229. 9 = *Od.* 11. 604.

Ἥρης χρυσοπεδίλου: 454 n. Milman Parry, *L'Épithète traditionelle dans Homère*, pp. 237 f.

953. **ἐν Οὐλύμπῳ νιφόεντι**: cf. on 42.

954. **ὄλβιος, ὅς**: cf. *h. Dem.* 480, and passages cited on 96.

ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν: probably an allusion to Heracles' assistance in the Gigantomachy, when Zeus learned that he could only be victorious with the help of a mortal (Apld. 1. 6. 1). This feat is associated with Heracles' deification by Pi. *N.* 1. 67 ff., Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 87 ff., Nonn. *D.* 4. 45 ff. It is probably alluded to in *Sc.* 28–29, where Zeus plans adultery with Alcmene *ὥς ῥα θεοῖσιν | ἀνδράσι τ' ἀλφηστῆσιν ἀρῆς ἀλκτῆρα φυτεύσαι*. There are no other references to the Gigantomachy in literature before Xenophanes; in art it appears at the end of the seventh century. Cf. on 186. Fr. 43 (a) 65 appears to refer to local Gigantes slain by Heracles alone.

The alternative would be to take *μέγα ἔργον* of the whole series of labours, and *ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν* with *ναίει*, but the hyperbaton would be a very awkward one.

955. **ἀπήμαντος**: *Od.* 19. 282. The adjective here takes the place of *ἀθάνατος*, with which *ἀγήραος* is otherwise always conjoined in early epic. Cf. 277 n., and for the addition of *ἤματα πάντα*, 305 n. (*h. Aphr.* 214 f.l.).

956–62. The purpose of this final entry in the 'theogonic' section, in which Circe and Medea are born, may be to prepare for the following paragraphs about them, 992 ff. and 1011 ff.

956. **Ἠελίῳ δ' ἀκάμαντι**: cf. *Il.* 18. 239, 484, *h.* xxxi. 7 (all accusative). Mimn. 10. 1–3 *Ἥλιος μὲν γὰρ πόνον ἔλλαχεν ἤματα πάντα, | οὐδέ ποτ' ἄμπαυσις γίνεται οὐδεμία | ἵπποισίν τε καὶ αὐτῷ*.

κλυτὸς: cf. *Il.* 2. 742 *κλυτὸς Ἱπποδάμεια*, *Od.* 5. 422 *κλυτὸς Ἀμφιτρίτη*. The use of the masc. form of the adj. in preference to a feminine ending in correption recalls that of *θεός* in the formulae mentioned on 442–3. *κλυτός* is used of Oceanus himself in 215, 274, 288, 294.

Ὠκεανίνη: 364 n.

957. **Περσηὶς**: 356. Cf. 1001 n.

Κίρκην: cf. *Od.* 10. 137–9 *αὐτοκασιγνήτη ὀλοόφρονος Αἰήταο, | ἄμφω δ' ἐκγεγάτην φαεσιμβρότου Ἠελίοιο, | μητρὸς δ' ἐκ Πέρσης, τὴν Ὠκεανὸς τέκε παῖδα*.

Αἰήτην: in Mimn. 11. 2 the land of the golden fleece is called Aia, and Aietes seems to be simply 'the man of Aia', just as his sister is *Αἰαίη Κίρκη* (and her island the *νῆσος Αἰαίη*). According to the Corinthian tradition represented by Eumelus (frs. 2–3 Kink., *FGr Hist* 451 F 2), Aietes was one of two sons born to Helios and Antiope. Aloeus was given the land watered by the Asopos, and Aietes the territory of Corinth. Aietes later migrated to Colchis, leaving Corinth to Bounos. Cf. Epimen. B 13. Both he and Circe were placed in close physical relationships with the Sun: *Od.* 12. 3 *νῆσόν τ' Αἰαίην, ὅθι τ' Ἠοῦς ἠριγενείης | οἰκία καὶ χοροὶ εἰσι καὶ ἀντολαὶ Ἠελίοιο*. Mimn. 11. 5

Αἰήταο πόλιν, τόθι τ' ὠκέος Ἠελίοιο | ἀκτῖνες χρυσέῳ κείαται ἐν θαλάμῳ | Ὠκεανοῦ παρὰ χεῖλος.

βασιλῆα: *Cert.* 129 *Κολχίδ' ἔπειτ' ἤγοντο καὶ Αἰήτην βασιλῆα.*

958. **φαεσιμβρότου Ἠελίοιο**: cf. *Od.* 10. 138 quoted above. The adjective is used in one other Homeric place, of *ἠώς* (*Il.* 24. 785). On its formation cf. Debrunner, § 79.

959. = 242.

960. **Ἰδυῖαν**: 352 n. Her name made her a suitable mother for *Μήδεια*; compare *Ἴδμων* as grandfather of Calchas.

961. **δή**: Guyet's is the simplest correction of *δέ*. Cf. *Od.* 21. 24. One might also consider *δ' ἄρα*. Aly and Jacoby retain the MS. text; but there is no parallel for a short final vowel in thesis being lengthened by initial *ϝ* (despite Chantraine, i. 146).

ἐύσφυρον: 254 n.

962. **διὰ χρυσῆν Ἀφροδίτην**: cf. on 881–1020.

963–8. This transition is most closely paralleled in 1019 ff., though there the preface to the new section is elaborated at much greater length (fr. 1). The renewed invocations in *Il.* 2. 484, 11. 218, 14. 508, 16. 112 (cf. p. 49) are comparable, but they are not preceded by any kind of clausula. Closer from a formal point of view are the clausulae of the Homeric Hymns (104 n.), especially the type *καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε* (i. 20, iii. 545, iv. 579, *al.*).

963. **νῦν**: often with imperatives (*Il.* 1. 421 *σὺ μὲν νῦν . . . μήνιε*, 3. 97, 432, 6. 354, etc.), and in passing to new subjects (2. 681 *νῦν αὖ τούς, ὅσσοι τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος ἔναιον*, *Epigoni* fr. 1, [Hes.] fr. 283, *Il.* 1. 1. v.l., 2. 484 *al. ἔσπετε νῦν μοι Μοῦσαι 'Ολύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι*). There is no advantage in writing *μέν νυν* with van Groningen, p. 264, n. 1; cf. Ebeling, *Lex. Hom.* 1169 a.

'Ολύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες: 'ein schlechter Übergangvers, denn gleich ist von Demeter und Harmonia die Rede, die doch wohl zu den Olympiern gehören.' (Wilamowitz, *Erga*, pp. 6–7.) The fact is that the Olympian gods are the main subject of what has gone before, and the farewell to them could not be avoided in a transition of this pattern.

964. This line seems curiously incongruous. Pontos has played a not unimportant part in the genealogies; one or two islands have been mentioned in the narratives (Cythera, Cyprus, Crete), and one or two places on the mainland (Pytho, Mecone, Olympus, Othrys); but this does not justify the special salute to them. Dionysius' imitation is much more in place at the end of his geographical poem, 1181–2 *ὑμεῖς δ' ἤπειροί τε καὶ εἰν ἁλὶ χαίρετε νῆσοι, | ὕδατά τ' Ὠκεανοῖο καὶ ἱερὰ χεύματα πόντου*. Wolf thought the verse defensible if turned into the accusative, so as to be governed by *ἔχοντες* in common with *'Ολύμπια δώματα*. Hermann, followed by Schoemann, thought it might be placed after 843—a most unlikely transposition. Goettling and van Lennep propose marking a lacuna after 963, and Sittl suggests that it contained a verse on the lines of *ἄλλοι θ' οὓς ἔτρεφον . . .* (cf. 107). Heyne simply excises.

All these solutions savour of subterfuge and despair; and C. Robert

does better to try and interpret the text as it stands (*Mél. Nicole*, 1905, pp. 461 ff.). He takes 'islands, continents and the salt sea within' to stand for 'the world as it now is'. Similarly Mazon, ed. p. 16: 'Ces deux vers correspondent aux vers 108–110 du prélude; ils attestent la conscience qu'a eue Hésiode de faire à la fois une théogonie et une cosmogonie.' Cf. above on 108. As a parallel for the disagreement in detail one might compare Ar. *Av.* 691, where the birds, in the preface to their theogony, promise the truth about *φύσιν οἰωνῶν γένεσίν τε θεῶν ποταμῶν τ' Ἐρέβους τε Χάους τε*. In what follows there is not a word about rivers; they are appropriate in the preface to a cosmogony (which is why they are mentioned), but not of this particular cosmogony. Similarly, islands and continents might have had more prominence in other cosmogonies, especially, one might surmise, those developed in the islands themselves, where it would be natural to think not of the creation of the earth as a single event, but of each island and surrounding land-mass appearing separately from the sea. Cf. the Japanese and Hawaiian theogonies referred to on pp. 10–11.

Places are not apostrophized anywhere else in early epic. (H. Meyer, *Hymnische Stilelemente in der frühgr. Dichtung*, Diss. Würzburg, 1933, p. 56, n. 36.)

νῆσοί τ' ἤπειροί τε: cf. *h. Ap.* 138 *νήσων ἠπείρου τε*. The plural *ἤπειροι* is first found here. It normally refers to the opposing continents of Europe and Asia, A. *PV* 790, S. *Tr.* 101, fr. 881, Mosch. *Eur.* 8, etc. This distinction between continents is not certainly attested before the fifth century, cf. on 357.

καὶ ἁλμυρὸς ἔνδοθι πόντος: the structure of the phrase may be compared with (110 *al.*) *καὶ οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὕπερθεν*. For *ἁλμυρός* cf. on 107; for *ἔνδοθι*, 'within' the surrounding land, cf. D.P. 43 f. (Oceanus) *κόλπους δ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθ' ἀπερεύγεται εἰς ἅλα βάλλων | ἔνδοθι*, 82 *τῇ δ' ἔπι Σαρδόνιος μορμύρεται ἔνδοθι πόντος*, 631 v.l.

The use of the nominative for the vocative is sometimes found in poetry, though it is seldom merely a matter of metrical convenience. In some cases it is combined with a vocative form, as *Il.* 4. 189 *φίλος ὦ Μενέλαε*, S. *Aj.* 923 codd. *ὦ δύσμορ' Αἴας* (*Αἶαν Suda*), E. *Andr.* 348 codd. *ὦ τλήμων ἀνερ*, Call. *ep.* 58. 1 *ξένος ὦ ναυηγέ*, Herondas 5. 55 *Πυρρίης τάλης κωφέ*. So several times with *χαῖρε*: *h.* xxx. 17 *χαῖρε θεῶν μήτηρ, ἄλοχ' Οὐρανοῦ*, Parm. 1. 24 *ὦ κοῦρ' ἀθανάτοισι συνάορος ἡνιόχοισιν | . . . | χαῖρ'*, [E.] *Rh.* 388 *χαῖρ' ἐσθλὸς ἐσθλοῦ παῖς τύραννε τῆσδε γῆς | Ἕκτορ*. For other Homeric examples of the nominative cf. *Il.* 3. 277 (*Ζεῦ πάτερ . . .*) *Ἥλιός θ'* (perhaps an instance of an Indo-European rule that only the first of two addressees is put in the vocative: B. Delbrück, *Synt. Forsch.* iv. 28; Wackernagel, *Vorles. üb. Synt.* i. 7; Monro, § 164; Chantraine, ii. 36; [Hesiod] would come under this provision), *Od.* 19. 406 *γαμβρὸς ἐμὸς θυγάτηρ τε*. In *Il.* 18. 385 *τίπτε Θέτι τανύπεπλε*, Zenodotus read *Θέτις τανύπεπλος*. Cobet, *Misc. Crit.*, p. 333, suggests that the nominative has been replaced by a vocative in several other places, e.g. *Il.* 2. 8, 23. 493, *Od.* 8. 408. But the fact that a nominative would scan better in these places

is to be explained otherwise: just as the genitive formula *μερόπων ἀνθρώπων* becomes metrically anomalous when transposed into the nominative (*Il.* 18. 288), so a nominative formula may be turned into a metrically anomalous vocative.

965. **νῦν δὲ**: cf. on 963.

θεάων: Robert, l.c., p. 467, points out how much better an antithesis would be given by the *γυναικῶν* of 1021. Cf. on 963.

ἠδυέπειαι: the adjective is found once in Homer, *Il.* 1. 248 *Νέστωρ ἡδυεπής*. Cf. *h.* xxi. 4–5 *ἀοιδὸς . . . ἡδυεπής*, xxxii. 1–2 *Μοῦσαι | ἡδυεπεῖς, κοῦραι Κρονίδεω Διός*. In 29 above the Muses are *ἀρτιέπειαι*.

966. See on 25.

967. The difficulty of marriages between goddesses and mortal men is complained of by Calypso in *Od.* 5. 118 ff. She refers to Eos' love for Orion, and Demeter's for Iasion; in neither case was the man allowed to live (cf. *h. Aphr.* 286–8). Marriages between mortals and nymphs are not uncommon in Greek mythology, however (e.g. *Il.* 6. 21, Apld. 1. 3. 3, 7. 3, 7. 6, 9. 6, etc.), and are still believed possible today (Lawson, pp. 134–9).

ὅσσαι δὴ: cf. fr. 1. 15 *ὅσσ[αι]ς δὴ* (*αν Π*, corr. Lobel) *παρελ[έξατ' Ὀλύμπιος εὐρύοπα Ζεύς*.

θνητοῖσι . . . ἀθάναται: the same antithesis as in 942 *ἀθάνατον θνητή*, *h. Aphr.* 167 *παρέλεκτο θεᾷ βροτός*.

παρ' ἀνδράσιν εὐνηθεῖσαι: cf. *Od.* 5. 119.

968. **θεοῖς ἐπιείκελα**: Homer normally has *ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισι*, but six times *θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ*. Cf. 987 below *Φαέθοντα θεοῖς ἐπιείκελον ἄνδρα*. One or two of the children of these unions are in fact divine (Ploutos, Semele); others are heroes.

969. **μὲν**: 116 n. *ad init.*

Πλοῦτον: *h. Dem.* 486 ff. *μέγ' ὄλβιος, ὅντιν' ἐκεῖναι* (Demeter and Persephone) *| προφρονέως φίλωνται ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων· | αἶψα δέ οἱ πέμπουσιν ἐφέστιον ἐς μέγα δῶμα | Πλοῦτον, ὃς ἀνθρώποις ἄφενος θνητοῖσι δίδωσι*. Carm. conv. 2 *Πλούτου μητέρ' Ὀλυμπίαν ἀείδω | Δήμητρα στεφανηφόροις ἐν ὥραις, | σέ τε παῖ Διὸς Φερσεφόνη· | χαίρετον, εὖ δὲ τάνδ' ἀμφέπετον πόλιν*. Ar. *Thesm.* 296. Wealth depends on good crops above all else, cf. *Op.* 22–24, 30–34, 299–301, [Orph.] *H.* 40. 2–3 *Δήμητερ κουροτρόφε ὀλβιοδῶτι | πλουτοδότειρα θεά, σταχυοτρόφε*. It may be imagined more specifically as the property of the god of the earth, Persephone's bridegroom, *Πλούτων*; cf. S. fr. 273, Ar. *Pl.* 727, Pl. *Crat.* 403A, Strab. 147, Luc. *Tim.* 21. Usually the functions are distinct: crops are the concern of Demeter and Persephone, and Hades–Pluto is lord of the dead. But his part in the Persephone-myth presupposes that he too has power over the crops, at least in a negative way: he can guard his wealth and hold it in the earth. That is why Hesiod tells the farmer to pray to him (as Zeus Chthonios) as well as to Demeter, at the beginning of ploughing and sowing (*Op.* 465, cf. *SIG* 1024. 26), and why in the preceding line, if my conjecture is correct (*Philol.* 1964, p. 166), he speaks of *νειὸς ἀλεξιάρης, Ἀιδωνέος κηλήτειρα*.

970. Ἰασίῳ: in S the commoner form '*Ιασίων*' is substituted by conjecture. The form '*Ιάσιος*, *Iasius*, is found in Paus. 5. 7. 6, and more often in Latin (Virg. *A.* 3. 168, Ov. *Am.* 3. 10. 25, Serv. *Aen.* 1. 380, 3. 15, 7. 207, *Mythogr. Vat.* 1. 135, Isid. *Etym.* 9. 2. 67). It is probable also in Philod. *π. εὐσεβ.* 40a (Philippson, *Hermes*, 1920, p. 248) [*τοῦ δὲ*] *Ἄγχε*[*ίσο*]*υ* [*Ὅμηρος*] *καὶ Ἡσί*[*οδός φασιν* (*sc. τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ἐρᾶν*)] *καὶ τὴν σ*[*εμνοτάτην*] *Δήμητ*[*ρα καίπερ*] *Διὸς γ*[*υναῖκα γενο*]*μένην* [*φιλῆσαι τὸν*] *Ἰάσιον*.

His union with Demeter is referred to in *Od.* 5. 125 ff. *ὡς δ' ὁπότ' Ἰασίωνι ἐυπλόκαμος Δημήτηρ | ᾧ θυμῷ εἴξασα μίγη φιλότητι καὶ εὐνῇ | νειῷ ἔνι τριπόλῳ· οὐδὲ δὴν ἦεν ἄπυστος | Ζεύς, ὅς μιν κατέπεφνε βαλὼν ἀργῆτι κεραυνῷ*. His birth was recorded in the *Catalogue* (fr. 185. 6), Hades and Persephone being mentioned in the context, but the connexion between them is unclear; his role as Demeter's lover is taken over by Eetion in fr. 177. 8–12, cf. Merkelbach, *Die Hesiodfragmente auf Papyrus*, p. 43. He does not appear in the hymn to Demeter.

971. νειῷ ἔνι τριπόλῳ: *Od.* 5. 127 cited above. We are evidently dealing with the mythical projection of a primitive fertility ritual in which sympathetic magic was allied to practical agricultural measures. The fallow field, the 'defence against ruin, the charmer of Aidoneus', was turned over (*πολεῖν*) two or three times in the course of the summer; see *Op.* 462 with schol., and A. W. Mair, *Hesiod*, pp. 126 ff. Then it was ploughed and sown, and it is at this point that Hesiod prescribes a prayer to Demeter and Zeus Chthonios. The act of ploughing and sowing was felt to be closely analogous to sexual intercourse, as their association in Greek metaphor shows. The practice of reinforcing the efficacy of the ploughing by simultaneous sexual activity, often in the fields themselves, is well attested from various parts of the world: Frazer, *Golden Bough*, ii. 97–104. Some sort of sexual ritual almost certainly formed part of the Eleusinian mysteries, though it is not clear what form it took. Cf. Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, pp. 535 ff.; Frazer, vii. 65 ff.; *contra* Mylonas, op. cit. (on 133), pp. 311 ff. The union of Demeter with Iasion (and probably also her union with Zeus) is the mythical correlate of the ancient agrarian ritual, and that the child born of it is Ploutos has a significance that needs no explanation. Nonnus calls Iasion a *γηπόνος ἀνήρ* (*D.* 48. 677, *γείτονος* cod.), and the marriage a *πολυλήιος εὐνή* (11. 395).

Κρήτης: in *h. Dem.* 122 the disguised Demeter gives her name as *Δώς*, and says that pirates brought her from Crete; and it was from that island, in some versions, that Hades carried away Persephone. Harrison, pp. 565 ff., postulates Cretan influence on the Eleusinian mysteries (comparing D.S. 5. 77). Iasion's association with the Cretan myth led to his being made a grandson of Minos (sch. *Od.* 5. 125; sch. Theocr. 3. 50 should read *υἱὸς ἦν* ⟨*Κατρέως τοῦ*⟩ *Μίνωος καὶ Φρονίας νύμφης*, cf. Bethe, *Hermes*, 24, 1889, p. 423, n. 1); according to others he was the son of Zeus and the Atlantid Electra, and

brother of Dardanus (Hellan. 4 F 135, Apld. 3. 12. 1; this genealogy is presumably of Samothracian origin).

ἐν πίονι δήμῳ: cf. on 477 *ad fin. k* gives *ἐνὶ*, but this form is not used in the fourth foot except when it follows its case (Ludwich, *Aristarchs hom. Textkr.* ii. 341). *k* has *ἐνὶ* for *ἐν* also in 641, cf. 800 n.

k also has *δημῶ*, and the question arises whether the phrase *πίονα δημόν*, 'rich fat', which perhaps suggested the similar-sounding phrase *πίονα δῆμον*, 'a rich deme' (*Od.* 14. 329, *al.*), might not itself have been used in an intermediate sense of 'rich earth', like *πῖαρ ἀρούρης*, *terrae adipes* (Plin. *NH* 17. 42), 'the fat of the land'. Cf. Onians, p. 211, n. 9. Such a sense might seem particularly suitable in the present context. (Onians's suggestion that *δῆμος* and *δημός* are actually identical in origin, however, seems untenable; cf. Frisk, s.vv.).

972. ἐσθλόν: 439 n. (before 435).

γῆν τε...θαλάσσης: 762 n. Ploutos' connexion with the earth is now severed, and he roams abroad as an invisible daimon, like Sleep and Death (762 ff.), Illnesses (*Op.* 102–4), Dike (ib. 222–4), and Zeus' watchers (ib. 252–5).

973. πᾶσαν: with *γῆν*, (*καὶ εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης*) being treated as a mere supplement to *γῆν*. Cf. *Op.* 405 f. *οἶκον μὲν πρώτιστα γυναῖκά τε βοῦν τ' ἀροτῆρα, | κτητήν, οὐ γαμετήν, Od.* 2. 284 *θάνατον καὶ κῆρα μέλαιναν, | ὅς δή σφι σχεδόν ἐστι*, and other examples cited by Kühner–Gerth, i. 80.

τῷ δὲ τυχόντι: anacoluthon ensues; the poet wrote a dative because the idea 'he gives him much wealth' (974) is uppermost in his mind. The article is used with a participle in *Op.* 266 *ἡ δὲ κακὴ βουλὴ τῷ βουλεύσαντι κακίστη*, and ten times in the *Iliad* (1. 70, 3. 138, 255, 9. 320, 21. 262, 23. 325, 656, 663, 702, 24. 687), but I believe not in the *Odyssey*.

974. Cf. *Il.* 9. 483 *καί μ' ἀφνειὸν ἔθηκε, πολὺν δέ μοι ὤπασε λαόν*. The parallel supports *δέ οἱ* against *τέ οἱ*, though the possibility of a scribal reminiscence of the Homeric line is established by *ὤπασε λαόν* in S. At the beginning of the line *δ'* is perfectly possible, cf. 609, *Op.* 239, 284, 297, 363, *Il.* 2. 189, 718; etc.; but *δὴ* is *difficilior lectio*, and the synizesis with *ἀφνειὸν* finds a close parallel in *Il.* 20. 220 *ὃς δὴ ἀφνειότατος* (cf. pp. 98, 100). For *δή* in apodosis see Denniston, pp. 224 f.; for the corruption, 362 n.

975. θυγάτηρ χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης: Harmonia has a much closer affinity to her mother than to her father. Cf. on 937 and 1002, and also E. *Ph.* 7 (cited on 978), A. *Th.* 140. For the form *χρυσῆς* cf. on 822.

976. Ἰνὼ: the poet does not mention her transformation into a marine goddess (fr. 70. 1–7, *Od.* 5. 333–5, cf. Alcm. 50, etc.). Her sister Semele's apotheosis has been alluded to in 942.

Ἀγαυὴν: the name is borne by a Nereid in 247, *Il.* 18. 42. There is some uncertainty about its accentuation, cf. Chandler, *Greek Accentuation*, 2nd ed., § 191. The oxytone accent is given by nearly all MSS. here, and has the support of (Herodian) sch.^{A} *Il.* 9. 150.

977. **Αὐτονόην**: also a Nereid name, 258.

Ἀρισταῖος βαθυχαίτης: cf. fr. 217. 1 *Ἀρι]σταῖον βαθυχαίτην*. The epithet does not occur otherwise in early epic. It marks Aristaeus as a *κοῦρος* like his father Apollo (*Φοῖβος βαθυχαίτης*, orac. *ap.* Porph. *vit. Plot.* 22, v. 10); he was actually called *Ἀπόλλων Νόμιος*, [Hes.] fr. 216, Pi. *P.* 9. 64. His birth from Apollo and Cyrene was related in the *Catalogue*, frs. 215–17. Cf. Pi. *P.* 9. 59 ff., A.R. 2. 506 f. He and Autonoe were the parents of Actaeon.

978. **Πολύδωρον**: E. *Ph.* 7–9 (Cadmus) *ὃς παῖδα γήμας Κύπριδος Ἁρμονίαν ποτὲ | Πολύδωρον ἐξέφυσε, τοῦ δὲ Λάβδακον | φῦναι λέγουσιν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦδε Λάιον*.

ἐυστεφάνῳ ἐνὶ Θήβῃ: *Il.* 19. 99. Hom. *epigr.* 13. 1 *ἀνδρὸς μὲν στέφανος παῖδες, πύργοι δὲ πόλης*. Cf. Anacr. 46, Pi. *O.* 8. 32, S. *Ant.* 122, E. *Hec.* 910, *Tro.* 784, Alpheus *A.P.* 9. 97, D.P. 1006, [Orph.] *A.* 764, 897.

979–83. Cf. notes on 287–94 and 290. The repetition of the story is easier to understand on the assumption that this part of the *Theogony* is not by Hesiod. As an example of a marriage between a goddess and a mortal man, the myth of the union of Chrysaor and Kallirhoe is somewhat recherché; it was not propagated by any parochial tradition like most of the marriages in this section.

980. The verse recurs in the *Great Ehoiai*, fr. 253. 3. The phrase *πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης* also occurs in *Op.* 521, *Sc.* 8, 47, *h. Aphr.* 1, 9.

981. **κάρτιστον**: the reading of Π^{32} and S, *κάλλιστον*, is from *Καλλιρόη*. Similarly, by an odd coincidence, in *Il.* 9. 558 *Ἰδεώ θ' ὃς κάρτιστος ἐπιχθονίων γένετ' ἀνδρῶν*, part of the tradition has *κάλλιστος* from *καλλισφύρου Εὐηνίνης* in the line before.

982. **Γηρυονέα**: no manuscript has *-ῆ* (the Emmanuel College MS. from which it is reported has in fact *-ῆα*), though such a form could be paralleled by Aristarchus' readings in *Il.* 4. 384 *Τυδῆ* (v.l. *-εῖ*), 15. 339 *Μηκιστῆ* (v.l. *-ὴν*, *-ῆα*), *Od.* 19. 136 *Ὀδυσῆ* (*-ῆα* vulg. *contra metrum*). Cf. Peppmüller, *Phil. Anz.* 1884, p. 427. The *-ης* declension of Geryoneus' name is found on vases of the sixth century, and is regular in literature (outside epic) from Hecataeus and Pindar down to Eustathius; so the reading of *k* may be a modernization. Or it may be right, *-ῆα* a scribal epicism (800 n.), and *-έα* a conjecture.

983. **βοῶν ἕνεκ' εἰλιπόδων**: cf. *Sc.* 82 *κτείνας Ἠλεκτρύωνα βοῶν ἕνεκ' εὐρυμετώπων*. Monosyllabic *βοῶν* can be paralleled only from the cacometric Sibylline oracles, 2. 9 *καὶ φθοραὶ ἀνθρώπων ἠ καὶ βοῶν μυκομενάων*. Guyet conjectured *βῶν*: *βοῦ* for *βοός* is attributed to Aeschylus (fr. 421 N. = 622 M.) and Sophocles (fr. 280), but this is most easily understood, as Pearson points out, as an analogical formation after *νοῦς—νοῦ*. Our poet might have written *BON* or *BΩN* to express *βοῶν*, but he might also have used an 'etymological' spelling, like *ναας* in *hymn. Curet.* 58.

S has *ἕνεχ' εἰλ.*, abnormal aspiration (cf. fr. 204. 50 *ἔφατ' εἰλίποδας*, *Il.* 6. 424 *ἐπ' εἰλιπόδεσσι*) that is probably the result of etymologizing.

ἀμφιρρύτῳ εἰν Ἐρυθείῃ: cf. 290.

984. **Τιθωνῷ**: the story of his capture by Eos is related at length in *h. Aphr.* 218–38. He was Priam's brother (*Il.* 20. 237). Cf. also *Il.* 11. 1 = *Od.* 5. 1 *Ἠὼς δ' ἐκ λεχέων παρ' ἀγαυοῦ Τιθωνοῖο | ὄρνυτο*, Mimn. 4, Sapph. 58. 19 ff. Eos took him because he was exceptionally handsome (*h. Aphr.* 225, Tyrt. 9. 5, etc.), a characteristic that Memnon inherited (*Od.* 11. 522).

χαλκοκορυστήν: the epithet occurs nine times in the *Iliad* (once of Sarpedon, otherwise of Hector).

985. **Αἰθιόπων**: a mythical tribe, only later identified with the people south of Egypt (not certainly before Hecataeus 1 F 326–7, though even in the *Catalogue*, fr. 150. 17–19, they are associated with the Libyans (or Ligyans), Melanes, Subterraneans, and Pygmies as descendants of Poseidon). In Homer they live at the end of the earth, beside Oceanus, and like the Hyperboreans, they enjoy banquets in company with the gods (*Il.* 1. 423 f., 23. 205 ff., *Od.* 1. 22 ff.). In the last passage they are said to be divided into two groups, one at the sunrise, the other at the sunset. But it is from the east that Poseidon returns (*Od.* 5. 282 f.), and it is there and not in the west that the Aithiopes are usually imagined to live, cf. Mimn. 10. 9, A. *PV* 809. This accords with their king Memnon being the son of Eos, and it was from the east that he led them to help the Trojans in the epic *Aithiopis*. See further Pietschmann, *R.E.* i. 1095 f.; E. H. Berger, *Mythische Kosmographie d. Griechen* (supplement to *Roscher*), 1904, pp. 22–24; Lesky, *Hermes*, 1959, pp. 27 ff.

Ἠμαθίωνα: the scholiast tries to connect this name with *Ἡμαθίη*—Macedonia, and refers to Pherecydes (3 F 73), according to whom Heracles killed Emathion in the course of his quest for the golden apples. We know, however, that Pherecydes located Heracles' wanderings on this occasion entirely in the west and south (F 17 = sch. A.R. 4. 1396); so it looks as if Emathion may have been an occidental, his subjects taking the place of the western branch of Aithiopes. D.S. 4. 27. 3 (cf. *IG* 14. 1293. 126 ff.) puts him in Ethiopia, Apld. 2. 5. 11 in Arabia. His name is derived in the *Et. magn.* from *ἧματι*, and if this etymology is early, it would account for his association with Eos. The other ancient etymology is from *ἄμαθος* (cf. *ἠμαθόεις* < *ἀμαθόεις*), and is philologically unobjectionable. Cf. also 342 n.

986–91. We pass on to a second love of Eos. She was one of the most predatory of goddesses; besides Tithonus and Cephalus she also carried off Orion (*Od.* 5. 121) and Cleitus (*Od.* 15. 250).

Paus. 1. 3. 1 refers to the story of Cephalus' rape by Hemera (= Eos, cf. E. *Tro.* 848 ff., Hellan. 4 F 140) and the birth of Phaethon whom Aphrodite made her temple-keeper, and then says *ταῦτα ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἡσίοδος εἴρηκεν ἐν ἔπεσι τοῖς ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας*. He is almost certainly thinking of the present passage; if he had a text in which the *Theogony* was followed by the *Catalogue*, it would be easy to make a mistake about which part lines so near the dividing line actually belonged to, especially if the division was not clearly marked. Cf. Procl. *Chrestom.* 57 (p. 101. 12 Allen), where *Op.* 657–8 is cited as *τῶν*

Ἡσιοδείων Ἡμερῶν, and Serv. *Aen.* 12. 164, who cites *Th.* 1013 as *Hesiodus in aspidopoeia* (perhaps using an edition in which *Th.* was followed by *Sc.*: Schwartz, *Pseudo-Hesiodeia*, p. 621). It is therefore quite unsafe to assume that Pausanias read this passage in the *Catalogue* (Wolf; Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, 18, 1883, p. 416 = *Kl. Schr.* i. 130).

986. **αὐτάρ τοι**: there is no justification for altering the text. For *τοι* in narrative cf. 126 n.; for its combination with *αὐτάρ* cf. *Il.* 15. 45, *Od.* 16. 207 (v.l. also in 19. 226, 272); Denniston, p. 549. The plain dative is used with *φιτύσατο* as with *τέκε*, *ἐγείνατο*, cf. 337, 378, 1017, etc.

Κεφάλῳ: cf. E. *Hipp.* 455. Apld. 3. 14. 3 makes him a son of Hermes and Herse, and father not of Phaethon but of Tithonus, Phaethon being the son of Tithonus.

φιτύσατο: first here, *τίκτειν* and *γείνασθαι* being used throughout the rest of the poem. *φυτεύειν* is used of the father in *Sc.* 29 and perhaps *Op.* 812.

987. **ἴφθιμον**: 455 n.

Φαέθοντα: *φαέθων* is an epithet of the sun (760 n.), and Phaethon is usually the son of Helios, just as Hyperion, another hypostasis, is made his father (134 n.). This, together with the story of his attempt to drive Helios' chariot, is attributed to Hesiod (fr. 311), and may have come in the *Catalogue* (Robert, *Hermes*, 1883, p. 438) or the *Astronomy*. Helios also has a daughter Phaethusa (*Od.* 12. 131 f.). His association with Eos is close, and in *Od.* 23. 246 Phaethon appears as the name of one of Eos' horses. In Euripides' play he is a prince of the land in the furthest east, beside Oceanus (fr. 771, 773. 66); his parents are Merops and Clymene, but his real father is Helios.

θεοῖς ἐπιείκελον: 968 n.

ἄνδρα: contrasted with *θεοῖς*.

988. **νέον**: perhaps parallel to *ἔχοντα*, cf. *Il.* 9. 446 *θήσειν νέον ἡβώοντα*, or adverbial, *ἀρτίως* (Paley).

τέρεν ἄνθος ἔχοντ' ἐρικυδέος ἥβης: cf. fr. 132 *τέρεν ὤλεσεν ἄνθος*, *Il.* 11. 225 *ἥβης ἐρικυδέος*, 13. 484 *ἔχει ἥβης ἄνθος*, *h. Herm.* 375 *τέρεν ἄνθος ἔχει φιλοκυδέος ἥβης*, Sem. 29. 6 *ἄνθος ἔχῃ πολυήρατον ἥβης* (*-ηράτου* Wilamowitz). In *h. Aphr.* 225 (cf. 274) *ἥβη* is the subject of *ἔχειν* and the ephebe the object. On *ἄνθος* cf. Onians, p. 232.

989. **ἀταλὰ φρονέοντα**: *k* had *ἀταλαφρονέοντα* as one word, cf. *Il.* 6. 400 *παῖδ' . . . ἀταλάφρονα*. *ἀ-ταλάφρων* originally meant 'timid', though the later form *ἀταλόφρων* suggests that it was mistakenly associated with *ἀταλός*. On Leumann's view (*Glotta*, 15, 1927, pp. 153–5; *Hom. Wörter*, pp. 139–41), *ἀταλός* is a ghost word owing its origin to false interpretation of *ἀταλαφρονέων* as *ἀταλὰ φρονέων*. Be this as it may, *ἀταλός* existed by the eighth century (Dipylon jug, Athens 2074; cf. *Il.* 20. 222, *Od.* 11. 39), and the verb *ἀτιτάλλω* is of an altogether older type; *ἀταλὰ φρονέων divisim* suits the sense here and in *Il.* 18. 567, *h. Dem.* 24, and was no doubt intended by the poets in these places. According to Sittl, *ἄταλος* is used in Alagonia of unripe fruit, and on Cephallenia *ἀτάλικος* is equivalent to *ἀπαλός*.

990. **ἀνερειψαμένη**: this verb is usually used of the Harpies or the storm-winds. The correct form is uncertain. The places where it occurs, and the MS. evidence for its spelling, are as follows: (1) in the present place: see apparatus. (2)–(6) *Il.* 20. 234, *Od.* 1. 241, 4. 727, 14. 371, 20. 77: *ἀνηρείψαντο* without variant. (7) Pi. *Pae.* 6. 136: *αἐρεψατο* P. Oxy. 841,]*εψατο* P. Oxy. 1792, fr. 16. (8) A.R. 1. 214: *ἀνερείψατο* LAPE, *ἀνερέψατο* S, *ἀνεθρέψατο* G. (9) A.R. 2. 503: *ἀνερειψάμενος omnes*. (10) A.R. 4. 918: *ἀνερέψατο* L²ASG, *ἀνερύσατο* PE. (11) Lyc. 1293: *ἀνηρείψαντο omnes*. (12) *A.P.* 9. 187. 1: *ἀνηρείψαντο* cod. (13)–(18) Q.S. 2. 553, 3. 87, 10. 395, 428, 12. 475, 14. 158: *ἀνηρείψαντο omnes*.[1] (19) Them. *Or.* 27. 333A: *ἀνηρείψατο* ed. Dind. (20) [Orph.] *A.* 290: *ἀνηρείψασθε omnes*. (21) Max. 419 *ἀνεράψατο* L (*ά* is probably a miscopying of *εί*, cf. Bast, *Comm. Palaeogr.*, p. 2). (22) Bekk. *Anecd.* 1. 401 (= Hsch.) *ἀνερειψάμενοι· ἁναρπάσαντες*. (23) Hsch. *ἀνερίψαντο· ἀφήρπασαν*, and *ἀνηρείψαντο· ἀνήρπασαν*. (24) Eust. Macremb. p. 226 (*Erotici*, ii. 224. 17 Hercher): *ἀνηρείψατο*. The form *Ἅρπνῖαι* for *Ἅρπυιαι* may be related; it is attested by *Et. magn.*, and occurs on a vase from Aegina (Kretschmer, *Gr. Vaseninschr.*, p. 208).

ζαθέοις ἐνὶ νηοῖς: *h. Ap.* 523 *ἄδυτον ζάθεον καὶ πίονα νηόν*, E. fr. 472. 4 *ζαθέους ναοὺς*. Cf. 2 n.

991. **νηοπόλον**: first here. Phaethon becomes a daimon himself, but is subordinate to Aphrodite as her temple-keeper. In *Il.* 2. 547 ff. we read how Athena fostered the earthborn Erechtheus, and set him in her temple at Athens, where the Athenians propitiate him with bulls and rams. Iphigeneia after her death became *Ἄρτεμιν εἰνοδί[ην, πρόπολον κλυ]τοῦ Ἰοχεαίρης* (fr. 23 (a) 20, suppl. Lloyd-Jones): cf. E. *IT* 34 *ναοῖσι δ' ἐν τοῖσδ' ἱερέαν τίθησί με*. Cinyras is similarly *ἱερέα κτίλον Ἀφροδίτας*, Pi. *P.* 2. 17. These myths probably reflect the practice of burying the priest-king in the temple of his god, where he received worship as a hero. See Farnell, *Hero Cults*, p. 17; Rohde, *Psyche*, pp. 97 ff. Though no cult of Phaethon is known, his heroization must also lie behind the myth of his death by thunderbolt, cf. 942 n. (Erechtheus met a similar death, according to Hyg. *fab.* 46.) In Euripides' play, this took place on the day of Phaethon's marriage to a goddess (we do not know who; the fragments seem deliberately reticent on the question). This must have been the reason for his consecration to Aphrodite. Clymene complains that the body is decaying (fr. 786)—surprisingly, for this is just what bodies struck by lightning are supposed not to do. Anyway, Aphrodite may have appeared at the end of the play and instructed that Phaethon's remains should be laid in her temple. The new hypothesis to the play, P. Oxy. 2455, fr. 14. xv, adds little to our knowledge.

μύχιον: so Aristarchus, the MSS. having *νύχιον*. The words are elsewhere variants, cf. Jacoby, ad loc. In view of what has been said above, *μύχιον* is clearly the only appropriate word. The hero has his own corner of the temple, where he is buried. Cf. Rohde, p. 111. He is there all the time, not only at night. *μύχιος* is a title of various

[1] Information kindly supplied by Professor F. Vian.

deities, especially of Aphrodite herself; see Eitrem, *R.E.* xvi. 993–5.

There is perhaps an echo of this line in *A.P.* 14. 53. 4 *νυκτιπόλος Φαέθων* (a riddle, 'midnight sun').

δαίμονα: in *Op.* 122 *δαίμονες* is similarly used of men who once lived on earth and now have some limited sort of divine power, i.e. Heroes. Cf. Thgn. 1348 (Ganymede); A. *Pers.* 620; Wilamowitz, *Glaube*, i. 366.

δῖον: applied freely to goddesses, and in *Il.* 12. 21 even to Scamander, but not to the higher male gods (Wackernagel, *Kl. Schr.*, p. 993, n. 2).

992. **κούρην δ' Αἰήταο**: Medea's place in this catalogue means that she is immortal. Cf. Alcm. 163, Pi. *P.* 4. 11, Musae. Ephes. 455 F 2, Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 160. She is a heroine rather than a true goddess: she lived among men, she had a tomb (in Thesprotia: Cn. Gellius fr. 9 *ap.* Solin. 2. 30), and she went to Elysium, where she formed an attachment with Achilles (Ibyc. fr. 10, Simon. fr. 53).

Medea is not mentioned by name in this section, and Jason not until 1000.

993. **βουλῇσι θεῶν**: like Aietes' own marriage, 960. Cf. 1002 n.

994. **τελέσας στονόεντας ἀέθλους**: 951. Cf. Mimn. 11. 3 *ὑβριστῇ Πελίῃ τελέων χαλεπῆρες ἄεθλον.*

995. **ἐπέτελλε**: cf. fr. 190. 12. In *Od.* 11. 622 and *Sc.* 94 the middle is used. For the tense cf. 33 n.

ὑπερήνωρ: fr. 199. 6. Homer uses only *ὑπερηνορέων* (but has Hyperenor as a name). The word order here and in the next line is somewhat awkward.

996. **ὑβριστὴς Πελίης**: cf. Mimn. cited on 994, and 514 n. The allusion is probably to Pelias' usurpation of power at Iolcus (cf. Pi. *P.* 4. 106–16, Paus. 4. 2. 5), as well as to his attempt to get rid of the true prince by sending him in quest of the golden fleece.

καὶ: for the scheme attributive adjective, noun, copula, adjective, cf. 307 *δεινόν θ' ὑβριστὴν ἄνομόν θ'* (v.l. *ὑβριστήν τ'*), fr. 123. 2 *οὐτιδανῶν Σατύρων καὶ ἀμηχανοεργῶν*, 33 (a) 17.

ἀτάσθαλος ὀβριμοεργός: *Il.* 22. 418.

997. **ἐς Ἰωλκὸν**: it is arbitrary to insist on the semi-contracted form *Ἰαωλκός* which we find in *Il.* 2. 712, *Sc.* 380, 474. Cf. A.R. 3. 1135 *ἐς Ἰωλκὸν ἵκηται*, 3. 2, 89, 4. 1163 *ἐς Ἰωλκόν*, [Orph.] *A.* 835 *ἀφικέσθαι ἐυκτιμένην ἐς Ἰωλκόν*, 1369 *ἐπ' Ἰωλκόν*; *Glotta*, 1963, pp. 278–82.

ἀφίκετο πολλὰ μογήσας: *Od.* 23. 338. Cf. *πολλὰ μόγησα Il.* 1. 162, 2. 690, 9. 492, *al.*

998. **ἑλικώπιδα κούρην**: 307, cf. 298 n.

1000. **δμηθεῖσ'**: cf. on 453.

ὑπ' Ἰήσονι ποιμένι λαῶν: *Il.* 7. 469. The formulaic phrase *ποιμέν{α}{ι} λαῶν* represents an ancient metaphor found throughout the Near East; cf. C. J. Gadd, *Ideas of Divine Rule in the Ancient East*, 1948, pp. 38 f. On its later history in Greece cf. Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 795.

1001. **Μήδειον**: Cinaethon fr. 2 (*ap.* Paus. 2. 3. 9) also records Medeios' birth, and gives him a sister Eriopis. Cf. Justin. 2. 6. 14,

42. 2. 12. Elsewhere he is called *Μῆδος*. He is the eponymous king of the Medes: A. *Pers.* 765, D.S. 4. 55, Apld. 1. 9. 28, Hyg. *fab.* 27. Hence they could also be said to be descended from Medea; cf. Hdt. 7. 62, D.P. 1016 ff. with Eustathius, Paus. l.c.; Usener, *Götternamen*, pp. 161–3. As Medeios has no other known *raison d'être*, there is a presumption that here too he is the archetypal Mede. That the poet does not say so counts for little; he speaks of Phocus and Latinus, but not of the Phocians and Latini (1004, 1013), and indeed it is not usual for a national eponym's significance to be explained in words of one syllable. Many had a place in the *Catalogue*: Hellen (frs. 2–5), Magnes and Macedon (fr. 7), Doros and Aiolos (fr. 9), Aigyptos (fr. 127), Arabos (fr. 137), Phoinix (frs. 138–9), Scythes (fr. 150. 16?), Thynos and Mariandynos (fr. 157), Boiotos (fr. 219), Lokros (fr. 234). The presumption that Medeios is another is slightly strengthened by the facts that his mother, from whom he takes his name, is located in the east, and that his grandmother Perseis suggests the Persians (whose eponym is usually Perseus, or Perses the son of Perseus or of Medos). The variation between Medos and Medeios is paralleled in the name of the Medes (*Μήδειοι* Ibyc. 39, Pi. *P.* 1. 78, Call. fr. 110. 46) and of Medea (*Μήδη* Euph. 14. 3, Enn. *Scaen.* 279 V., Acc. 417 R., Andromachus *GDK* 62. 9).

The date at which the Greeks became familiar with the name of the Medes (Māda) is uncertain. Ionic *Μῆδοι* is now thought to date from a time when the Ionians had no pure *ᾱ*, and were saying *ἡ κόρϝη ἡ καλϝὴ πάνσανς ἐτίμαε τὰνς θεάνς*, which could hardly be later than 800. But the name could surely have been modified at a later date by association with poetic *μήδεα*, *μήδομαι*, and especially *Μήδεια*. The earliest Median king known to the Greeks was Deioces, whose reign on Herodotus' chronology filled the first half of the seventh century, though, if he is identical with the Dayaukku of Assyrian records, he really belongs in the late eighth century. A genealogy that links the names Mede and Persian, however, would be hard to imagine before Cyrus' defeat of Astyages in 553 or 549; and it was above all his defeat of Croesus a few years later that forced these nations upon the attention of the Greeks. Archilochus, Alcman, Mimnermus, Sappho, and Alcaeus are all familiar with the Lydians, but the Medes are not mentioned before Ibycus, whose *Κυάραϛ* (fr. 39) is probably Cyrus. The latter half of the sixth century is much the likeliest period for the creation of Medeios.

τὸν οὔρεσιν ἔτρεφε Χείρων: Chiron undertook the education of a number of heroes, among them Achilles (fr. 204. 87, *Il.* 11. 832, Pi. *P.* 6. 21 ff., *N.* 3. 57, etc.), Jason (fr. 40, Pi. *P.* 4. 102 f., etc.), Asclepius (*Il.* 4. 219, Pi. *N.* 3. 54, *P.* 3. 45), Aristaeus (A.R. 2. 510), Actaeon (Apld. 3. 4. 4) and Heracles (sch. Theocr. 13. 9). See von Sybel, *Roscher*, i. 890 f. The *Precepts of Chiron* attributed to Hesiod were formally addressed to Achilles (Paus. 9. 31. 5). Medeios is made a pupil of Chiron because the tradition had no place for him at Iolcus.

The antiquity of the spelling *Χείρων* (besides *Χίρων*) is proved by Lesbian *Χέρρων* (Alc. 42. 9); see Kretschmer, *Glotta*, 10, 1919, pp. 58–62. *Χιρωνι* is now found in P. Hamb. 123. 1 (unidentified hexameters).

1002. Φιλλυρίδης: after his mother Philyra, his father being Kronos. Matronymics are only used of people fathered by gods, nearly always Zeus (*Sc.* 229 *Δαναΐδης*, 479 *Λητοΐδης*, fr. 78 *Εἰλαρίδης Τιτυός*, similarly above, 526, 950, *Sc.* 467 *Ἀλκμήνης υἱός*, above, 975 *θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτης*, fr. 217. 2 *Μαιάδος υἱεῖ*, *Il.* 11. 271 *Ἥρης θυγατέρες*), or of those without fathers (*Od.* 7. 324 *Γαιήιον υἱόν*, 11. 576 *Γαίης ἐρικυδέος υἱόν*). There are various reasons for the restriction. For one thing, most gods' names will have no patronymic formed from them: *Κρονίδης* (*Κρονίων*) is the only exception, and it is restricted to Zeus. *Διὸς υἱός*, standing alone, is restricted to Apollo and Heracles, and cannot be used indiscriminately of anyone fathered by Zeus. Again, a goddess may have a closer connexion with her mother than with her father: Harmonia could not be called *Ἄρηος θυγάτηρ*, which immediately suggests an Amazon (*Il.* 24. 804a), and similarly the Eileithyiai are more Hera's daughters than Zeus' (922 n.).

As the long first syllable of this name is due to metrical lengthening, one might expect *Φῐλυρίδης*, as *Δᾱναΐδης*, etc. (Schulze, p. 151 *et circ.*). But it is constantly spelled with two lambdas, see P. Maas, *Glotta*, 1960, pp. 307 f. (adding now P. Oxy. 2509. 4), who compares *Πελλιάδες* in Euphorion P.S.I. 1390 B 12. For metrical gemination of a liquid as an alternative to vowel-lengthening one may also compare *ἐννοσίγαιος* beside *εἰνοσίφυλλος*. It is probably Aeolic; this would not be surprising in a designation of one of the Centaurs, who are often called *φῆρες*, the Aeolic equivalent of *θῆρες* (*Il.* 1. 268, 2. 743, Pi. *P.* 4. 119, etc.). Cf. above on 636.

μεγάλου . . . ἐξετελεῖτο: cf. *h. Herm.* 10, *Il.* 1. 5, *Cypr.* 1. 7. Phrases of this kind are mostly found in passages where a story is briefly alluded to, see Kirk, *Songs of Homer*, p. 165. There seems to be an implication of some great destiny in store for Medeios. So sch., *ἐξετελεῖτο τοῦ Διὸς νοῦς ἵνα βασιλεύσῃ τῶν Μήδων*.

1003–7. Note the chiasmus *Φῶκον–Ψαμάθη–Αἰακοῦ*: *Πηλεῖ–Θέτις–Ἀχιλλῆα*. Cf. on 233.

For the distributive apposition *Νηρῆος κοῦραι–Ψαμάθη–Θέτις*, cf. *Op.* 161–5, Kühner–Gerth, i. 286–7.

1003. κοῦραι ἁλίοιο γέροντος: *Od.* 24. 58. Cf. on 233.

1004. ἤτοι μὲν: Jacoby write *ἦ τοι* as in Q—wrongly, cf. 116 and n.

Φῶκον Ψαμάθη: despite the chiastic principle noted above, one would have expected *Ψαμάθη Φῶκον*. Phocus is the ancestor of the Phocians (Paus. 2. 29. 2, 10. 1. 1, 30. 4, sch.^{B} *Il.* 2. 517). His name was accounted for by the story that his Nereid mother turned herself into a seal to avoid Aeacus' embrace (Apld. 3. 12. 6, sch. E. *Andr.* 687; cf. Pi. *N.* 5. 12 *καὶ βία Φώκου κρέοντος, ὁ τᾶς θεοῦ, ὃν Ψαμάθεια τίκτ' ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι πόντου*). An alternative genealogy made him son of Ornytus or Ornytion, a son of Sisyphus. (Paus. 10. 1. 1 distinguishes this Phocus

from the Acacid.) His marriage and sons were recorded in the *Catalogue*, fr. 58. 7 ff., while the story of his murder by Peleus and Telamon was told in the epic *Alcmaeonis* (fr. 1; see also E. *Andr.* 687 and sch., sch. Pi. *N.* 5. 25). On Psamathe cf. 260 n. She afterwards became the wife of Proteus, E. *Hel.* 6–7.

1005. Αἰακοῦ: the first king of Aegina (son of Zeus and Aegina, fr. 205), and also the last, since his sons Peleus and Telamon, having killed Phocus, had to go elsewhere: Telamon to Salamis, Peleus to Thessaly. Cf. A.R. 1. 90–94. Aeacus' marriage to a Nereid parallels that of his son Peleus.

1006. θεὰ Θέτις ἀργυρόπεζα: *Il.* 9. 410, 18. 127, 146, *al.* Nereids never have fishy tails; they swim like mortal women, or ride on dolphins, hippocamps, and the like.

The wedding of Peleus and Thetis was described in the *Catalogue* (frs. 210–11) and the *Cypria* (Procl. and frs. 1–3).

1007. Ἀχιλλῆα ῥηξήνορα θυμολέοντα: *Il.* 7. 228. *Ἀχ. ῥ.* also 13. 324, 16. 146, 575, *Od.* 4. 5; *θυμολέων* also *Il.* 5. 639, *Od.* 4. 724, 814, 11. 267. Cf. Tyrt. 10 *αἴθωνος δὲ λέοντος ἔχων ἐν στήθεσι θυμόν*, *Il.* 17. 20–23.

1008. Αἰνείαν: again the son is named before either parent (cf. 233 n.); perhaps a further twist of the chiasmus, *Θέτις–Ἀχιλλῆα*: *Αἰνείαν–Κυθέρεια*. For the juxtaposition of the two heroes cf. *Il.* 20. 206 ff. *φασὶ σὲ μὲν Πηλῆος ἀμύμονος ἔκγονον εἶναι, | μητρὸς δ' ἐκ Θέτιδος καλλιπλοκάμου ἁλοσύδνης· | αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν υἱὸς μεγαλήτορος Ἀγχίσαο | εὔχομαι ἐκγεγάμεν, μήτηρ δέ μοί ἐστ' Ἀφροδίτη*.

That Aeneas' birth is immediately followed by that of Latinus may be a mere coincidence; it may on the other hand be an association suggested by the legend of Aeneas in Italy. That Aeneas and his sons inherited Priam's throne after the fall of Troy is known to Homer (*Il.* 20. 307 f., *h. Aphr.* 196 f.). His escape was accounted for in Arctinus' *Iliu Persis*: when the serpents appeared and killed Laocoon, *οἱ περὶ τὸν Αἰνείαν* were alarmed, and withdrew to Ida (Procl.; cf. S. fr. 373). At an early period there were legends that he founded new cities elsewhere. His flight from Troy with Anchises on his shoulders is represented on a sixth-century coin from Aineia in Macedonia (Head, *Hist. Num.*, 2nd ed., p. 214). For other local legends of foundations by Aeneas, see Wörner, *Roscher*, i. 166 ff. The earliest author to connect him with the foundation of Rome is Hellanicus (4 F 84), who says he went there from Thrace together with Odysseus. But even Stesichorus may have taken him into western waters, for on the Tabula Iliaca (Stes. fr. 28) the scene of his departure from Troy bears the legend *Αἰνήας σὺν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀπαίρων εἰς τὴν Ἑσπερίαν*. As Misenus is with him, he must have been going at least as far as Campania. Arctinus too may have known the journey to Italy, to judge from Dion. Hal. 1. 69; but the testimony is doubtful, Arctinus being only one of several authorities cited for a composite account.

Αἰνείας is the regular epic form; but the genuine Hesiod might perhaps have written *Αἰνείης*, cf. p. 80.

ἐυστέφανος Κυθέρεια: 196 n.

1009. **Ἀγχίσῃ ἥρωι**: cf. *h. Aphr.* 77. The whole line is very similar to 970.

The story of Anchises' union with Aphrodite is delightfully told in the hymn to Aphrodite. It is alluded to also in *Il.* 2. 819–21, 5. 313, 20. 208–9.

1010. **ἠνεμοέσσης**: although this is the reading of Q alone, it is more likely that *ὑληέσσης* of the other MSS. is a reminiscence of *Il.* 21. 449, *Ἴδης ἐν κνημοῖσι πολυπτύχου ὑληέσσης*, than that *ἠνεμοέσσης* is from Hom. *epigr.* 10. 2 *Ἴδης ἐν κορυφῇσι πολυπτύχου ἠνεμοέσσης*. The latter passage, if we rule it out as a source of error, becomes a supporting parallel. The words *Ἴδης ἐν κορυφῇσι πολυπτύχου* also occur at *Il.* 22. 171.

1011. **Κίρκη**: she seduces Odysseus in *Od.* 10. 333–47. The birth of sons is plainly a secondary development; it cannot be proved later than our *Odyssey*, but is likely enough to be so. The novelistic exploitation of the possibilities offered by the *Odyssey* is paralleled in the *Telegony* of Eugammon of Cyrene, in which Telegonus the son of Odysseus and Circe went to Ithaca in search of his father, and killed him by mistake. Circe made the whole family immortal, and Telegonus married Penelope, while Telemachus married Circe! (Cf. *Nosti* fr. 9.) See also 1015 n. The identification of the sons as Agrios and Latinus presupposes a localization of Odysseus' wanderings in the west. There is no clear trace of this in the *Odyssey*, where Circe lives in the far east (12. 3–4; cf. above, 956 ff.), or in what we know of the *Telegony*. Cf. fr. 390.

Ἠελίου θυγάτηρ: 957 n.

1012. **Ὀδυσσῆος ταλασίφρονος**: *Il.* 11. 466, and eleven times in *Od.* Suggestions that Odysseus had much to endure are very restricted in the *Iliad*; *ὁ τλήμων Ὀδυσεύς* only 10. 231, 498, *πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς* only 8. 97, 9. 676, 10. 248, 23. 729, 778.

1013. **Ἄγριον**: Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, 34, 1899, p. 611 = *Kl. Schr.* iv. 82, takes this as a fictitious name, 'der besagt, daß die Schiffer keine freundliche Aufnahme fanden. . . . Der 'wilde' Agrios sagt mythisch, was geographisch darin liegt, daß nördlich von Kyme eine dauernde Niederlassung von Hellenen nicht gelungen ist.' But he quotes no parallel for such a personification. Albert Hartmann, *Sagen vom Tod des Odysseus*, 1917, p. 232, n. 30, takes Agrios to be an eponym of the Thracian Agrianes, assuming a considerable geographical ignorance on the part of the poet. Such an assumption is indeed not altogether arbitrary; the poet seems to have no conception of the distance separating Epirus and Latium, see on 1015. But the Agrianes live on the upper Strymon, far inland, and it is really impossible to suppose such an enormous confusion as this. Others attempt to relate the name Agrios to Italian history or ethnography, and identify him with Latinus' grandson Silvius (M. Durante, *Parola del Passato*, 6, 1951, pp. 216 f.), or the Alban king Agrippa. The most attractive theory, even if it cannot be called certain, is that of

K. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde* (1870), i. 54, and F. Altheim, *Röm. Religionsgesch.* ii. 84–87, according to which Agrios is Faunus (*agrestis*, Ov. *F.* 2. 193, etc.), whom Nonnus makes a son of Poseidon and Circe (*D.* 13. 328–32; cf. 37. 57 f. *Φαῦνος ἐρημονόμος Τυρσηνίδος ἀστὸς ἀρούρης | ὡς πάις ἀγροτέρης δεδαημένος ἔργα τεκούσης*), and who, like his son Latinus, counted as one of the early kings of the country (Virg. *A.* 7. 48 f., Justin. 43. 1. 6, etc.; *Aboriginum rex*, Suet. *Vitell.* 1. Cf. Otto, *R.E.* vi. 2071). As nations are not usually credited with two kings simultaneously, our poet may in fact mean that Latinus reigned after Agrios.

Λατῖνον: the name is not heard of again in Greek until ps.-Scylax 8 (*c.* 350 B.C.), *Τυρρηνίας ἔχονται Λατῖνοι μέχρι τοῦ Κιρκαίου. καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἐλπήνορος μνῆμά ἐστι Λατίνων. Λατίνων παράπλους ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός.* On the dating of the present reference cf. 1016 n. Hyg. *fab.* 127 makes Latinus a son of Telemachus and Circe. The maternity of Circe is implied by Virg. *A.* 12. 164 (contradicting 7. 47).

It is now necessary to discuss a passage of Johannes Lydus, *de mens.* 1. 13: *τοσούτων οὖν ἐπιξενωθέντων τῆς Ἰταλίας, ὥσπερ ἐδείχθη, Λατίνους μὲν τοὺς ἐπιχωριάζοντας, Γραικοὺς δὲ τοὺς ἑλληνίζοντας ἐκάλουν, ἀπὸ Λατίνου τοῦ ἄρτι ἡμῖν ῥηθέντος καὶ Γραικοῦ, τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ὥς φησιν Ἡσίοδος ἐν Καταλόγοις· Ἄγριον ἠδὲ Λατῖνον. | κούρη δ' ἐν μεγάροισιν ἀγαυοῦ Δευκαλίωνος | Πανδώρη Διὶ πατρὶ θεῶν σημάντορι πάντων | μιχθεῖσ' ἐν φιλότητι τέκε Γραικὸν μενεχάρμην.* (= fr. 5.) (The three complete verses also appear in a MS. of the *Theogony*, U, at the end of the text, under the heading *Ἡσιόδου καὶ ταῦτα.* To them is added a fourth verse, *καὶ Γραικὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐς Ἄγριον ἠδὲ Λατῖνον*, which is quite meaningless, is evidently made out of Lydus' words *καὶ Γραικοῦ τῶν ἀδελφῶν . . . Ἄγριον ἠδὲ Λατῖνον*, and should be ignored.) It has been suggested that the half-line should be transferred to the end, *τέκε Γραικὸν μενεχάρμην | ἄγριον ἠδὲ Λατῖνον.* But Latinus has no place among the descendants of Deucalion, and Lydus must have taken the half-verse from the *Theogony*. It proves that Agrios is Latinus' brother: the following citation from the *Catalogue* is then presumably meant to show that Agrios is identical with, or the brother of, Graecus. (Cf. Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, 34, 1899, p. 610 = *Kl. Schr.* iv. 81.) It is not clear how it could; possibly it went on *μενεχάρμην | ἄγριον*, or *| . . . καὶ ἄγριον*, and Lydus mistook the adjective for a proper name.

ἀμύμονά τε κρατερόν τε: fr. 50. 2, 141. 14, 171. 6, *Il.* 4. 89. It is abnormal for the second half of a line to be made up of epithets referring to one of two names in the first half.

1014. This verse is omitted in *k*; cf. Eust. 1796. 43 *ἐκ Κίρκης υἱοὶ καθ' Ἡσίοδον Ὀδυσσεῖ Ἄγριος καὶ Λατῖνος.* Sch. A.R. 3. 200 quotes 1011–13 only (to show that Circe is Helios' daughter). So the line is probably an interpolation designed to bring in Telegonus, the more famous son of Odysseus and Circe whose story was told by Eugammon (cf. on 1011). He too was later brought into the legendary history of Italy, as the founder of Praeneste and Tusculum (Dion. Hal. 4.45, Fest. s.v. *Mamiliorum*, cf. Hor. *C.* 3. 29. 8, Ov. *F.* 3. 92).

The interpolation may be of Byzantine date, and if so it may never have scanned very well (cf. Jacoby). Paley proposed δ' ἄρ' for δ', but in the parallels (943, 1008, frs. 221. 1, 305. 1) it is a new family that is being introduced. ἔτικτε after γείνατο is not in itself offensive, cf. 212 n.

1015. δή τοι: cf. 142 n.

μυχῷ νήσων ἱεράων: that is, in an undisturbed part of them. Cf. *Il.* 6. 152 ἔστι πόλις Ἐφύρη μυχῷ Ἄργεος ἱπποβότοιο. *Od.* 3. 263 (Mycenae!); above on 119. For the ἱεραὶ νῆσοι cf. *Il.* 2. 625 f. οἳ δ' ἐκ Δουλιχίοιο Ἐχινάων θ' ἱεράων | νήσων, αἳ ναίουσι πέρην ἁλὸς Ἤλιδος ἄντα. The poet knows that Greece dissolves into a number of islands in the north-west, and that Odysseus' home was among them. He imagines Odysseus' legendary wanderings as being in the same region, and it is here too that he locates the Etruscans and Latins of whom rumours have reached him: he has no conception of Italy as a continental land mass at a much greater distance than the western isles of Greece. Such vagueness in geographical matters will not amaze anyone who has asked a Greek villager how to get to another place fifty miles away; and it would after all be extremely difficult to attain any clear picture of the geography of the Mediterranean without the benefit of maps or the personal experience gained by travel. Mainlands are in fact often mistaken for islands by their first discoverers; cf. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, p. 80. For fabulous islands off Italy, cf. Strab. 215, [Orph.] *A.* 1249.

The Iliad passage too shows ignorance about the geography of north-west Greece, cf. Leaf, ad loc. Another case of the localization of Odysseus' wanderings among these islands has been pointed out by Olivieri, *Mem. Acc. Nap.* 3, 1918, p. 131: in [Hes.] fr. 150. 31 f. the Cephallenians are made the descendants of Hermes and Calypso. The union of these two gods was evidently suggested by Hermes' visits to Calypso's isle in the *Odyssey* (*Od.* 5. 58, 12. 390; Meuli, *Odyssee u. Argon.*, p. 61), and the poet identified this island with Cephallenia—the one was as mythical as the other to him. It may have been because of the localization here of the various islands inhabited by gods that Odysseus visited, that they were called the Holy Islands.

1016. Τυρσηνοῖσιν: this nation is not mentioned elsewhere before the fifth century in literature, unless the shorter Homeric hymn to Dionysus (vii. 8) is earlier than that. *Τυρσηνοί* need not denote the Etruscans; in the fifth century it is an alternative to 'Pelasgian' as a name for the pre-Greek population of the Balkan peninsula. (S. fr. 270 with Pearson's note.) But the association with Latinus shows that these Tyrsenians are an Italian people, and although the Etruscans were probably not yet differentiated from other Italian peoples (Dion. Hal. 1. 29 ἦν γὰρ δὴ χρόνος ὅτε καὶ Λατῖνοι καὶ Ὀμβρικοὶ καὶ Αὔσονες καὶ συχνοὶ ἄλλοι Τυρρηνοὶ ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων ἐλέγοντο, τῆς διὰ μακροῦ τῶν ἐθνῶν οἰκήσεως ἀσαφῆ ποιούσης τοῖς πρόσω τὴν ἀκρίβειαν), they alone were important enough to the Greeks in the archaic period to be attached to a Greek mythical

genealogy, and they had a genuine historical connexion with Latium. The Latins themselves, as such, cannot have been of any interest or significance in mainland Greece.

This story about Tyrsenians whose kings are Agrios and Latinus is therefore a story about Etruscans; and we must now consider at what date it is likely to have originated. Greek commerce with Etruria and Latium can be traced back to the eighth century (G. Vallet, *Rhégion et Zancle*, pp. 19 ff.). But these peaceful contacts can have caused little stir in the homeland; it was only when the interests of the two nations began to conflict, about the middle of the sixth century, that the name of the Etruscans can have become familiar in Greece. The first recorded clash came with the Phocaean attempt to establish a colony in Corsica (Hdt. 1. 165–7, etc.): the colonists were expelled by the Carthaginians and Etruscans *c.* 535. In 524 the Etruscans and their allies attacked Cyme (Dion. Hal. 7. 3), and the Liparaeans had to fight them a number of times at this period (Strab. 275, D.S. 5. 9, etc.; *SIG* 14). In about 500 some Tyrrhenians dedicated a tripod at Delphi (*SIG* 24). At this time, then, a time of great Etruscan expansion (for the course of which see E. Wikén, *Die Kunde der Hellenen von dem Lande u. den Völkern der Apenninenhalbinsel bis* 300 *v. Chr.*, 1937, pp. 80 ff.), they were making themselves well known to the Greeks; and until 510 their domination over Latium justified the association of the Latin name with theirs, though the relative unimportance of the Latins suggests that the association derives from a source in close relations with Latium, such as Cyme. After 510 such a source would probably have differentiated sharply between the Latins and Etruscans; and Greek contacts with Latium became markedly less close when it ceased to be under Etruscan rule (Vallet, pp. 380 f.).

1017. The poet gives Odysseus sons by Calypso as well as by Circe. Again he is following an Odyssey, and one that cannot have differed much from our *Odyssey*: the reduplication of the Circe-motif by Calypso is unlikely to be much older than the version we have. Cf. Wilamowitz, *Hom. Unters.*, pp. 115–39; W. J. Woodhouse, *The Composition of Homer's Odyssey*, pp. 46 ff. And the *Odyssey*, in its present form, is post-Hesiodic: p. 46, cf. on 84 ff.

Ναυσίθοον: the first king of the Phaeacians, *Od.* 6. 7, 7. 55 ff. In the *Odyssey* he is a son of Poseidon and the Giant princess Periboia. The implication that the Phaeacians are descended from Odysseus and Calypso is absurd in terms of the *Odyssey* narrative, but typical for this poet, cf. 1015 n. A Tyrrhenian Nausithoos is named as one of the early Pythagoreans (Iambl. *vit. Pyth.* 127, 267).

Once again the son is named before the parents (cf. 1008).

Καλυψὼ δῖα θεάων: the formula occurs eleven times in the *Odyssey*. On Calypso cf. 359 n.

1018. **Ναυσίνοον**: a pale complementary figure. See on 251. The Phaeacians are *ναυσικλυτοί* (*Od.* 7. 39), and this tends to be reflected in their individual names: Nausithoos, Nausicaa, and the whole catalogue in *Od.* 8. 111 ff.

1019 ff. Cf. on 963–8. 1019–20 are identical with 967–8, except that ὅσσαι δὴ is replaced by *αὗται μὲν* (for which cf. on 263). After 1020 the division was made between the *Theogony* and *Catalogue*. The poem ends there in Π^{13} (with colophon *ησιοδου θεογονια*) *ak*, and the addition of 1021–2 in some other MSS. is in most cases in a second hand or separated by a space from 1020. The two lines were perhaps preserved by a scholium as the opening of the following poem, and from there imported into the text (Jacoby, p. 29; J. Schwartz, *Ps.-Hesiodeia*, p. 435); compare the scholium at the end of the *Works and Days*, quoted on p. 49, n. 4, and the Townley scholium at the end of the *Iliad* which records the alternative line leading on to the *Aethiopis*. It is easy to imagine a note in the form *τούτοις δὲ συνάπτει ὁ κατάλογος τῶν γυναικῶν, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή·* Another possibility is that the lines were added at the end of an ancient roll containing the *Theogony* as a reclamant, enabling the reader to identify the roll he was to read next; that they were then copied as if they belonged to the *Theogony* itself (for a parallel case see Stephanie West, *Scriptorium*, 17, 1963, p. 315); and that a book in which this had been done was among those that contributed to the medieval tradition.

EXCURSUS

SOME PECULIARITIES OF ENCLITIC ACCENTUATION IN EPIC[1]

ANCIENT grammarians prescribe that in a number of special cases a paroxytone word followed by an enclitic receives, contrary to the normal rules, a second accent on the final syllable. I believe that this phenomenon has only partly been understood, and that all the instances are to be explained from the same basic principle.

1. The most straightforward cases are those coming under the rule that trochaic paroxytone words are so treated, e.g. *ἄνδρά τε*, *θάρσός μοι*; in Hesiod, *Th.* 63 *ἔνθά σφιν* (so written in *n*S), 481 *ἔνθά μιν* (so in K: *ἔνθά μεν* V). See K. Lehrs, *Quaestiones Epicae*, p. 104 or Chandler, *Greek Accentuation*, 2nd ed., § 966, for the ancient authorities for this rule, which is followed in the best MSS. of Homer.

It has been convincingly explained by Wackernagel (*Kl. Schr.*, pp. 1093 f.), following Wheeler and Meillet. The essence of his explanation is that the first acute in such words is followed by a fall of pitch on the continuant that closes the syllable, so that the word becomes in effect proparoxytone: thus *ἄν̀δρα*, *θάρ̀σος*. In the few cases where the first syllable is closed by a stop, as in *ὄφρά τοι*, one must assume that the rule has been artificially extended beyond its natural bounds.[2] It is not surprising that this should happen, for the grammarians did not understand the reason for the double accent: they observed that it was a feature of the traditional manner of recitation of Homer by the professional rhapsodes who continued to flourish throughout the Hellenistic period, and they tried to formulate an empirical rule to account for it. (Cf. Wackernagel, pp. 1097–1104.) In cases like *ὅττί μιν*, we need not even assume such extension, for there the *τι* is itself by origin enclitic, and the combination is parallel to *εἴ πώς μιν* and the like (Wackernagel, p. 1094).

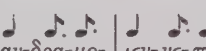
Wackernagel does not raise the question why the double accentuation should be restricted to paroxytones with a short final syllable. Why *πάν̀τά τε* but not *πάν̀τών τε*? At first sight the latter would seem even more understandable than the former, in that the pitch has a longer interval in which to recuperate after the first acute. The answer must be that *πάντων*, having a long final syllable, cannot be

[1] Here I have greatly profited from discussion with Mrs. A. Morpurgo Davies.

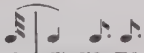
[2] But *νύκτάς τε* is perhaps to be explained differently, see below.

treated as a proparoxytone; from which it follows that the spoken accent was not *πάντὼν* but rather *πὰντὼν*, the acute being displaced just as in *ἕτερα–ἑτέρων*.

A curious exception to the double-accent rule was made in the first line of the *Odyssey*, *ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε Μοῦσα*. Sch. ad loc.: *ἔδει μὲν ἐν τῷ ἄνδρα δύο εἶναι ὀξείας, ὡς τὸ "ἄνδρά τε καὶ οἶκον"* (*Od.* 6. 181), *ἀλλ' ἐφυλάξατο ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐν τῇ εἰσβολῇ τῶν λέξεων κακοφωνίαν ποιῆσαι*. Cf. Charax, *Anecd.* iii. 1149 f. Bekker. This explanation of the anomaly is absurd; and hardly more acceptable is that of B. Laum, *Das Alexandrinische Akzentuationssystem*, 1928, p. 299, who thinks that the ancient grammarians accented words simply as an aid to reading: 'In dieser Verbindung hätte also *ἌΝΔΡΆ ΜΟΙ* bezeichnet werden müssen, weil *ἌΝΔΡΑΜΟΙ* entweder als ein Wort oder auch als Krasis gleich *ΑΝΔΡΑ ΕΜΟΙ* gefaßt werden konnte. Aber daß in diesem Vers, den jedes Kind auswendig kannte, der Doppelakzent nicht gesetzt zu werden brauchte, leuchtet ein.' The truth is, I believe, that the rhapsodes themselves sang *ἄνδρα μοι* and not *ἄνδρά μοι*. The reason can be seen if one compares the two dactyls *ανδρα μοι* and *ανδρα τε*. The short scansion of *μοι* results from a consonantalization of the iota between two vowels and its consequent transference to the following syllable: *μο-ι̯έν-νε-πε*. But the singer, aware of *ἔννεπε* as a discrete dactylic word, would naturally tend to recite the line in such a way that the second musical bar (or 'foot') contained the word *ἔννεπε* rather than *ι̯έννεπε*, and the first bar *ἄνδρα μοι* rather than *ἄνδρα μο/*. Thus, instead of a perfectly regular rhythmic division of syllables,[1]



there would be an involuntary and scarcely perceptible syncopation, approximately



This would involve a very slight shortening of the three preceding syllables. The reciter could not dwell so long on *ἄνδρα* as he could in the case of *ἄνδρά τε*, and because of this the nu was no longer quite long enough to carry the fall of pitch that was a precondition of the second acute.

The grammarians do not restrict the double accentuation to disyllables, and it is clear that such a restriction would be irrational.

[1] I have used dotted quavers for the short syllables only because they must have been more than half the length of the longa (see Wifstrand, *Von Kallimachos zu Nonnos*, pp. 26 ff.; Maas, *Metre*, § 51); not because I suppose that they were precisely three-quarters of the length.

Polysyllables of the required type are rare; but the double accent is attested for *Il.* 7. 199 *γενέσθαί τε τραφέμεν τε*, *Od.* 19. 320 *λοέσσαί τε*, and written in a papyrus at *Il.* 18. 327 *λαχόντά τε*. The scholiast on the first passage does treat it as abnormal, not, however, because *γενέσθαι* is a trisyllable, but because it has a spondaic and not a trochaic ending; which is obviously irrelevant for accentual purposes. The justification he gives for the 'irregularity', *ἴσως ἵνα ἐκφύγωμεν τὸν διπλασιασμὸν τοῦ ῥήματος, λέγω δὲ τοῦ τετραφέμεν τε*, accepted by Wackernagel (p. 1106) and Laum (p. 293), is unconvincing and, as it appears, unnecessary.

Before proceeding further, it will be well to deal with a difficulty that *γενέσθαί τε* presents; for it is essential to the following argument that this difficulty be overcome. It is this: while it is easy to postulate a fall of pitch on the voiced consonants *ν*, *λ*, etc., where they end a syllable, it is less easy to do so on an unvoiced *σ*. Here we obtain welcome reassurance from the two Delphic Paeans of the late second century B.C. that are preserved with musical notation (Powell, *Coll. Alex.*, pp. 141–59). In each of them there is one place where a short vowel followed by *σ* in the same syllable is written double, signifying that the syllable was divided between two notes. This happens elsewhere only with long vowels and diphthongs, and syllables closed by liquids and nasals (e.g. *μααντειειον*), never with short vowels ending a syllable or followed by stops. It must therefore be the sigma that makes the change of pitch possible. The two passages are:

Anon. *Paean*, 12 *λιγὺ δὲ λωτοὸς βρέμων αειόλοιοις μ[έ]λεσιν ὠιδαὰν κρέκει.*

Limenius *Paean*, 20 *ἑσμὸς ἰ]ερὸς τεχνιτώων ἔνοικοος πόλει Κεκροπίαι.*

In the first, one might assume that the sigma is voiced before *βρέμων*, but this will not account for *ἔνοικοος πόλει*. It must therefore be accepted as a fact that the Greeks could sound two different pitches within the limits of a syllable consisting of consonant, short vowel and sigma. How they did it is a problem for phoneticians.

2. We may next consider the rule that all paroxytone words, of whatever metrical shape, take a second accent when followed by an enclitic pronoun beginning with *σφ*, e.g. *ὅθί σφισι*, *ἄρά σφιν* (Lehrs, pp. 106 f.; Chandler, §§ 966, 967). As Wackernagel remarks (p. 1095), these pronouns were obsolete in Hellenistic times, and this accentuation must have been taken from the oral Homeric tradition. He rightly sets aside those cases where the doubly accented word is compounded with an enclitic, as, for example, *ἤτοί σφεας*. In the remaining instances, the words concerned are all pyrrhic: *ἄρα* twelve

times, *ἵνα* three times, *ὅθι* twice; and there is one case of *ἔτι* (*Il.* 6. 367), where the scholia report that Herodian did not write the double accent, in spite of the rule. Wackernagel explains *ἄρά σφ-*, *ἵνά σφ-*, and *ὅθί σφ-* as analogical developments from *ἔνθά σφ-*, *ὄφρά σφ-* and *ὅστίς σφ-* respectively. This is unacceptable: why should such a spread take place, when it was clear to the ancients that the accentuation *ἔνθά σφ-* was a peculiarity of trochaic-ending words? And why should it be restricted to enclitics beginning with *σφ*? Why *ἄρά σφιν* but not *ἄρά οἱ*, *ἵνά σφισι* but not *ἵνά μοι*?

Wackernagel also mentions the possibility of influence from Aeolic *ἄσφι*, *ἄσφε*, while admitting that the existence of these forms is somewhat doubtful. It rests on two fragments:

Sappho fr. 149 *ὅτα πάννυχος ἄσφι κατάγρει.*
Alcaeus fr. 313 *ὅτ' ἄσφ' ἀπολλυμένοις σάῳς.*

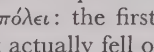
In the Sappho fragment, Wackernagel's own transposition *ὅτάσφι πάννυχος κατάγρει* (*Kl. Schr.* 623) is recommended by the word order. So it is not unlikely that the alleged Aeolic forms arise in both cases from false division of *ὅτά σφι*, as indeed most philologists have assumed. The Lesbian poets elsewhere use *σφ-* (Alc. fr. 6. 18, 39. 6?, Sapph. 70. 12).

Laum is content with his standard explanation. 'Man musste in der Verbindung *APAΣΦ-* und *INAΣΦ-* doppelten Akzent setzen, weil der Leser sonst leicht das *Σ* zum Vorhergehenden bezog und als Kasusendung fasste. Die Partizipialform *APAΣ* war ja sehr gebräuchlich. Auch einen Eigennamen dieser Form gab es.' (p. 296). This is plainly preposterous. If the ancient grammarians really thought the general public so stupid as to mistake *αρασφισι* for unmetrical nonsense, surely they would have introduced word division throughout.

In order to get at the true explanation, we must bear two circumstances in mind.

(*a*) What distinguishes the pronouns in *σφ-* from other enclitics is that they alone begin with a continuant-stop combination.
(*b*) The paroxytone words for which the double accent is attested all end in a vowel.

The syllabic division of, for example, *ἄρά σφιν* was therefore *α-ρασ-φιν*. I suggest that the syllable *ρασ* was pitched on two different notes, like *κος* in Limenius' *ἔνοικοος πόλει*: the first lower, the second higher. Whether the second accent actually fell on the sigma (*ά-ρὰσ-φὶν*), we do not know; even if it did, it could only be written on the preceding vowel by grammarians who did not recognize accentuation of consonants and wrote *πάντων* for *παύτων*; just as



was written *μααντειειον*,

Why were ἄρα and ἵνα doubly accented, but not ἔτι? Possibly because iota tends by nature to be a shorter vowel than alpha, and less able to bear a change of pitch. The two cases of ὅθί σφ- admittedly do not confirm this hypothesis; but when the deciding factor was one so delicate as the minute difference in length between ᾰ̆ and ῐ̆, it is not to be expected that it would operate with faultless consistency in every individual case.

The accentuation νύκτάς τε, if it is not a mistaken application of the trochaic-word rule, may be explained on similar lines.

3. In *Il.* 6. 289 = *Od.* 15. 105 ἔνθ' ἔσαν οἱ πέπλοι, double accentuation is prescribed for ἔσαν. The justification offered is that this clearly marks οἱ as the enclitic pronoun and not the definite article. This is accepted as sufficient by modern scholars, except that G. Bonfante, *Riv. Fil.* 1934, p. 543, regards ἔσάν οἱ and all other cases of doubly accented paroxytones as survivals of an Indo-European accentuation originally common to all Greek dialects except Attic. The evidence does not support this view, for almost all the Greek instances Bonfante can cite belong to the classes discussed above, and he cannot explain why they should. The only exceptions are two instances in the Berlin papyrus of Corinna: fr. 1 (a) i. 16 τανίκά νιν and iii. 50 δάκρού τ'. (At Pindar, *Paeans* P. Oxy. 841, fr. 93, ὅπλόι[ς may have been followed by σφ-.) These are relevant only to the accentuation of Boeotian, a subject of which we know next to nothing.

In view of what has been said above, ἔσάν οἱ must be interpreted as standing for ἔσαί οἱ. Even this accentuation is impossible if the syllables are divided ε-σα-νοι; and from the fact that it was possible, we can infer that the digamma of οἱ, although no longer affecting the metre, had not simply vanished: it survived in the form of a stop, giving the syllabic division ε-σαν-(ϝ)οι. This is why οἱ regularly lengthens the preceding syllable in combinations like γάρ οἱ, μέν οἱ. Once we make this assumption about the digamma, ἔσάν οἱ becomes exactly parallel to ἄρά σφιν.

Let me be the first to point out that the above remarks leave questions unanswered. Why, for instance, are accentuations such as μέγάν τε (for μέγαί τε), πόνός τε, not attested? I do not know. But if the steps I have taken are in the right direction, others will perhaps succeed in going further:

> οὐ γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς πάντα θεοὶ θνητοῖς ὑπέδειξαν,
> ἀλλὰ χρόνῳ ζητοῦντες ἐφευρίσκουσιν ἄμεινον.

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